

Young Spartacus

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Militant Class Battles Rock Coal Fields

Carter Strongarms Miners Union

Victory to the Coal Strike!

February 28—For nearly three months now, striking coal miners have valiantly held out in the face of a concerted drive to shackle their union spearheaded by the bosses' Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA). Company-hired gun thugs, vindictive state troopers and even the National Guard today patrol the working scab mines and ride shotgun for the shipments of scab coal to the energy-starved Midwest. At least two miners have been killed by scabs and hired thugs and hundreds have been arrested by the all-too-eager state police of half a dozen states.

In southern Indiana a state of siege exists as hundreds of National Guardsmen armed with M-16 automatic rifles and "shoot on sight" orders terrorize the coal fields. In Alabama, hundreds of state police were dispatched to the Oakman mines on February 3 and engaged in a full-scale shoot-out with militant miners trying to shut down coal production. In Kentucky, where the uniformed gun thugs are the most notorious in the coal fields and where strikers riding down state roads report broadsides of rifle, shotgun and pistol fire against their cars, Governor Julian Carroll openly cited the picket-line murder of retired 65-year-old miner Mack Lewis as a "lesson" to the strikers.

Throughout the strike, militant miners have fought back, warding off scab attacks, opening fire on National Guard helicopters in Alabama and attempting to halt truck convoys destined to break the strike. During the course of the coal conflict, railroad bridges have been dynamited; scab coal haulers have been forced off the road and made to dump their cargo; roads to working pits have been made impassable with boulders, spikes and nails; and caravans of union militants have branched out throughout the coal fields and shut off 50 percent of production at the non-union mines.

Each new give-away contract proposal from the treacherous trade-union bureaucracy has touched off the militancy of the ranks and provoked a series of protest demonstrations from Washington, D.C. to the coal heartlands of Kentucky and West Virginia. From the onset of the strike the future of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) was clearly the central question. The BCOA's "negotiating" was a transparent and vicious attempt to cripple the UMWA and, in the name of



Coal pickets outside Baldwin, Illinois power plant attempting to halt deliveries of scab coal.

"labor stability," attack major historic gains of the union (such as the operator-financed health plan and the pension system) and suppress the wildcats which have repeatedly shut down the coal mines.

During the first months of the strike, the steel barons and the energy trusts, with their 90-day stockpiles of coal, haughtily sat back and waited for the UMWA to collapse under the joint BCOA/local government offensive. However, when the strike began to take its toll on Midwest industry and power plants—which had been allowed to replenish their coal supplies by the criminal stalling tactics of the Arnold Miller union bureaucracy after last summer's wildcats—big business upped its demands on Jimmy Carter to strongarm the miners into submission. With widespread layoffs projected in short order and coal-using utilities initiating mandatory power cuts, the strike has gone beyond the bounds of simply a confrontation between a hardline group of employers out to get a union and defiant militant miners in the eyes of the American bourgeoisie.

In recent weeks the Carter administration has gone into full gear trying to break the coal strike. Energy Secretary James Schlesinger ordered

the transfer of electricity from states not dependent on coal and shipments of non-union coal to the Midwest. Attorney General Griffin Bell placed the FBI, federal marshals and Justice Department offices on "alert." Labor Secretary Ray Marshall forced the UMWA Bargaining Council into the White House while trying to ram through a contract based on a "Kissinger-type shuttle" between the union and the BCOA.

On February 24, only hours before a televised address in which he was reportedly going to invoke the anti-labor Taft-Hartley law (which can order an 80-day return to work period), Carter announced a "tentative contract settlement." After setting four deadlines for "decisive action" (and letting each one pass unnoticed), Carter seized upon the independent settlement with the non-BCOA Pittsburg & Midway (P&M) Coal Mining Co. as the basis for breaking the coal strike.

Of course Carter bestowed the miners with his seemingly endless supply of "folksy" verbiage:

"The work you do in the mines is sometimes dangerous and always difficult. No one can visit a coal mine, even for a short time, as I have, without coming away with a vivid sense of respect and admiration for the job you

do. Whenever there has been progress in the mines, whenever there have been improvements in pay or in safety conditions or in health conditions, it's because you fought for it."

—New York Times, 25 February

No sooner said than Carter turned to the real "incentives" he had to offer: if the miners fail to ratify the modified P&M agreement, "time will run out for all of us and I will have to take the drastic and unsatisfactory legal action I would have announced tonight."

If Carter's "tentative agreement" goes through, it will be nothing less than a major setback for the UMWA! In its essentials, this contract hands over to the BCOA the very points they were looking for to beat down the UMWA. The operator-financed health plan based on royalties on coal tonnage will remain in effect, *but only for miners who retired before 1975*; for other UMWA miners, union-run clinics will be placed in jeopardy and they will be forced onto a tremendously inadequate commercial-carrier health plan. The grossly unjust two-tier pension system will remain in effect, leaving miners who retired before 1975 with a significantly smaller pension than those who have retired since; moreover, future pensions

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Wide World

EDITORIAL NOTES

More from the Messengers of Qaddafi

A bizarre political phenomenon recently turned up at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA). A group of ostensible leftists reared their heads to proclaim to all concerned the virtues of Libyan dictator Muammar Qaddafi. According to these self-anointed messengers of the "Libyan Revolution," "Qaddafi of Libya has been the most ardent supporter of the national liberation movements against imperialism..." and "has pledged the arming of the whole people to resist both external and internal enemies..."

This group is of course the rapidly disintegrating Workers League/Young Socialists (WL/YS)—the American handraisers for Gerry Healy's British Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP). One wonders what the response of students at UCLA must be to

Il Mondo



Colonel
Muammar
Qaddafi.

statements such as "the Workers League and the Young Socialists are proud of the anti-imperialist alliance signed between the General People's Congress of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and the Workers Revolutionary Party"! Perhaps future WL/YS literature tables will prominently feature Qaddafi's blueprint for the "Libyan Revolution," the Koran.

Although the Healyites have offered their meager organizational resources to whitewash the Libyan dictator's rule, the task is beyond them. Qaddafi upholds among his "Five Principles" the "purging [of] all the sick people who talk of Communism, atheism..." (*New York Times*, 22 May 1973). In Libya convicted thieves still lose their hands and liars their tongues as the Koran prescribes. Leftists and dissidents are labeled "internal enemies" and are thrown into jail since, according to the WL/YS' favorite anti-imperialist, "Parties are treason" (*London Guardian*, 3 March 1977).

The appearance on UCLA of this dwindling sect brought with it the paranoiac hysteria and general political quackery which comprise its particular diseased brand of fake-Marxism. Unfortunately for the American Healyites, UCLA is not beyond the bounds of the political real world. No sooner did they appear on campus than they met eye-to-eye with the revolutionary politics of the Spartacus Youth League (SYL), the recognized Trotskyists on campus.

The SYL distributed a leaflet which, lest the uninitiated be caught unaware, pointedly detailed some of the more horrendous positions for which the WL/YS is known: the incredible support lavished on Colonel Qaddafi; the support to the reactionary and racist New York City police strike in 1971; their grotesque capitulation to backward prejudices among the working class (expressed by former WL National Secretary Tim Wohlforth as "the working class hates faggots, women's libbers and hippies and so do we"!); its support to Arnold Miller when he ran for president of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) in 1972; the support to Mao's Red Guards in the intra-bureaucratic Chinese clique fight known as the "Cultural Revolution"; and their support to the armies of the Indian bourgeoisie in the 1971 war with Pakistan.

Forced on the defensive, the WL/YS issued a hysterical "Open Letter to UCLA Students" which pleaded with students to "defend our right to fight for our policies on campus and to condemn the provocative actions of the Spartacist League." For these notorious gangsters of the left, the "provocation" was of course the political exposure which forestalled their "born again" re-emergence on campus.

After an emotional defense of Qaddafi, the Healyites showed that their political banditry knows no bounds. Accordingly, our refusal to support Libya's Muslim tyrant "come[s] from the halls of the CIA." Our political criticisms are designed to "prepare the groundwork for further attacks against the Workers League." Our exposure of the WL/YS' criminal support for Miller in 1972 and then Tony Boyle's outspoken anti-communist henchman Leroy Patterson in the recent UMWA elections earns us the unmitigated slander of having remained "silent on the murder of the [coal] miners."

There is of course a political logic to what might otherwise pass for unbridled lunacy. These lies and the utter lack of political principle come after years of amassing a long, sordid record of violence, calumny and provocations worthy of Stalinism. As their organization began to fall apart, the Healyites turned to a repugnant campaign of vile slander against veteran Socialist Workers Party (SWP) leaders Joseph Hansen and George Novack charging them with being accomplices to the GPU and FBI in the murder of Leon Trotsky. And, to be sure, our irreconcilable opposition to these smear tactics (which is not to be

Silent But Deadly

Another blow for bourgeois "decency" has been struck by the pious brethren of the New Jersey State Senate. As their final act the outgoing senators voted unanimously on January 10 to mandate a daily period of "silent meditation" in the New Jersey public schools. (The vote in the State Assembly last February was 63 to 5 in favor.) Pending the signature of Governor Byrne, New Jersey joins Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and Connecticut in evading the Supreme Court's landmark 1963 ruling that prayer in public schools is unconstitutional.

The proposed "silent meditation" encroaches upon the separation of church and state. As Marxists we oppose all forms of compulsory religious worship. We understand that religion mystifies what scientific socialism seeks to unveil: the class struggle which serves as the motor force of history. As he elaborated his revolutionary theories, Marx commented that the beginning of all social criticism is the criticism of religion. To this day, religious obscurantism remains the handmaiden of social reaction.

Marxists do not oppose the right of individuals to practice the religion of their choice. But we are opposed in principle to state enforcement of religious observance. And the New Jersey legislation is nothing more than an attempt to smuggle prayer back into the schools through the back door. Already the New Jersey Education Association, the state teachers union, has gone on record with a statement that "our opposition [to this bill] is based on the fact that this is an indirect means of bringing prayer back into the school system."

Because of their crucial role in socializing and educating children, the schools have become the focal point for a number of trends aiming to reinforce bourgeois authority, the nuclear family and religious obscurantism. The efforts of a California legislator to ban homosexuals from teaching in California public schools is only one example of a campaign to purge the educational system of social "perverts." The Supreme

confused with our *political* opposition to the SWP leaders—we term Joe Hansen "an honest revisionist") labels us as "lawyers for Hansen and Novack" according to the Stalinoid rantings of the WL/YS.

Being determines consciousness, and in the eyes of these politically bankrupt scoundrels surely "everyone does it." Thus, in the Healyites' paranoid worldview



Joint Healyite/Libyan communiqué.

Hansen and Novack are agents of the American and Soviet secret police, the Spartacist tendency is the SWP's lawyer and also an agent of the CIA, and, in short, every leftist must be *someone's* agent.

Perhaps this soothes the consciences of those few Healyites who find the hosannas to Qaddafi hard to swallow. But, it is just these methods of agent-baiting and slander-mongering which set the left up for attack from all quarters.

After years of trying to recruit on the basis of basketball games, discos and free meals the WL/YS is rapidly shrinking into a despised, largely irrelevant sect. These desperate Healyites might hope that their re-entry into active political arenas might breathe some life into their organization's decaying corpse. We, on the other hand, are certain that political exposure will seal their doom. In the WL/YS' journey into oblivion we can only wish them godspeed. And if Qaddafi provides the chariot on which they will ride into the dustbin of history, then it will be his sole contribution to the "revolution." ■

Court's approval of corporal punishment in the schools and the drive by parents' groups to proscribe books for school use are further reflections of the attempt to strengthen the principle of *in loco parentis*.

Even more ominous, the schools have become the focus of a segregationist backlash. School busing became the target of racist violence in Boston and Louisville. Last fall a tokenistic "voluntary" busing plan in Chicago was also met by racist mobilizations—and busing as a means of racial integration has for all intents and purposes been defeated on city streets across the country.

The New Jersey legislation occurs in the context of a recrudescence of "popular religion." Millions of Americans have become self-proclaimed "born-again" Christians—including Jimmy Carter, the man labeled the "best known Baptist deacon in America" by *Newsweek*. Among the unlikely converts to this repulsive wave are former Black Panther leader Eldridge Cleaver (who now tours the country with ex-Nixon aide Charles Colson) and the editor of the sleazy porno magazine *Hustler*, Larry Flynt (who "found" his "faith" through Ruth Stapleton Carter, the President's sister).

Religion has always loomed large in American life. Pre-Civil War America was settled by immigrants from a myriad of religious denominations and sects fleeing persecution—from Puritans to Quakers to Roman Catholics. The later, largely Catholic, waves of Eastern and Southern Europeans further reinforced the tendency toward ethnic-religious identification. The successive waves of immigration and the resulting divisions among the working class were, as Engels noted, an important barrier to proletarian class consciousness in the U.S.

The United States never experienced a deep-rooted social revolution involving a struggle against an entrenched, bureaucratic state church, as in the French and English bourgeois revolutions. While there was

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Young Spartacus

Young Spartacus is the newspaper of the Spartacus Youth League. The Spartacus Youth League, youth section of the Spartacist League, is a socialist youth organization which intervenes in social struggles armed with a working-class program, based on the politics of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky.

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Nothing to Debate with Frontmen for Apartheid!

CHICAGO—On January 25 South African consul Gert Grobler appeared at the University of Chicago (UC) to participate in a "panel discussion" on apartheid along with South African anti-apartheid exile Dennis Brutus. Outside this disgusting "debate" on the "morality" of apartheid thirty Spartacus Youth League (SYL) supporters, together with members of the torn campus divestment group (the UC Action Committee on South Africa) and others marched in a protest demonstration despite near-blizzard conditions.

The demonstration was initiated by the SYL and endorsed by Bill Hampton

Chicago

(the brother of murdered Black Panther leader Fred Hampton), Otis McDonald (the former president of the UC Council of Service Employees International Union Local 321) and leftist professor Richard Libman-Rubenstein. This demonstration raised the united-front slogans: "Protest South African Government Representative Grobler!" and "Nothing to Debate with Butchers of Soweto, Assassins of Stephen Biko!" While UC Action Committee members raised the liberal-moralist slogan of divestment, SYL placards put forward militant slogans such as "Mass Murder is Not Debatable!" "Avenge Soweto!" and "Smash Apartheid—For Workers Revolution!"

Grobler was doubtless grateful for the opportunity to defend the hated regime he represents on a college campus. And the ones to thank were the social democrats of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), youth group of the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), for they were indeed the "best builders" of this disgusting spectacle. The YSA is known from coast to coast as a shrill advocate of total boycotts and bans on everything South African—from sardines to stocks. These reformists have hopes that the divestment issue will provide them, at long last, with a "broad, mass" social-patriotic milieu to replace the class-collaborationist antiwar fronts they built during the Vietnam war.

In its unending quest for respectability the YSA spoke out to advocate not that apartheid opponents "boycott" the speech of Vorster's lackey, but that they *build* the event. At an Action Committee forum on divestment the leading UC YSAer gushed: "The YSA is building this debate. I think everybody should come to this debate. I think it would be great." (This enthusiasm is also to be found in an article lauding the debate in the February 24 issue of the SWP's *Militant*—which of course makes no mention of the protest demonstration.)

According to the logic of these junior reformists, the spectacle would help "expose" the apartheid regime—as if the universally reviled Vorster government (from which even imperialist chief Carter seeks to distance himself publicly) needed to be further "exposed" after the highly-publicized Soweto massacre, the prison murder of Biko and the recent wave of bannings! In reality, the YSA succeeded only in exposing itself as the *right* wing of the liberal divestment milieu.

For Marxists and all opponents of apartheid the presence of Grobler at the UC campus should serve as a clarion call to militant protest. In reality, what is there to debate with a representative of apartheid terror: the greater or lesser

degree of terrorization and atomization of the black masses? The relative merits of urban labor compounds as opposed to squalid bantustans? The optimal length of labor contracts for indentured black miners?

Hardly. Solidarity with the embattled black South African masses requires nothing less than demonstrations against these agents of oppression. Grobler as a frontman for this regime is just such a representative and should feel the wrath of opponents of white supremacism. But for the groveling liberals of the YSA, providing a platform for apartheid is "great."

Thus the YSA not only argued and voted against the SYL's proposal to the UC Action Committee for a united-front protest, but also opposed a muddle-headed "compromise" favoring both a debate *and* a demonstration. While the Action Committee voted down the SYL's proposal by a narrow margin, around half of its most active members were sickened by the prospect of sitting politely for Grobler and showed up to participate in the January 25 demonstration. As one member put it: "The Action Committee could not have been more split on this issue."

The SYL's initiation of the protest demonstration elicited an angry response from one Bryan Silberman, a South African student at UC who is a member of the liberal white-supremacist Progressive Federal Party. Writing in the *Maroon*, UC's student newspaper, he excoriated the SYL for seeking to "deny to a diplomatic representative of the South African government his freedom of speech. . . ." Predictably, the YSA has declared that it agrees with Silberman on this issue.

In a response printed in the 3 February *Maroon*, the SYL wrote:

"Contrary to Mr. Silberman's accusation that the protest stifled Grobler's 'freedom of speech,' free speech was not the issue at all. The Vorster regime represented by Grobler has not confined itself to expressing opinions; it carries out bloody actions against the oppressed. Grobler's appearance made necessary a protest against that regime and its actions."

Keystone



South African police unleashed on Soweto demonstrator.

The letter goes on to point out that "Silberman's valiant defense of the allegedly endangered 'rights' of the persecuted South African government" is closely related with his party's positions:

"The Progressive Federal Party of South African diamond and gold magnate

Harry Oppenheimer is Vorster's official loyal opposition. Proposing the modification, not the destruction, of apartheid, it opposes universal suffrage, covers for Bantustanization in the name of federalism and historically has opposed full trade-union rights for unskilled black workers. The Progressives' position reflects the entire bourgeoisie's fear of the enormous potential revolutionary power of the black proletariat."

While the "divestment tide" has been ebbing elsewhere, it has only now penetrated the ivy-covered walls of UC. UC invests in numerous companies with

ANN ARBOR—In a similar case, another official from the South African consulate was invited here to attend a "University Forum on Corporate Investments in South Africa." Called by the University of Michigan administration, the forum was in response to demands that the university sell all its holdings in corporations which invest in South Africa.

The presence of the apartheid mouthpiece, Deon Erasmus, was no doubt intended to fulfill the conference's task of

Majofra/Contact



Corpse of Stephen Biko: anti-apartheid leader murdered in prison.

South African branches or interests, and has an encrusted conservative administration which openly declares that "the most important thing about South Africa" is "to keep the place from moving faster toward an open revolution" (UC president John Wilson in the *Maroon*, 10 February.)

But the divestment movement has powerful benefactors. The support for divestment from the reactionary student newspaper the *Maroon* is only a pale reflection of the "human rights" chorus among the American bourgeoisie. Already the Democrat-dominated Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee on Africa has called on Carter to curb American investment in South Africa. Donald Woods, exiled editor of the white liberal South African daily *The World*, had told the subcommittee that only a total boycott of South Africa, including a policy of financial ostracism, can "bring the Pretoria regime to its senses" (quoted, uncritically, in the *Militant*, 10 February.)

The divestment movement is marching to the tune of Jimmy Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" campaign, a campaign aimed at refurbishing U.S. imperialism's "moral" image. The political logic of the moral gesture demanded by the pro-divestors in no way aids the embattled South African masses. Rather, it is to counterpose "good" exploitation (what the *Maroon* calls "ethical investment choices") to "bad," "unethical" exploitation; "good" bosses to "bad" bosses. Thus, U.S. imperialism and UC—the birthplace of the atom bomb dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki and of the Pinochet/Friedman "shock treatment"—are charged with "legitimizing" South Africa.

The implicit social-patriotism of the

presenting "all the viewpoints" on the issue. As was to be expected a large number of "human rights" liberals and "radicals" eagerly turned out to debate with the representative of the bloody

Ann Arbor

apartheid regime. A General Motors executive was also invited to "explain" his company's role in the oppression and exploitation of black workers in South Africa.

With the slogan "Nothing to Debate With the Murderers of Steve Biko and Soweto Militants" as the basis, the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) initiated an Ad Hoc Committee Against Debate with Apartheid Murderers. On January 31 this Committee organized a united-front demonstration in front of the lecture hall where the South African official was to speak. Among the endorsers of the demonstration were the Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency, the Committee for a Democratic Union, David Goodman (co-editor of the *Michigan Daily*), Harold Cruse (UM Professor of History), the SYL and Spartacist League, the Washtenaw County Coalition Against Apartheid (WCCAA)—a motley local clot which includes the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB)—as well as a host of smaller local organizations.

The demonstration was well attended, attracting about sixty people. In addition to the Committee slogan, the SYL raised slogans such as "Black Trade Unions Are the Key," "Expropriate GM—the Main Enemy is at Home" and "For a Black-Centered Workers and

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Near East...

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(PLO) would demonstrate its willingness to play ball and recognize the existence of Israel. American objections to new settlements in the West Bank, Golan Heights and Gaza Strip coupled with threats to reduce military aid did not go unnoticed in Israel. With a cooling off of its warm relations with Washington and an unceasing 25-year history of scandal, the so-called "Labor" Party fell from power.

The result was the election of Begin—the former Irgun terrorist whose advocacy of Arab genocide in the 1930's and 1940's came to fruition in 1948. Accompanying Begin were figures such as Ariel Sharon whose stated intent is to settle 3 million more Jews in the occupied territories by the year 2000. While the Likud government's settlement policy is only the continuation of Moshe Dayan's under the post-1967 "Labor" government, the accelerated pace combined with Begin's intransigence have augmented the tensions between the Zionist rulers and the U.S.

Israel: Another South Africa?

Israel's foreign policy continually allies it with colonial settler peoples and those who have been "abandoned" by imperialism, from the French colons in Algeria to Vietnamese refugees (the only non-Jews actively sought out for the "promised land"). Israel's view of itself as a beleaguered fortress leads it to identify with what it sees as the only successful white colonial settler state: South Africa. Clearly, Israel would like to reduce its now near-total dependence on U.S. imperialism. To do so requires establishing its independent economic and military viability—rather than living off of reparations, gifts and loans. The resources for such economic independence lie in the occupied territories.

Before the 1967 war, Israel was suffering from a severe economic crisis, exacerbated by a rate of emigration which was exceeding the "ingathering." But the occupation and development of the war territories as quasi-"bantustans" provided the Israeli bourgeoisie with reserves of cheap labor and a captive market for its manufactured goods. The 1967 war raised the prospect of creating a privileged caste position for Jews, analogous to South African whites, by the incorporation and super-exploitation of Arab labor.

By 1975, the Palestinian population in Israel and the occupied territories had grown to 1,650,000 (as opposed to 2,960,000 Jews). Approximately 15 percent of the labor force in Israel today, both legal and illegal, is drawn from among the Arab population of the occupied territories alone. According to Mohammed Abu Shilbaya, writing in a magazine published by Israeli "doves," "Statistics also indicate that the Palestinian worker's output is at times

fourfold that of the Jewish worker's.... Nevertheless the Palestinian worker earns about IL. (Israeli pound, equal to U.S. \$ 10) 35 for a day's work, against IL. 65 paid his Jewish counterpart. All this in addition to the fact that the Palestinian worker has no labour or union rights enjoyed by the Jewish worker. Jewish industrialists profit each year no less than IL. 1.5 billion due to the disparity between Palestinian and Jewish pay, not to mention additional millions saved by denying Palestinian workers many of their rights.

New Outlook, December 1977/January 1978

Abu Shilbaya also notes that "Jews have begun [sic] to develop a taste for easy work, thereby shifting the burden of hard labor onto the shoulders of the Palestinian workers" and raises the spectre of "the greater Israel nightmare" as a "latter-day Sparta or a second Rhodesia."

Any analogies to Rhodesia and South Africa must, however, take into account the limited and qualitatively subordinate role that non-Hebrew labor plays in the economy. To begin with Arab labor is a distinct minority as opposed to South Africa where blacks make up the proletariat and peasantry and whites are concentrated in the bourgeoisie, middle class and labor aristocracy. The two-to-one pay differential between Hebrew and Arab workers is insignificant compared to the twenty-to-one differential in the South African mines. In this respect Israel somewhat resembles the Union of South Africa in the early decades of the century when whites were found at all social strata and there was still a considerable white unskilled population and proletariat.

Moreover, South Africa is geographically insulated and faces no appreciable military threat from Angola or Zambia. Israel's neighbors, on the other hand, possess military capacities more approximate to the Zionist state's. Tiny Israel simply does not have the industrial base or natural resources of South Africa. Whereas South Africa was able to create a modern industrial state and build up its military prowess, Israeli militarism has led to severe economic dislocation and inflation.

In every aspect of Israeli life one sees a rightward shift corresponding to the acquisition of the occupied territories and the 1.1 million Arab inhabitants. For much of the early Zionist movement with its utopian-socialist aspirations the policies of Begin and Dayan would be inconceivable. The legacy of the 1948 war was not a Jewish state, but a binational state ruled by a government devoted to producing a Jewish "homeland" through discrimination and the expropriation of Arab land. The occupied territories serve to aggravate this situation, producing a tension between the desire to create an exclusively Jewish state and the economic need to exploit Arab labor.

At the same time the determination of the Zionists to keep the West Bank should not be seen in purely economic

Vioujard/Gamma-Liaison



Lash-up of the "Rejectionists": Arafat (left) and "Marxist" advisor Hawatme of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine with new-found patron Qaddafi.

terms. The 1967 war was fought just as much to secure "national unity" on the Israeli side as the 1973 war was to secure it on the Egyptian side. Commenting on the 1967 war, Ezer Weizmann, an Israeli general and Begin's number two in the present government, admitted that he would,

"accept the claim that there was no threat of destruction against the existence of the state of Israel. This does not mean, however, that one could have refrained from attacking the Egyptians, the Jordanians and the Syrians. Had we not done that, the state of Israel would have ceased to exist according to the scale, spirit and quality she now embodies."

Haaretz, 2 December 1967; quoted in Noam Chomsky, *Peace in the Middle East?* [emphasis in original]

Behind the Infatih

Despite decades of pseudo-socialist, pan-Arabic and anti-Zionist effusions from Cairo, the Sadat visits to Jerusa-

The regime which came to power under Nasser in 1952 was soon caught on the horns of a dilemma. Nasser had temporarily broken his links with imperialism as embodied and expressed through the old landlord/bourgeois class (who were simply pensioned off and stripped of their political power). Yet despite the extensive nationalization of industry Nasser had not created a new social order. The old parasites had merely been pushed aside in an abortive attempt to create a modernized capitalist state. Under Nasser, the extremely limited anti-imperialist measures, such as the nationalization of the Suez canal, could only be taken in conjunction with the most vicious regimentation of the masses. In its own way, the fragile bonapartist regime sensed the truth of the Trotskyist tenet that struggle for such democratic measures as agrarian reform could only be truly achieved by an anti-capitalist social revolution. The Egyptian colonels tried to maintain a precarious balance between the old

Katz/Jerusalem Post



Demonstrating workers in Tel Aviv during November strike wave.

Claude Salhani/Syigma



Cairo demonstrations, January 1977.

lem and Washington are the necessary end product of Nasserism. The key to this seeming paradox lies in the mass revolt of 1977 in Egypt. The working masses rejected Sadat's call for "struggle, resolution and sacrifice" and refused to accept drastic price hikes decreed by "Nasser's poodle." Mass uprisings led to the sacking and burning of police stations, government offices and the nightclubs and shops catering to Cairo's garish *nouveaux riches*. After two days of bloody streetfighting, 79 were reported dead.

Whereas in 1973 Sadat had borrowed Nasser's stratagem of deflecting social discontent onto military adventures, four years later this option was ruled out for military considerations. Thus the 1973 "Hero of the Crossing" became the "world's foremost peace-maker" in 1977. Sadat's "sacred mission" was but another bold ploy to distract the war-weary Egyptian masses from the widespread misery caused by Egypt's continuing economic crisis.

The upheaval of 1977 was the greatest mass revolt in Egypt since the explosion of "Black Friday" almost exactly 25 years before. The January 1952 upheaval was the opening shot in a struggle which overthrew King Farouk and militarily ousted British imperialism from Egypt and eventually from the Suez Canal.

ruling caste and the increasingly radicalized working class and peasantry. Ultimately it was the dictates of capitalism and the world market that sealed the doom of Nasser's "socialism." But even at the height of radical Nasserism any attempt to establish independent trade-union and peasant organizations was quickly suppressed by the state.

Nasser's much-touted land "reform," which benefitted only five percent of the peasantry, soon bred a rural bourgeoisie no less rapacious than the old landlords. Capitalist anarchy in the agrarian sector was compounded by the burden of a stupendous state bureaucracy. Economic crisis required a return to the capitalist world market to sell cotton, secure investment credits, etc. The alternative of bartering cotton for Soviet goods soon proved inadequate. Shortly before Nasser's death in 1970, major concessions had been made to the private sector and the regime had accepted the U.S. Rogers Plan for negotiation with Israel.

Upon coming to power, Sadat recognized that an enormous social explosion was brewing in Egypt. The alternative to social revolution was a direct political, as well as economic, reconnection to the imperialist marketplace—and in particular to the U.S. This, however, required the expulsion of the Russians who had become

the surrogate professional/technical force for the Egyptian army and its main source of military hardware. It also required economic "liberalization"—the *Infitah*, or "opening," à la Milton Friedman and the International Monetary Fund—and that Sadat come to terms with Israel and conclude some kind of peace.

The Palestinians and the Rejection Front

Palestinian nationalists have been in the forefront of those branding Sadat as a traitor. But Sadat is a traitor only to those who have sold him as an ally in the struggle for Palestinian liberation—to those who joined Sadat's struggle for another slice of land and supported Egypt in the 1973 war.

Among the most sharply stung by the Jerusalem trip has been the Palestine Liberation Organization. The so-called "trip of treason" dealt yet another blow to the PLO doctrine of supporting the Arab regimes in their sordid territorial squabbles with Israel. This is the doctrine of the Palestinian nationalist petty bourgeoisie, led by Arafat, which in 1970 paralyzed the Palestinian guerrillas based in Jordan until Hussein actually launched his drive to expel them—culminating in the Black September massacre.

Recognizing the essentially bourgeois nature of the PLO, the Carter administration originally hoped to stabilize the situation by pressuring Israel into giving up the West Bank and establishing a PLO-dominated West Bank mini-state. But since the PLO could not accept Begin's "self-rule" or Sadat's plan of Jordanian rule, Carter's foreign policy advisor Brzezinski explained, "We have done everything to encourage moderation on the part of the PLO... But they haven't taken us up. So it's bye, bye, PLO" (*Paris Match*, 6 January).

Barred from the negotiations by the common hostility of Begin, Sadat and Carter to an actual Palestinian state of any kind—as opposed to vague rhetoric about "entities" and "homelands"—the PLO has found itself condemning the trip in alliance with the likes of Libyan madman Qaddafi. Abandoned by Sadat the PLO entered the "Front of Steadfastness and Confrontation" which met in Algiers on February 2-4. There the PLO, Libya, South Yemen and Syria called for the "achievement of strategic balance between Syria and the Zionist enemy."

This call reflects nothing but the military needs of Syria, Egypt's main ally in the 1967 and 1973 wars. Syria correctly saw that the possibility of a separate peace between Sadat and Begin would give the Zionist military a free hand vis-à-vis Syria. Accordingly Syria rejoined the ranks of the "rejectionists" and was even willing to bring its traditional enemy Iraq into the lash-up. Iraq, however, proceeded to demonstrate once again that its militant rhetoric was inversely proportional to its actual military involvement against Israel, and announced that it considered an anti-Egyptian front "premature" and essentially walked out of the conference.

Sadat's abandonment of even the pretense of defending Palestinian national aspirations caused a reshuffling of alliances throughout the Palestinian nationalist organizations. George Habash's Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP); which had been previously allied with Iraq, now has switched its support to Syria. The PFLP strategy is essentially a more militant version of the PLO's; it merely relies on the "radical" Arab states, such as Iraq or Syria to take on Israel. The treachery of this policy was fully illustrated when Syria attacked the Palestinian refugee camps in the course of "quelling" the communal war in Lebanon.

In 1975 the PFLP had hailed Syria as having a "historical chance to lead the Arab masses" (*PFLP Bulletin*, July/August 1975). Then, when the Ba'athist

Protest Chicago "Outside Agitator" Trial!

Defend SYL Activist Sandor John!

CHICAGO, February 24—The campaign to protest the anti-communist ban, arrest and prosecution of SYL activist Sandor John by the University of Illinois Chicago Circle (UICC) administration continues to gather support. The arrest of John on November 22 is seen not only as a provocative McCarthy-style attack on a communist spokesman, but as the high point of the administration's attempt to ride roughshod over all campus dissent. The arrest follows the victimization of left-wing faculty members such as Julia LeSage and attempts to rip apart minority admissions programs at UICC. The defense of comrade John is today the focus for the defense of the democratic rights of the entire campus community.

Even before the arrest last November, the Ad Hoc Committee to Stop Administration Harassment launched a campaign against the increasingly brazen administration attacks on campus organizations. With the arrest of John for the "crime" of being a "non-student" and distributing socialist literature on campus, the Committee immediately took up the slogans of "Defend Sandor John!" and "Drop the charges!" When lawyer's motions are presented in Chicago's Misdemeanor Jury Court on February 28, the Ad Hoc Committee will be holding a protest demonstration in front of the courthouse demanding that the criminal trespass charges be dropped at once.

The Ad Hoc Committee was initiated by the SYL and currently includes the UICC Student Government, Circle Women's Liberation Union and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA). The Committee has gained the support of 23 UICC faculty members and numerous prominent figures and organizations from the Chicago area, including the National Lawyers Guild, the Socialist Party of Illinois and the Socialist Labor Party. Nationally known figures who have endorsed the Committee in recent weeks include: Nat Hentoff, columnist; Robert Meeropol of the National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case; exiled South African poet Dennis Brutus; and Jim Grant of the North Carolina Political Prisoners Committee.

The continuing flow of endorsements and protest letters from around the

country, together with coverage in local campus, black and "alternative" newspapers, should give the UICC administration reason to rue the day they had John arrested. When the Ad Hoc Committee organized a campus protest meeting on January 30, Sandor John appeared to address the fifty participants in open defiance of the administration's "ban." At this meeting John was joined by speakers from the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC—a class-struggle, anti-sectarian defense organization which is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League), the YSA and Circle Women's Liberation Union—as well as Paul Bigman, regional vice president of the National Lawyers Guild, and leftist author and Roosevelt University professor Richard Libman-Rubenstein.

An interesting sidelight was provided by those who failed to appear at the protest meeting. The scheduled speaker from the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), which has decided to fight the violation of John's rights in civil court, reneged on his appearance. The ACLU backed out of the protest meeting for fear that its appearance would provoke angry denunciations of the ACLU's principal activity in Chicago today: its role in "winning" the "right" of Chicago Nazis to march displaying swastikas in the suburbs of Skokie, an area where among the many Jewish residents are numerous survivors of Hitler's concentration camps.

PDC spokesman Mary Jo Marino told the meeting that, while the ACLU's legal collaboration in the defense of John's rights is indeed welcome, the PDC, like the SYL, will continue to denounce the civil libertarians' championing of fascists' "rights." The civil libertarians may worship the "scriptures" of bourgeois law but, as Marino pointed out, proponents of class-struggle defense understand that working people can only defend their democratic rights through independent working-class action—including the smashing of the fascist terrorists.

The impressive growth of support for the defense of John renders all the more

pathetic the attempts of another "abstainer" at the meeting, the Southside New American Movement (NAM—a clot of armchair New Left social democrats), to lightmindedly undermine the united defense effort. In a recent anti-SYL letter to the "sisters" of the Circle Women's Liberation Union, NAM uses as a pretext for ducking out of the Committee the charge that the SYL had the gall to speak up at a November 18 Board of Trustees meeting. NAM deferred to the "sisters" on whether to remain in the Committee, and much to their chagrin, Circle Women's Liberation refused to turn their backs on the principled defense effort and re-enlisted NAM in the Ad Hoc Committee.

The harassment campaign at UICC goes hand in hand with the determination of the Trustees to transform the Circle campus from an institution with a largely minority and working-class population into a more "elite" school. At a Board of Trustees hearing on February 14, an SYL spokesman linked the arrest of John to the administration's discriminatory plans to implement a "selective" admissions index, slash minority recruitment and remedial programs and raise tuition. The SYL has become known on campus for its demand for open admissions with no tuition and a state stipend for all. In answer to the charge that the SYL had disrupted the November 18 meeting, the SYL spokesman noted that the Trustees had adjourned their "open" meeting rather than face student protesters and allow Sandor John to contest the lies about the anti-communist ban that had been slapped down on him. The speaker from the SYL then demanded that the charges against John be dropped, the ban ended and the harassment of left and campus groups halted.

The campaign against this witchhunting attack will continue. But the defense of democratic rights in the face of bourgeois repression is extremely costly. *Young Spartacus* urges its readers to contribute to the Sandor John Defense Fund. Make checks payable to the Partisan Defense Committee (earmark: Sandor John Defense Fund) and mail to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 6729, Main P.O., Chicago, IL 60680. ■

colonels slaughtered thousands of Palestinians in Lebanon, the PFLP announced that "Syria's President Assad thought that in strengthening his power base; conditions would be ripe for accepting the American 'Peaceful Settlement,'" (*PFLP Bulletin*, March/April 1976). Later, they correctly saw that "Syria launches attacks on Sadat not because of the latter's capitulationist position; simply because he left Syria out in the cold."

Now, however, the PFLP has come full circle and has welcomed Syria back into the "Progressive Arab Front." The PFLP has entered into a new Palestinian guerrilla lash-up with Al Fatah and As Saiqa, Syria's puppet Palestinian force, which only last year was murdering PFLP members in Lebanon.

The petty-bourgeois nationalists of the PFLP themselves want only to create a "radical" state along the lines of Nasser's Egypt or Iraq today. Despite their "Marxist-Leninist" trimmings, they offer no class perspective for the

Palestinian proletariat of the West Bank, Jordan or elsewhere. This too is the reason for their view of Israeli society as one reactionary mass. The class perspective of an alliance of the Hebrew and Arab proletariats is not only completely alien to them but stands counterposed to the nationalist ambitions of the would-be bonapartists. Thus they are doomed to remain the camp-followers of the Qaddafis and the Ba'athists, who long ago demonstrated their willingness to suppress Palestinians in order to maintain their fragile bonapartist regimes.

For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

The workers uprisings in Egypt in January 1977 and the strike wave in Israel last October exploded the myth of "national unity" and demonstrated the reality of the class struggle within these societies. Of course these were bread-and-butter struggles against cuts in the

standards of living and not in themselves political challenges to the regimes. Yet they point the way to the truth that the enemy of the working masses is at home, that their main enemy is their own ruling class. There was an episodic convergence in Jerusalem this fall between Hebrew workers demonstrating against the economic policies of Milton Friedman and Minister of Finance Ehrlich, and Arabs from the West Bank protesting against the occupation. They came together before the Knesset and chanted "Begin Go Home!" While this does not show that the Hebrew working class has transcended its deeply ingrained chauvinism, it was nonetheless a temporary recognition on both parts that they share a common enemy.

The road forward in the Near East does not lie with the reactionary nationalism of the contending bourgeois regimes. The just and democratic resolution of the conflicting national

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DETROIT, February 25—The Nazi thugs that surfaced in this city two months ago escalated their racist, anti-Semitic provocations last Sunday when one of them viciously attacked Jan Friedman, a 25-year-old supporter of the Workers Defense Committee (WDC), slashing her leg three times with a straight-edged razor. The assault occurred after four of these fascist goons had been frightened away by 30 angry militants and forcibly ejected from a meeting of the Labor-Community Council Against the Nazis—a council initiated by Local 600 of the United Auto Workers (UAW).

The council meeting was one of several gatherings and demonstrations called to protest the presence of the National Socialist Movement. These fascists made their first appearance last December by opening a "bookstore" on Detroit's Southwest side. Containing not books but Nazi and Confederate flags, pictures of Hitler, race-hate posters and buttons, and an arsenal of weapons, this fascist bunker is the base from which the Nazis hope to launch their campaign of terror against blacks, Jews, homosexuals and union militants.

The racist filth that the National Socialists have been spewing out is indicative of their murderous aims. Stickers reading "Niggers Beware," "We Hate" and "Hitler Lives" have been distributed throughout the city. One flyer features a microwave oven and the words "Jew Dwarf: There's an oven in your future." Nazi "captain" Bill Russell recently told newsmen: "I don't believe in majority control in the United States. I believe in white control. We are fighting the same kind of war that was fought by Germany to get rid of the Jews."

Clearly emboldened by their ability to maintain a foothold in the hostile city of Detroit, these fascists are not contented with merely handing out their propaganda filth. On January 29 they turned out for a Hillel Foundation showing of the movie "Night and Fog," harassing the audience and denouncing the film's graphic documentation of the Nazi holocaust as "actors playing dead"! The following day these same thugs appeared on the largely black and working-class Wayne State University campus, slinking away only after they had been identified and intimidated by the markedly hostile crowd.

The rapid escalation of Nazi activity in Detroit dramatically underscores the seriousness of the fascist threat and the necessity to crush these swine before they up the ante once more. Currently the Hitler-loving fascists are little more than despised, atomized sects, unimportant to the U.S. bourgeoisie which can still maintain its rule through the established institutions of bourgeois democracy. But this only underscores the need to smash the fascist menace before it spreads. Fascist forces flourish in periods when a growing social crisis can no longer be regulated and contained by the "democratic process"—when the proletariat threatens bourgeois rule but is not mobilized by its reformist or vacillating misleaders for a decisive struggle for power. Fascism rears its head when the bourgeoisie begins to lose confidence in the capacity of the "democratic" institutions and the "normal" repressive apparatus (i.e., the police and army) to preserve the bourgeois 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.

Emboldened Fascists

Already the Nazis and Ku Klux Klan have begun to crawl out from the woodwork, feeding off the right-wing shift in bourgeois political opinion and the economic disarray which has pitted white worker against black in a deadly fight over quickly decreasing jobs and social services. Emboldened by such

DETROIT NAZIS SLASH WOMAN AT UAW MEETING

LABOR MUST DRIVE OUT FASCIST SCUM!

Workers Vanguard



events as the racist anti-busing crusades in Boston, Louisville and Los Angeles, and the vicious attacks on black people who venture into Chicago's lily-white Marquette Park, the fascists are attempting to enlarge their public presence and recruit the future executioners of workers and the oppressed. As Spartacist League (SL) spokesman Jeff Wallace stated in a Detroit radio show this January, "If the labor movement lets the fascists get away with it, they will only get bolder and bolder."

A statement of Nazi leader Goebbels on the assent of the German fascists from an isolated sect to the blood-drenched murderers of millions emphasizes the need to resolutely deal with the fascists now when they are small:

"If the enemy had known how weak we were, it would probably have reduced us to jelly... It would have crushed in the blood the very beginning of our work."

In the 1930's and 1940's the UAW mobilized its ranks in Flying Squadrons against the fascist activities of the Silver Shirts and Black Legion and decisively drove these vermin out of Detroit. That the Nazis can now openly organize in this heavily black and proletarian city, central headquarters of the UAW, is a dangerous provocation that cannot be ignored.

For over two months Detroit's community organizations, ethnic groups, Jewish survivor groups and leftists have flooded the city with outcries of protest and indignation against the fascists. A court suit has been started to evict the Nazis, and a firebombing of the "bookstore" was attempted. But the refusal of the pro-

capitalist labor bureaucracy—which commands unions encompassing hundreds of thousands of workers—to decisively mobilize against the Nazis has allowed the craven stormtroopers to maintain their foothold.

Feeling the pressure from the union members and no longer able to ignore the existence of the Nazi lair only blocks from the giant River Rouge complex, labor leaders finally spoke up. The 30,000-member Local 600 initiated the Labor-Community Council Against the Nazis (recently renamed the Get the Nazis Out Committee) which has been endorsed by over 30 union locals and minority organizations. However, in the meetings of the council that have been held to date, the labor fakers demonstrated their unwillingness to go beyond bluster in combatting the Nazi threat.

In contrast to a motion for a mass united-front picket line at Nazi headquarters raised by Local 600 militant Frank Hicks at the first council meeting, the union hacks voted to appeal to "city, county and state agencies" to carry out actions against the fascists. At a subsequent meeting chairman Paul Boatin ruled out of order a proposal for the immediate mobilization of the Detroit labor movement and minority organizations which had been put forward by rank-and-file militants in Local 140 at Chrysler's Dodge Truck plant and which had been endorsed by over 550 UAW members. Fearing that the militancy of the assembled auto workers would get beyond their control, the bureaucrats tabled the motion to one of their 15 tightly controlled committees (where it will no doubt be conveniently

"forgotten"). Instead, the meeting was adjourned after adopting do-nothing proposals for authorizing "Get Nazis Out" bumper stickers and a rally to be held in over a month.

Perhaps most demonstrative of the UAW tops' cringing refusal to take on the fascists, however, is the fact that the Nazis have twice shown up at union-sponsored meetings and that members of the bureaucracy both times intervened to protect them from the just wrath of angry militants. The last time Boatin himself stepped in, allowing the Nazis to escape and perpetrate their razor-wielding attack!

Detroit's union members have the numerical and social weight to smash the Nazi scum. UAW militants must have no illusion in the bureaucrats' do-nothing bluster. Rather they must demand immediate labor action coordinated by a delegated steering committee which could most effectively implement the anti-fascist campaign.

Courts, Cops and "Free Speech"

The unions' reliance on the government is echoed by a number of ostensibly socialist groups, most notably the Communist Labor Party (CLP). While Boatin & Co. demand "police protection for the residents of the area in which the Nazi storm troop headquarters is operating," the CLP has launched a petition drive calling on Detroit mayor Coleman Young to ban the Nazis. One of the CLP's associated groups, the Detroit Equal Rights Committee, went so far as to solicit "support in condemn-

Workers Vanguard



Workers Vanguard



Detroit Nazi provocation has sparked protest demonstrations outside fascists' headquarters (left). Stormtrooper flees from confrontation at UAW-sponsored anti-Nazi meeting (opposite). Minutes later, razor-wielding fascist set upon Jan Friedman, seriously slashing her leg (above).

ing" the Nazis from the Detroit Police Officers Association (DPOA). After all, these reformists explain, "the DPOA must form one of the community's front lines of defense!"

But every recent case shows that the bourgeois state has and will continue to stand by the fascists. The Illinois courts recently placed the burden of avoiding the swastika-clad Nazis' march through Skokie on the concentration camp survivors of this predominantly Jewish community. In cities such as Houston the practice of police exchanging their blue uniforms for white sheets at sunset is notorious. In fact in Detroit it is Mayor Young's cops, billy clubs in hand, who guard the National Socialist "bookstore." As Hicks pointed out in a leaflet to a Local 600 unit meeting on January 17,

"A government which produced the murderous STRESS squads and convicted the Trenton 7, which consistently harasses and assaults minority and labor organizations cannot be trusted to protect us from fascist thugs."

While the SL/SYL supports the demand that the Nazi goon who attacked the WDC supporter be arrested and prosecuted, we do not call on the Detroit City Council or its mayor to outlaw the fascists. Government bans on fascist activity would only take place as a precedent to victimize the left and labor movement—a far more frequent target of the bourgeois state which has consistently ignored the atrocities committed by Klan and Nazi outfits.

"Who Could Possibly Support Free Speech for these People?"

To the right of even the conservative

UAW bureaucracy on this issue is the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and its youth group, the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA). These reformists have been the foremost advocates on the left of the fascists' "right" of free speech. On more than one occasion the SWP has physically protected fascist bands from threatening leftists, arguing that

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

—*International Socialist Review*, August 1975

In 1975 the YSA responded to an SYL-initiated demonstration at San Francisco State University which drove the Nazis off campus by labeling the event "unfortunate," "disruptive" and "counterproductive." At the University of Houston the same year SWP/YSA supporters intervened to hush a hostile, largely black audience at a class in which Klan leader Scott Nelson was speaking. Just this summer SWP members in Detroit physically guarded members of the fascist grouplet Breakthrough from angry demonstrators at a NOW rally.

However, recent events have left the civil libertarians of the SWP/YSA deeply isolated in defending the fascists' "right" to exist. In San Francisco last year, hundreds of Auschwitz survivors trashed a Nazi bookstore set up in their neighborhood. The overwhelmingly Jewish residents of Skokie, Illinois responded angrily to the attempt of Frank Collins' stormtroopers to "free-

ly" march into the suburb. A third of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) resigned over its defense of the Nazi scum. And now even the "militant" rhetoric of the UAW bureaucracy in Detroit in response to the Nazi threat has outstripped SWP.

Of course the SWP's position has not been aided any by the Nazis' latest piece of propaganda—a button bearing a swastika and the words "Free Speech." And the SWP supporters present at the first UAW-sponsored anti-fascist meeting visibly squirmed in their seats when Paul Boatin waved a Nazi leaflet, shouting, "Is there anyone here who could possibly support free speech for these people?"

In an attempt to cover over this embarrassing reality, SWP's Fred Feldman adopted a more militant tone in an article which declared that "the civil liberties of the Nazis are not the real issue in Skokie, Camp Pendleton or anywhere else these vermin raise their heads" (*Militant*, 10 February). At the second anti-Nazi meeting, SWP supporters insisted they had never had a position in favor of free speech for fascists. And most recently YSA members in Detroit have attempted to distance themselves from their comrade who admonished students in Houston to politely listen to Nelson's racist ravings. After all, they told SYL supporters at Wayne State, he is "only one member."

But even if these Sunday socialists could disappear their three *Education for Socialists* bulletins primarily devoted to polemics against the SL/SYL's

positions and activities aimed at preventing the fascists from gaining a platform, the SWP/YSA cannot wish away their three-year role as the most consistent defenders of "democratic rights" for the Nazis and Klan. Moreover, the SWP/YSA's disgusting civil libertarianism has not been altered, and in practice their position remains the same.

At a January 30 "Speak Out in Response to the Nazi Threat" sponsored by the SWP/YSA's front group, the Detroit Student Coalition Against Racism, SWP organizer Mack Warren defended the right of the Nazis to attend the meeting, if only they would abide by the procedural rules! The *Militant* article on the "Speak Out" (17 February) not only failed to mention the question of free speech, but completely whitewashed the disgusting role of the ACLU in defending the fascist scum, uncritically quoting an ACLU speaker who "warned against calling on the government to shut down the Nazi office. He argued that this course would endanger the civil liberties for anti-Nazis as well." The SWP deliberately equates the call for resolute action to smash the fascists with the reformist demand that the bourgeois state ban the ultra-rightists in order to justify their own civil libertarianism.

No Platform for Fascists!

Against the rotten liberalism of the SWP/YSA, the SL/SYL have maintained that no platform must be granted to the fascist swine. The Nazis do not recruit through discussion, political campaigning or any other peaceful procedure. They grow by demonstrating their strength and intentions in action: the terrorization of blacks and Jews, the smashing of the labor movement, the extermination of communists and the suppression of democratic rights and institutions. The SWP/YSA's insistence that these vermin must be "debated" and "exposed" only encourages the fascists to organize and recruit and politically disarms the working class by building liberal illusions that the fascists will be suppressed by the "democratic process."

The impotence of the SWP/YSA's approach is amply "exposed" by history. A statement by Hitler in the 1920's is indicative:

"My men rushed into the attack like wolves. They hurled themselves on their adversaries in packs of eight or ten and began to drive them out of the hall by showering them with blows. The hubbub lasted 20 minutes. By this time, our adversaries, of whom there were perhaps 7 or 800, had most of them been thrown out of the hall and driven down the stairs by my men, of whom there were less than 50.... That evening we really learned many things."

—quoted in Daniel Guerin, *Fascism and Big Business*

In polemicizing against the SYL's strategy of mobilizing the trade unions and black organizations in defense guards to combat fascist attacks, the SWP/YSA has counterposed "mass countermobilizations" of "progressive" (i.e., liberal bourgeois) forces. Yet for more than a month the SWP/YSA abstained from any activity against the Nazis and maintained a complete silence on the issue in their press. While the SL/SYL joined other leftists and community groups in a demonstration in front of the Nazi headquarters shortly after it opened, a lone SWPer lurked safely across the street. When the SL raised a proposal for united-front labor action at a meeting of the CLP's Detroit Equal Rights Committee, the SWP sat in stony silence, attempting to sneak out of the meeting before the vote. Likewise SWP supporters refused to endorse the petition for mass action circulated by rank-and-file militants in UAW Local 140 despite its broad support. Some "countermobilization"!

While the reformists of the SWP/YSA apply the tactics of do-nothing liberalism in their eternal quest for "respectability" in the eyes of the

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Debate at Oberlin over "Human Rights"

SYL Exposes Cold Warrior Bukovsky

Last November 21 the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) intervened at Oberlin College against the notoriously anti-communist former Soviet dissident Vladimir Bukovsky. Our exposure of Bukovsky's support for imperialist sanctions against the Soviet degenerated workers state (which of course earned him a place on Jimmy Carter's "human rights" honor roll) obviously struck a nerve. Many of the self-righteous liberals in the Oberlin "community" recoiled in horror from our denunciation of the man who aspires to assist the U.S. in militarily crushing the Soviet Union and ushering in the same "human rights" as exist for the masses of Chile, Iran and the Philippines.

The audience was polarized to the extent that jeering and verbal abuse from Bukovsky's "democratic" supporters nearly drowned out several SYL speakers. The SYL's confrontation of Bukovsky remained the central point of dispute among political students on campus for weeks. The intervention sparked such an uproar that the student newspaper, the *Oberlin Review*, carried letters from outraged students who expressed "regret and outright disgust" and claimed that we "overstepped the limits of common dignity and politeness" with our "total lack of respect" for Bukovsky. As the controversy gained momentum, there were even demands that we apologize publicly to Bukovsky and/or the Oberlin "community."

Certainly, the issue was not our norms of conduct in political debate versus those of Emily Post's disciples. Rather our "audacity" in objecting to Bukovsky's call for starving the Soviet Union into submission raised the hackles of more than a few liberals. As was pointed out in a letter independently written to the *Oberlin Review* in defense of the SYL by two Oberlin students, Gay Sigel and Kiren Ghei, when our comrades spoke "almost the entire audience erupted in a near-hysterical, chauvinistic response." The letter went on to add that "the Spartacists' questions provoked a more personal, enlightening and controversial reaction on Bukovsky's part than most other questions asked."

Conspicuous by their silence were the shame-faced leftists of the Stalinist Communist Party/Young Workers Liberation League who chose to weather the storm by sitting on their hands and keeping their mouths shut. When it came to defending the Soviet Union to a largely hostile audience these Kremlin-loyalists failed the most elementary test of ostensible Leninists. It was only the Trotskyists of the Spartacist League and



Vladimir Bukovsky.

Spartacus Youth League who were able to withstand the anti-communist barrage and forcefully convey our revolutionary program.

We do not apologize for our program of unconditional military defense of the USSR! The Russian Revolution of 1917 was the single most important event of this century and the greatest conquest of the international working class. Despite the degeneration of the revolution at the hands of the Stalinist bureaucracy, the social gains issuing out of the October Revolution remain. As Trotskyists we are not in the business of making excuses for the bureaucratic rule of the counterrevolutionary, parasitic Stalinist regimes—whether in Peking, Moscow or Hanoi. Our task is to lead the working class of these countries in a political revolution to oust the bureaucracy and establish workers democracy through the rule of soviets.

The response to the SYL at Oberlin shows up the Carter "human rights" campaign for what it really is: an attempt to line up liberal sentiment behind the imperialist exploits of the American state. After the setbacks of a bloody war in Indochina and the Watergate scandal, the new "friend of the people" administration has seized upon the likes of the Bukovskys, Plyushes and Amalriks to bolster its claim to stand for democracy and

progress. The hysterical reaction among a liberal college audience lays bare the fundamentally anti-Soviet underbelly of "human rights" imperialist-style.

The SYL responded to the frenzied outburst with a letter to the *Oberlin Review*, which we reprint below. After the publication of the letter on December 9, the liberals who had so indignantly come to the defense of Bukovsky and American imperialism quieted down. With the "apology" hubbub in the background, the lines of political demarcation between the advocates of Jimmy Carter's "human rights" and communist militants became eminently clear.

To the Editor:

Vladimir Bukovsky, who dismissed the entire Vietnam War as a *Pravda* propaganda campaign, would have been booted off the stage at a college such as Oberlin seven years ago. His cynical front of ignorance on the CIA's role in the 1973 Chilean coup d'etat is laughable; his exit from the USSR took the form of a trade for the imprisoned Communist Party leader of Chile, Luis Corvalan. In answer to the Spartacus Youth League's (SYL) charge that his opposition to the U.S. sale of grain to the Soviet Union is a reactionary demand for imperialist blackmail (even to the right of the U.S. government)—proving that starvation is not too ugly a weapon for this "humanitarian"—he responded by piously assuring the audience that not a single loaf of bread would find its way to the Soviet masses, but would perhaps be "squandered" in Angola!

Jimmy "ethnic purity" Carter and the U.S. State Department do not parade the likes of Bukovsky and Tsarist Alexander Solzhenitsyn for nothing: these are the "vanguard" of the "Human Rights" campaign. These "dissidents" opposition to anti-democratic repression in the USSR is from the standpoint of their wholehearted support of U.S. imperialism. Thus, Bukovsky can say with straight face that there is "not much" oppression in the advanced capitalist world!

We in the SYL certainly make no "apologies" for our forthright statement against Bukovsky and the anti-Soviet, pro-imperialist "human rights" campaign he fronts for. The U.S. is rife with anti-communism, with a tradition of gross national chauvinism and patriotism, anti-Sovietism and McCarthyite witchhunts. It is precisely for this reason that Bukovsky was, in March of this year, feted by Ukrainian emigres includ-

ing anti-Semitic fascists whose "freedom fighting" in World War II consisted of bloody pogroms against East European Jews and an alliance with Hitler. These losers of World War II shouted down one of the hapless social democrats, Michael Harrington, who had joined the anti-Soviet bandwagon but whose mild-mannered criticisms of the U.S. nearly sparked a riot.

We made no effort to be "polite" to this enemy of the world working class. Bukovsky himself was not exactly shaken by our statements, realizing that in the real world—as opposed to academic debating societies—we stand on opposite sides of the class line, a line that has been drawn in blood. What are a few harsh words between representatives of classes who are locked in irreconcilable struggle?

Bukovsky, the White House and the Kremlin agree on this: the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union and the other deformed workers states have as the only alternative to bureaucratic suppression of workers democracy the restoration of capitalist exploitation. However, the Trotskyists and other veterans of the October Revolution who died in their thousands in Stalinist concentration camps offered the only solution: unconditional defense of the gains of October (i.e. nationalized industry, economic planning, a state monopoly on foreign trade) and proletarian political power to the workers and peasants councils.

We are indeed proud to be the political heirs of the heroic Left Opposition who, under conditions of torture, exile and incarceration refused to turn their backs on the revolution and, as does Bukovsky and his ilk, look toward the capitalist powers.

Perhaps that is why—of all those claiming to be "leftists" at Oberlin—we were alone in denouncing Bukovsky. Nowhere to be heard were the supporters of the Communist Party/Young Workers Liberation League or the Progressive Student Union or the Jewish Socialist Community. Either these groups are too cowardly to oppose a "dissident" in the era of Carter's "human rights" hypocrisy, or they fundamentally agree with him.

Finally, to those students who were "shocked" by the SYL's intervention: do not be taken in by the liberal myth of classless "democracy" and a polite exchange of views by "men of goodwill." Despite the illusions created in bourgeois academia, in the real world Bukovsky's prattle translates into bloody slaughter from Chile to Iran to Harlan County, Kentucky. ■

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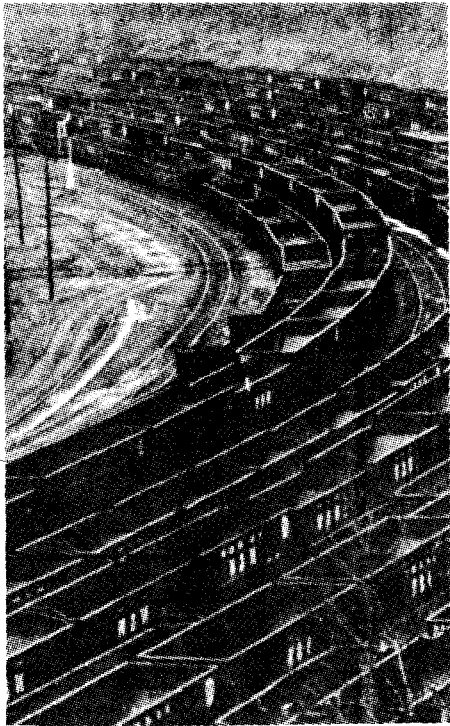
Miners Strike...

(continued from page 1)

will be negotiated on a company-by-company basis. While the BCOA backed down on the demand for the right to fire and/or fine \$20 a day any miner who stays out during a wildcat, the present contract empowers the bosses to fire the "instigators" of any wildcat job action—i.e., any miner who walks a picket line!

In the hazardous mines, these are nothing less than questions of life and

Uniphoto-Photo Trends



death. Without the right to strike, particularly over safety issues at individual pits, miners will be left defenseless as the rapacious coal bosses try to step up production schedules. Lung diseases and industrial accidents are endemic to the mines, and any erosion of the health benefits means that miners who have spent 20 or 30 years inhaling coal dust will be without access to quality medical care. Ironically, this point was underscored by a *New York Times* (28 February) feature article on the "good life" of one miner, Homer Otto Buckner. After quoting Mr. Buckner to the effect that "I guess you could call it a pretty good life," even the anti-labor *Times* is forced to add the qualifier, "although he has emphysema and chronic bronchitis, in addition to what is classified as a 25 percent black-lung disability...." So much for the easy "good life"!

The miners strike has been the most militant explosion of class struggle in the United States in years. After years of relative labor quiescence the miners are the only major section of the proletariat to resolutely resist the attempts of the companies to undermine union gains. The labor "stability" which the BCOA longs for has to a degree already been forced on other unions, e.g., the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agree-

Young Spartacus



Labor Secretary Marshall.

ment in steel and the successful prosecution of the Trenton 7 for participating in a heat walkout in Detroit auto last summer. A defeat for the miners could well be the signal for an all-out attack on other major industrial unions.

To date, Carter has backed off from direct government action—back to work orders, sending troops to the mines, ordering binding arbitration—for fear that an iron heel suppression of the strike would spark broad opposition by the militant miners. The miners have a long standing tradition of "no contract, no work," and even were Taft-Hartley to be imposed, Carter realizes that there are no guarantees of success. Moreover, the lessons of the successful 1943 and 1946 strikes (both in defiance of government seizure of the mines) ring clear in the UMWA slogan of "You can't mine coal with bayonets."

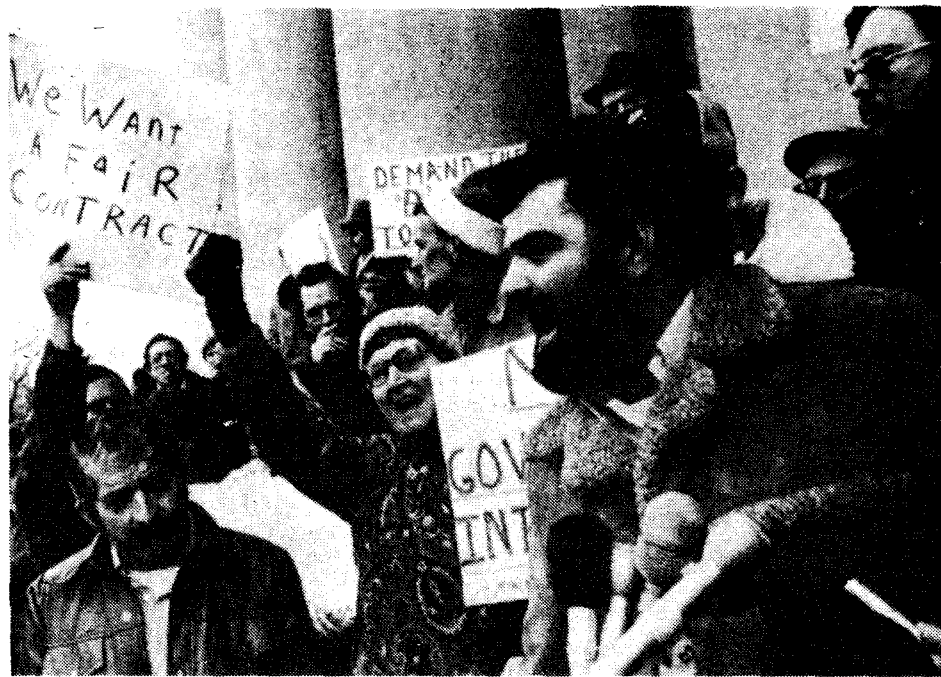
Since the beginning of the strike last December, we have stressed the key role that labor solidarity should play in quickly winning the miners strike. That the miners had to face extreme privation and hold out until the 90-day stockpile ran dry is simply criminal. After last summer's wildcat over health benefits, coal supplies were extremely low and, had it not been for the Miller union misleadership, a nation-wide coal strike could have wrested key concessions from the BCOA. Moreover the miners have had to go it alone as the AFL-CIO tops have offered no support. (Meany has already declared that he will not oppose any Taft-Hartley measures.)

A refusal by railroad, steel and power company workers to handle scab coal for the duration of the strike—or better yet, coordinated strike actions in these key industries—would quickly bring the bosses to their knees. The spectre of direct government attacks upon the strike increases the importance of union militants demanding that their unions oppose any government intervention against the miners.

As we go to press, Carter's attempt to condescendingly sweet-talk the miners back to work has been dealt a major setback: the miners working for the Pittsburg & Midway Co. have voted down returning to work under the terms of the P&M contract by a margin of more than two-to-one (*Louisville Courier-Journal*, 26 February). The miners must turn back this government strike-breaking drive and defend their union from attack. The proposed Carter contract would serve to severely cripple the UMWA. In short, it stinks!

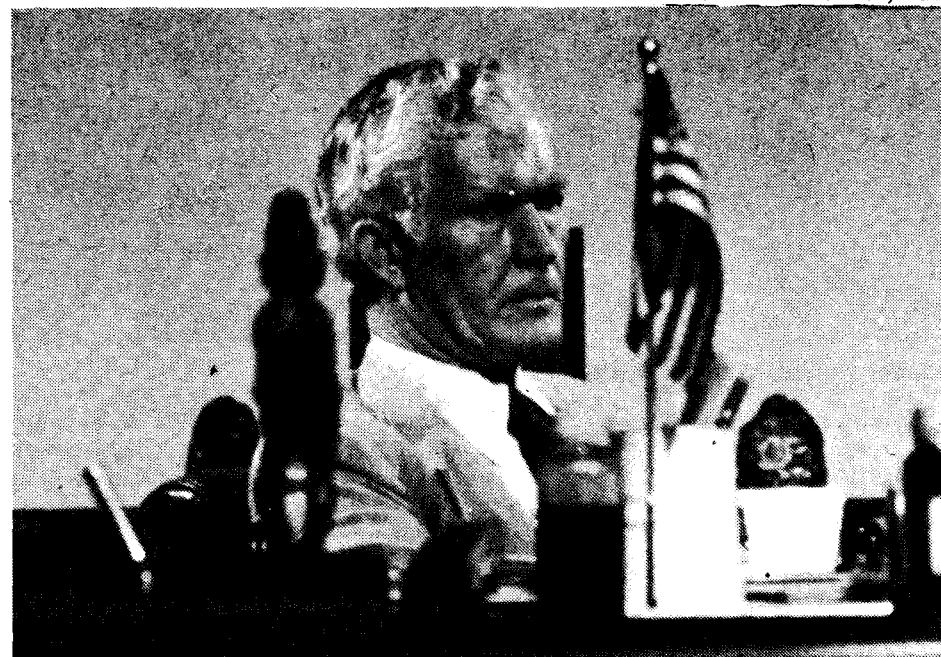
The forgotten man in the contract negotiations is UMWA president Arnold Miller. Put into office as a "reformer" by the Labor Department, Miller was to have brought the miners under control through vague talk of union "democracy" and defense of the local right to strike. As opposed to the corrupt and murderous Tony Boyle regime, Miller came into office in 1973 following a campaign in which he pledged "to bring full democracy back to this union" in order to establish "a union run by the rank-and-file...." After his own UMWA Bargaining Council voted 30 to 6 to reject a Miller-endorsed give-away contract on February 12, this former champion of the "progressives" and the fake-left is so discredited that he is barely even a party to the negotiations at this point. After smashing last summer's wildcat over the elimination of the health plan, Miller only appears in the coal fields these days together with his gun-toting thugs. Miller has even missed key Bargaining Council meetings for fear of confronting militant miners demonstrating in front of the UMWA's Washington headquarters. But most telling is that the P&M contract was negotiated in Miller's absence "for fear that his involvement alone would mean rejection by the rank and file," as *Newsweek* (6 March) put it.

Miller's presidency has now come full circle. Unable to control the ranks, Miller has been unceremoniously dumped by the Labor Department. Labor Secretary Marshall has seques-



Demonstrating miners and wives at steps of Charleston, West Virginia, capitol.

Weisblast/Charleston Daily Mail



Arnold Miller.

tered the Bargaining Council and is trying to ram through the current contract in the upcoming voting. Furthermore, from all over the country district leaders of the UMWA are being called onto the White House carpet as the bourgeois state tries to pressure local officials into selling the rotten deal to the ranks.

It was far from coincidental that the February 24 announcement of the proposed contract came not from the union (or even the companies) but from the White House. Carter may talk of the "free process of collective bargaining," but this contract has Labor Department written all over it. The Labor Department is searching high and low for union officials not discredited by this strike with whom they can make some kind of deal. The Spartacist League and SYL gave no support to the Miller candidacy in 1973. We warned that there can be no union "democracy" brought in from the bourgeois state apparatus. Miller's ties to the Democratic Party and his program of bringing courts and the state into the union (to "democratize" it of course) made the present attempted sellout predictable.

Moreover, miners must have no illusions that the next generation of government-backed "reformers" will be any different than the current set. A candidate of the bosses is a candidate of the bosses, no matter what the "progressive" coloration.

The militancy of the miners shows that this strike can and must be won. Hundreds of UMWA locals have announced that in the event of Taft-Hartley they will refuse to work. To win, however, the running of the strike must be taken out of the hands of Miller and the UMWA bureaucracy. Strike committees must be elected at the district level to coordinate and extend picketing so as to force an effective hot-cargoing of all scab coal. A bargaining convention must be convened and its delegates elected on the basis of demands that will win this strike: for the unlimited right to strike; full company funding of the health benefit fund; a large wage increase; full cost-of-living protection; equal pensions for all at the highest levels; and the unionization of all non-union mines beginning with the ones the miners' caravans have already succeeded in shutting down. ■



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Defend Chicago Iranian Students!

CHICAGO, February 18—The two wings of the Iranian Students Association (ISA) at Central YMCA Community College in Chicago are currently being victimized as the result of a cop riot last fall. In that incident four Iranians were hospitalized and 13 more injured when cops assaulted a demonstration of about 40 Iranian students and their supporters on the campus,

literature and holding campus meetings.

The suspension of the Iranian students is more than a denial of their right to free speech and to pursue their education: it endangers their lives. As a YMCA College faculty member points out, the time pressures and economic hardship caused by administration and police harassment in themselves often force Iranian students out of school.

Young Spartacus



Iranian student protest in New York, January 12.

which has about 200 Iranians in a student body of 5,000. Though criminal charges have been dropped against the 17 Iranians arrested, several of them still have cases pending with the immigration authorities.

Three ISA members were subsequently suspended from YMCA College for the remainder of this year, and the ISA has now been suspended indefinitely as a recognized student organization. ISAers report that they are being prevented from distributing

Since they are admitted to the U.S. on student visas, being suspended from or forced to drop out of school can result in deportation.

For Iranian opponents of the Shah's murderous regime, deportation is at best tantamount to jail and torture along with the tens of thousands of other political prisoners in Iran and at worst to execution.

Victimization of Iranian students by the infamous Chicago Red Squad in cooperation with the FBI and the

SAVAK (the sadistic Iranian secret police) has been intensified since the demonstrations protesting the Shah's visit in Washington last November. Jeff Haas, a lawyer representing some of the Iranian students facing charges in Chicago, told a *Young Spartacus* reporter that he estimates that at least 30 Iranian students are fighting legal battles with either the Chicago police or immigration authorities.

Stop the persecution now! We demand that the three suspended

Near East...

(continued from page 5)

rights of the Palestinians and Hebrews is not possible under capitalism. Certainly the right of Palestinian self-determination expressed not only in the remnants of the Palestinian mandate of Gaza and the West Bank but in all of Palestine is incompatible with the existence of the Zionist state—Zionism is predicated upon racial exclusionism and the oppression of the Palestinians.

We do not, however, favor a reversal in the terms of oppression in which a Palestinian state would dominate an oppressed Jewish minority. Unlike the vicarious "Third World" nationalists on the left, for Leninists the existence of the state of Israel as an oppressor of the Palestinians does not negate the right to national self-determination for the Hebrews. Such a denial would only serve to cement the Israeli proletariat more tightly to their Zionist rulers and as a reactionary block to the joint class struggle of the Hebrew-speaking and Arab proletariat.

Leninists stand for the equality of nations. The methodology whereby an oppressor nation "loses" its national rights is fundamentally alien to Marxism. Who would deny the Polish right to self-determination in the time of Lenin, although there had been a long history of persecution of White Russians and Jews? Who would deny the Iraqis the

ISAers be immediately reinstated at YMCA College and that administration harassment of the ISA cease immediately. The left and labor movements must join together to demand that victimization of opponents of the butcher Shah be stopped now and that all charges by the police and immigration authorities against Iranian militants be dropped. No deportations! Political asylum for all those who face the torture chambers and execution squads of the Shah's white terror! ■

right to national existence even though the oppression of the Kurds continues to this day? Who would deny Turkey its right to independence from imperialism although the modern Turkish nation was created through the destruction of millions of Armenians and Greeks?

At the same time, our support to the Hebrew right of self-determination is linked to an immediate struggle against the brutal oppression faced by the Palestinian Arabs. Not only the Palestinians, but the Israeli proletariat must fight for full citizenship rights for the Palestinians; for the freeing of all victims of Zionist repression; for the right of Palestinians to form trade unions; for the "right of return" only for Palestinians; and for immediate Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories!

Only under the dictatorship of the proletariat can there be a democratic solution to the national antagonisms of the interpenetrated peoples of the Near East. Only under the rule of the Hebrew and Arab workers will land be turned over to the tiller and will the Palestinian *fellahin* be repatriated. This must be the end product of a joint struggle of the Hebrew and Arab proletariats led by a revolutionary-internationalist party which recognizes no privileges for any nation.

For the Right to Self-Determination of Palestinian Arabs and Hebrew-Speaking People! For a Socialist Federation of the Near East! For the Rebirth of the Fourth International! ■

Anti-Apartheid Protests:

Ann Arbor...

(continued from page 3)

Peasants Government." The demonstrators entered the auditorium, and when the frontman for apartheid was introduced, exploded into the chant "Avenge Soweto—Smash Apartheid" and walked out of the hall.

Despite their endorsement of the demonstration, the RCYB (and the WCCAA) remained silent, and refused to walk out of the "debate." One of the RCYB's leading spokesmen moaned, "We agree with the tactic, but we could not win other members of the coalition to the idea that these guys don't have the right of free speech, so that's the basis of the coalition." Never willing or able to win students to revolutionary Marxist politics, the RCYB would rather tail its liberal allies and listen in respectful silence to the racist apologia of this envoy of the white-supremacist police state.

Capitulation to the pro-debate sentiment was no difficulty for the opportunists of the RCYB. In another milieu these Maoists' "mass line" led them to capitulate to racist opposition to school integration among the white working class and call for smashing the Boston busing plan! While the RCYB prates about its opposition to apartheid thousands of miles away, their support to "separate but equal" education in the U.S. exposes them as complete frauds.

As at the University of Chicago, it was only the SYL which opposed the liberal moralism and reformism of the call for a "responsible investment policy." Unlike the RCYB, which wildly applauded the mention of an economic boycott of South Africa by U.S. business, the SYL denounced the representatives of capi-

talist oppression including the American corporate giants which are held to "legitimize" apartheid. As SYL spokesman Irene Ruffins stated, "It is not a question of divestment of GM stock, but of expropriating GM, both in South Africa and here too." ■

Chicago...

(continued from page 3)

divestment milieu became quite explicit at a February 9 demonstration called by the UC Action Committee at a UC Trustees' meeting at the First National City Bank in downtown Chicago. A YSA member displayed the slogan, "Apartheid is oppression, US out of South Africa," while a member of the New Left/social-democratic New American Movement (NAM) held aloft a sign reading: "Get US dollars out of the hands of the racists."

Perhaps the YSA will tell Bennie Lenard, a black auto worker beaten within an inch of his life by racist cops here a year ago, that getting U.S. investments "out of South Africa" will somehow put an end to oppression by the American bourgeoisie! Perhaps NAM will explain to black workers in the U.S. that the dollars extracted from their labor in Detroit or Chicago are not "in the hands of racists"!

To the "better business, cleaner government" appeals of the divestment movement, the SYL counterposes the proletarian-internationalist program of Trotskyism. For us, there are no good bosses, no good exploitation. The main enemy is at home: U.S. imperialism. We put forward a revolutionary perspective to fight Vorster and his U.S. imperialist big brothers.

"We rely on the strength of the

international working class and not on the conscience of the big corporations. Workers in the U.S. must force corporations with branches in South Africa to recognize full trade-union rights for black workers to assist the class organization of apartheid's proletarian gravediggers. Unions must block transport of military supplies to the apartheid regime. The labor movement must demand release of prisoners of apartheid repression and put its muscle behind the struggle to conquer democratic rights and smash apartheid. We call for universal suffrage and the election of a constituent assembly.

"In place of moralism and liberal-utopian schemes for 'destabilizing' apartheid through divestment, we are for the expropriation of industry, from GM to Oppenheimer, by a black-centered workers and peasants government. Only class struggle, under the leadership of a Trotskyist vanguard party, can smash apartheid and open the road to the workers revolution that will avenge the heroic dead of Soweto."

SYL letter in *Maroon*, 3 February

Silent But Deadly...

(continued from page 2)

never an established state church in the U.S., religion nevertheless played a central role in education in this country. It was thus a significant step in the separation of church and state in America when the Supreme Court ruled out mandatory religious practice in the court suit of atheist Madelyn Murray O'Hare against public school prayer.

With the reactionary climate of bourgeois public opinion in the 1970's, this bourgeois-democratic gain stands in danger of being overturned. In the turn to state-enforced religious obscurantism, what Marx termed the opiate of the people, one detects the stench of bourgeois society in the process of decay. ■

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Detroit Nazis...

(continued from page 7)

bourgeoisie, another segment of the left has pushed the politics of substitutionalism. The most frenzied supporters of this strategy are the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL) and WDC (a tiny group led by the RSL) who have called two demonstrations in Detroit. At a January 17 SYL forum entitled "Smash the Detroit Nazi Threat," these groups chastised the SL/SYL for not throwing all its resources into building the small demonstrations. They are echoed by the miniscule Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency (BLT), a workerist

of the fascist headquarters. While these demonstrations may display the anti-fascist militancy of the groups in question, in practice they can be counterproductive. An endless succession of small demonstrations points to lack of support in the labor movement and may ultimately embolden the fascist scum. More importantly, these demonstrations take place at the expense of waging a fight in Detroit's trade unions against the passivity of the labor bureaucracy for the needed united mass action to stop the Nazis once and for all.

Although the SL/SYL have participated in several of the demonstrations, our energies and resources are channeled into seeking to mobilize the mass organizations of the working class. It is highly significant that trade-union

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Coleman Young's police protect fascist "bookstore."



Demonstration outside Nazi "bookstore" in January.

clique based in the campus town of Ann Arbor who have sent two unpublished letters to the SYL accusing us of "wait[ing] passively for the labor movement spontaneously to rise up against the Nazis."

In the absence of a mass mobilization of Detroit's labor movement, these groups feel compelled to hold an endless series of small demonstrations in front

supporters of the RSL—whose anti-fascist militancy rings hollow in the face of their opposition to busing as a means to achieve racial integration of the schools—neither spoke in support of the proposal to build a mass picket line in front of the Nazi headquarters which was put forward by Local 140 members nor protested when it was bureaucratically tabled. For its part, the BLT,

perhaps out of estrangement from the Detroit labor movement, has not even had a presence at any of the UAW-sponsored protest meetings.

In Detroit, with the intersection of a powerful industrial proletariat and large black population, a massive mobilization of workers and oppressed is not only necessary but immediately and decisively capable of crushing the fascist menace. The liberal black organizations

look toward the city government for protection as it backs up the Nazi scum; the reformist organizations either tail the pro-capitalist do-nothing labor bureaucracy or pretend the labor movement doesn't exist. It is only the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League that have the class-struggle program which can make a labor/black defense against fascists a reality. *Detroit labor must drive out the Nazi scum!* ■

Stanford

Pickets Protest Junta Braintruster Friedman

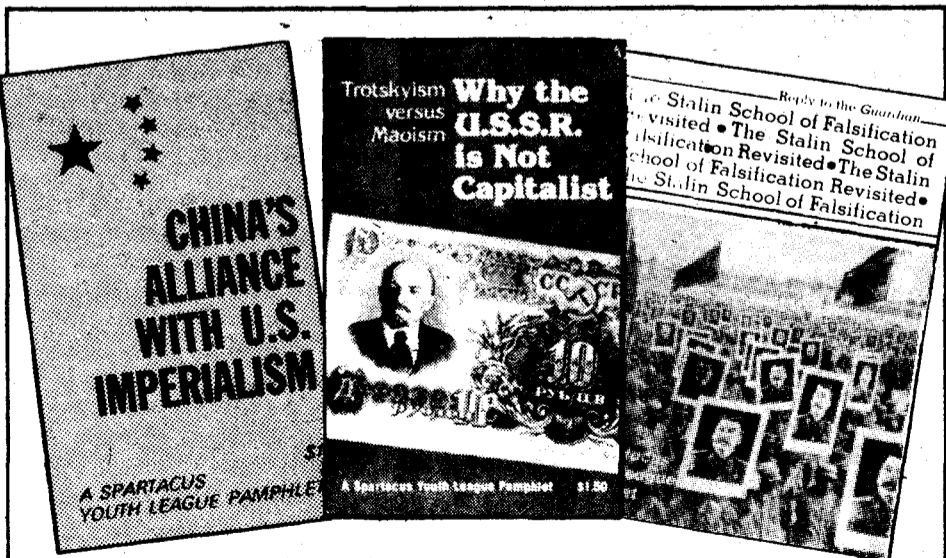
On February 9 Milton Friedman churned out another of his highly-publicized lectures at Stanford University. Speaking this time on "The Role of Government in a Free Society," Friedman's talk once again sparked militant protest against his well publicized position as advisor to the blood-drenched Chilean junta of General Augusto Pinochet.

When Friedman showed up for his Stanford lecture, he was confronted by SYL demonstrators carrying placards emblazoned with slogans such as "Friedman Advises, Pinochet Orders, Workers Starve" and "Down with Friedman and Pinochet, Workers to Power in Chile."

For two-and-a-half years the Spartacus Youth League has been in the forefront of a campaign of protest and exposure aimed at Friedman's criminal complicity with the Chilean junta. As his Nobel Prize attests, Friedman is not without his supporters among the right-wing of bourgeois economics. In recent

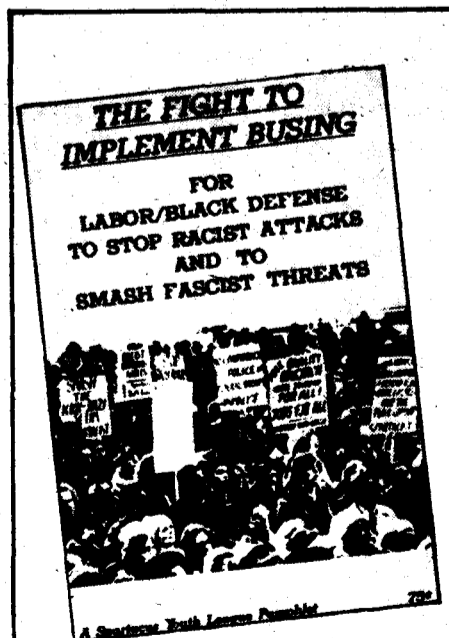
months, however, several prominent newspapers have taken to alibiing Friedman as simply a leading academic "hounded" by enraged leftists (see "Friedman Lies, *New York Times* Alibis," *Young Spartacus* No. 61, February 1978). Despite the repulsive efforts to whitewash this braintruster for starvation and genocide, the SYL protests continue.

An interesting side note was provided by the initiators of the demonstration, Maoist honcho Bob Avakian's Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB), who cowardly crawled away from the demonstration rather than march with the SYL. In the aftermath of a massive split which ripped the Revolutionary Communist Party and RCYB apart, the Stanford RCYB opted for the political posture of an ostrich and was nowhere to be seen when its supporters arrived at the picket line demonstration. Drive Friedman Off Campus through Protest and Exposure! ■



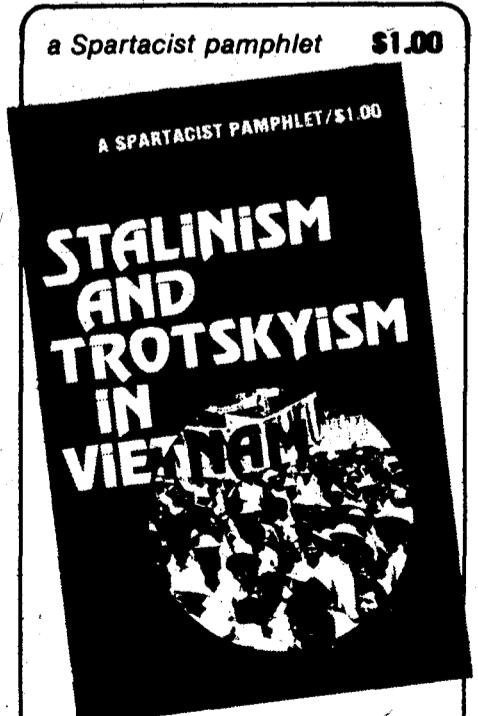
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Bogus Peace Talks Collapse

Sadat, Begin Trample Over Palestinians

Four months have now lapsed since Egyptian president Anwar Sadat's "sacred mission" to Jerusalem. By now the carnival atmosphere of this television extravaganza has long since been dissipated. The Egyptian/Israeli negotiations have degenerated into farcical procedural haggling, diplomatic insults and belligerent rhetoric.

At the height of the "friendship" between Sadat and Israeli prime minister Menahem Begin, Sadat's trip was hailed as a breakthrough toward permanent peace by the Western press, or alternately, condemned as the "trip of treason" by Arab nationalists and most of the international left. In hailing the trip, Jean-Paul Sartre went so far as call the Jerusalem pilgrimage a "mythical event." And mythic it was, although not as Sartre intended it, for the negotiations initiated by Sadat have proven unable to resolve the two states' national antagonisms.

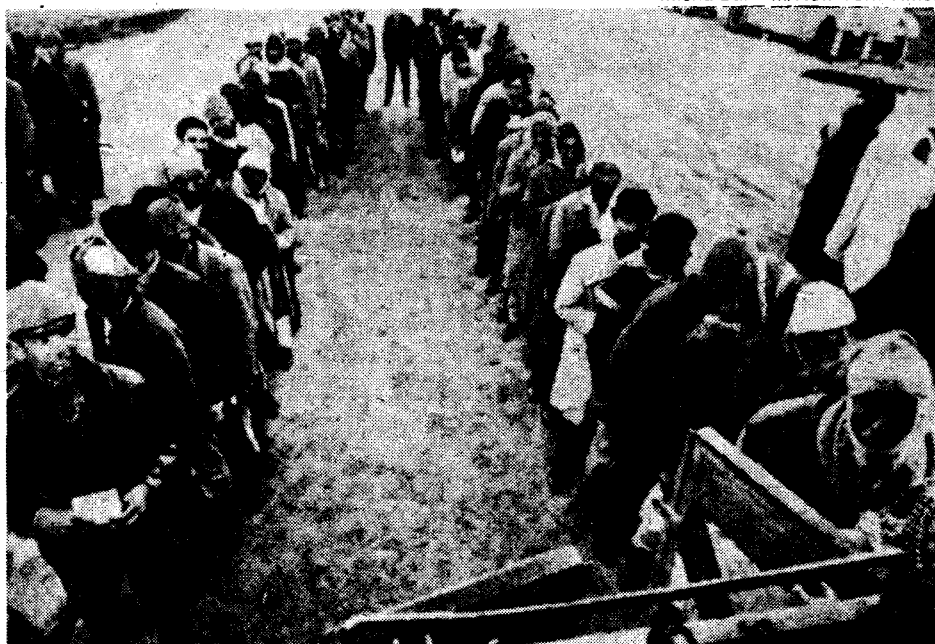
As even the pretense of a negotiated peace wore thin, Egypt and Israel sent their representatives to the Mecca of world imperialism to plead their case before their American masters. Sadat was ushered off to a weekend at Camp David at the end of which the *Economist* (11 February) reported "his mercurial spirits had lifted." Not only did American opinion polls show an appreciable rise in Egypt's popularity among the U.S. populace, but for the first time Carter agreed to replenish Egypt's aging air force, currently made up of Soviet jet bombers. Sadat left Washington with an earful of Carter's homespun homilies ("the world's foremost peacemaker" according to the kingpin of imperialism), but without his coveted goal: American commitment to wresting concessions from Begin.

In order to counter Sadat's pitch to Carter and leading members of the American "Jewish community," Moshe Dayan was dispatched to the U.S. under the guise of a fund-raising drive for the United Jewish Appeal. Dayan and Begin feared that Carter's admonitions against the expanding Israeli settlements in the territories conquered in the 1967 war would translate into increased military hardware to Egypt and a precipitous drop in revenue for the American Zionist organizations. While Begin blustered from Geneva that the sale of American weapons to Egypt would have "a very negative effect on the peace-making process," Dayan lashed out at American critics of the settlements, "I admire them [the settlers] more than I admire Israelis who go to live in Canada and Zionists who do not come to live in Israel" (*Newsweek*, 20 February).

Sadat's "depression" upon arriving in

Washington was the result of Israeli intransigence on the occupied territories. Sadat hoped to justify his course of separate peace to the Arab world by pointing to Israeli concessions. Any such hope was quickly dashed by Begin's proposal of "self-rule" for the West Bank, which, translated from the language of diplomacy, means barely-camouflaged continued military occupation. Under the cover of this "self-rule" the Palestinians of "Judea" and "Samaria" will continue to be expropriated and driven out by the clerical-fascist Gush Emunim (Bloc of the Faithful).

In the past six months alone somewhere between 13 and 20 new settlements have been established in the occupied territories. An upcoming government program calls for the establishment of some forty settlements in the next three years to increase the Hebrew population in these areas by 50 percent from its present 10,400. The



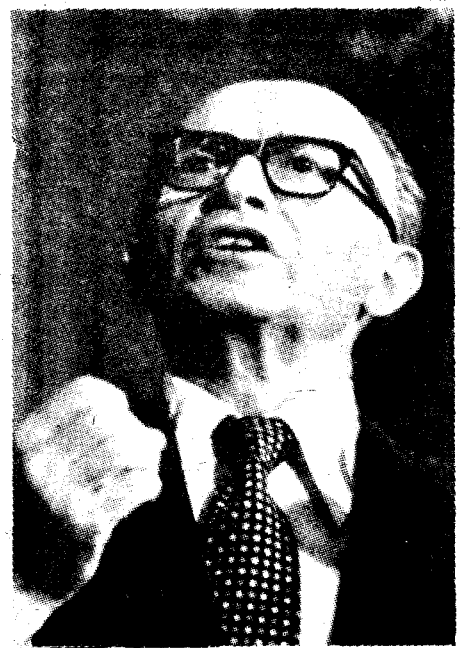
Palestinians from the Gaza Strip wait for trucks that take them to work in Israel.

verbal opposition of Begin's Likud government is so transparent that the Gush Emunim no longer even bothers with the pretense of placating government "doves." And as every Palestinian knows, as the settlers advance so does the powerful Zionist military machine.

Not only did Begin's "secret peace plan" for the West Bank give no consolation to Sadat's pan-Arabic pretensions, but the growing wave of Zionist settlements in the Rafah salient in northern Sinai and near Sharm al Sheik on the Red Sea which would remain under Israeli jurisdiction actually erodes Egypt's territory. As Sadat moaned before the meeting of the Egyptian "Political Committee" in mid-



Anwar Sadat.



Menahem Begin.

January, "Begin has given me nothing."

While both sides argue over the occupied lands and the "Palestinian problem," clearly neither side will advocate Palestinian national rights. As Begin has remarked, hypocritically but historically not incorrectly, "for 20 years these lands were governed by Arab powers and there was not talk of an independent Palestinian anything in the West Bank and Gaza." Sadat's goal is a Palestinian "entity" on the West Bank under the thumb of Jordanian King Hussein who massacred 20,000 Palestinian refugees during "Black September" in 1970 and whose state, like the Zionist state, is founded on the national oppression of the Palestinians.

By trying to negotiate a "peace" at the expense of his erstwhile Syrian allies, Sadat actually increased the possibility of war in the Near East—since it would leave Syria militarily isolated. With the breakdown of the negotiations, a fourth

Micha Bar-Am/New York Times

since the creation of Israel, American imperialism has been the central bolster for the continued existence of the Zionist state. During the 1973 war, when the fate of Israel seemed to be at stake, the U.S. instituted the most massive airlift in the history of warfare (200,000 tons of military materiel in ten days). The U.S. was willing to risk nuclear war with the Soviet Union to prop up its little client state which in return so gratefully plays the role of regional policeman for American interests.

What must also be emphasized, however, is that Zionist expansionism conflicts with the overriding desire of the American bourgeoisie for regional stability. The interest of the U.S. in this region is in secure oil supplies and, more generally, in the maintenance of the status quo—not an easy task in view of the fragility of many of the ultra-reactionary Arab regimes. The repeated military defeats of the Arab states by Israel only increase the discrediting of these regimes in the eyes of the masses and serves to increase the social turmoil which the U.S. so desperately wants to avoid. Thus, for example, the loss of the West Bank in 1967 plunged the Jordanian monarchy into economic and political crisis, culminating in the battles of "Black September" in which Hussein almost lost his throne.

Nor is Israel the only gendarme which the U.S. can muster up in the region. Iran and Jordan, which have intervened in the Arabian peninsula to crush guerrilla movements, also serve as military client states of American imperialism. After Egypt helped suppress a pro-Soviet coup in the Sudan in 1971, one Egyptian official eagerly volunteered, "The Sudan proved you don't need Israel to keep communism out of the Middle East" (*New York Times*, 6 August 1971).

It is therefore not surprising that the U.S. has sought to harmonize relations between its contending client states and arbitrate a "comprehensive settlement" resolving the border conflicts and the Palestinian question. This was first clearly articulated in the Rogers Plan which called on Israel to withdraw from the occupied territories in exchange for Arab recognition of Israel.

The election of Carter upped the pressure on Israel to negotiate a settlement based on ceding at least some of the spoils of the 1967 war. Included in the Carter repertoire of "human rights" rhetoric was talk of a Palestinian "homeland" and even consideration of the "PLO mini-state" option if the Palestine Liberation Organization

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U.S. and Israel

Carter's detente with Sadat and his war of words with the Begin regime should dispel the mistaken view shared by Arab nationalists and Third Worldists that the Zionist state is simply the military outpost of American imperialism in the Near East. It is undeniable that