



# Young Spartacus

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## Boston Busing Foes Riot

# DEFEAT RACIST OFFENSIVE THROUGH LABOR/BLACK DEFENSE!

The chilling shadow of Jim Crow terror darkens the schools and streets of Boston. Once again the racist anti-busing forces have mobilized and are renewing their vicious onslaught against black people and school desegregation.

Crazed gangs and mobs of racists blinded by segregationist hysteria stalk school corridors and rampage through the streets. As the lynch-mob mood escalates, the personal safety and democratic rights of black people in Boston are dangerously jeopardized. This racist terror must be defeated!

Throughout this school year the black students bused into formerly segregated schools have been subjected to recurring abuse and attacks from racist

students, teachers, parents and the cops amassed to uphold "law and order." But last month racial tensions soared, as pro-busing Citywide Coordinating Council meetings were three times broken up by rowdy racist mobs, as Hyde Park High School was rocked by pitched racial battles and then ordered closed, as still-segregated East Boston erupted in pugnacious protests against incorporation into the busing plan for next fall, as black people have been indiscriminately ambushed and black families driven from predominantly white neighborhoods.

Then, on February 15, the racists in "Southie" went berserk. An anti-busing march in South Boston, called by the fascist-infested South Boston

Marshals outfit and marching behind a "Wallace for President" banner, surged through police lines blocking South Boston High School and for the next two hours battled the riot-clad cops with rocks, bottles, tire irons, sawed-off hockey sticks and even tear-gas canisters.

Dominated by lumpen youth, cheered on by Catholic clergy and local Democratic politicians like Representative Raymond Flynn, the racist demonstration had been called "to let the media and the nation know that the men stand firmly beside their women," who have been leading anti-busing "prayer marches" (*Boston Globe*, 16 February). But these racist forces, which have been encouraged by the national wave of anti-busing reaction, emboldened by the criminal failure of labor and civil rights organizations to mount any vigorous defense of busing and enraged by the incursions of the "outside" cops (the Tactical Patrol Force), now have discarded rosary beads for bottles and brickbats. And the very next day over 200 youths massed in the Charlestown area, setting trash fires and hurling bottles, until the riot was dispersed by the cops two hours later.

In this widely polarized racist society "forced busing" to achieve school desegregation has become one of the most inflammable issues dominating national bourgeois politics. Capitalist politicians from Ford to Wallace seek to exploit through racism appeals the enormous pent-up disaffection and insecurity felt by the white working people, who have been reeling under the impact of inflation and unemployment and who feel alienated from a corrupt government and do-nothing labor bureaucracy. These bourgeois demagogues and their labor lieutenants—the pro-capitalist AFL-CIO bureaucracy—depict the struggle for black rights as necessarily detrimental to whites in order to justify their own refusal to challenge the racist status quo.

While the rightward drift in bourgeois politics was manifested by the unexpected defeat of the Equal Rights Amendment in several recent state elections, the racist backlash has mushroomed to far more ominous proportions. In a recent opinion poll conducted by the *New York Times* and CBS news, a clear majority (67 percent) supported "the right of a woman to have an abortion" on demand (*New York Times*, 13 February). But a greater majority (71 percent) *opposed* the proposition that "Racial integration of the schools should be achieved even if it requires busing." In America today opposition to busing has become the focal point for reaction.

### Support Busing!

Busing strikes a blow against de facto segregation in public schools. Thus, the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League has supported court-ordered busing—so-called "forced busing"—as a democratic measure and a step toward ensuring equal access to

public educational facilities. We are opposed in principle to racial segregation in any area of social life. Busing represents an attack on the "neighborhood school" system based on residential segregation and class inequality.

But the present Boston busing plan, and even more so the busing recently imposed in Detroit, is deliberately limited and totally inadequate. After two years of busing in Boston, not to mention the suburbs in the metropolitan Boston area, remain segregated; a recent study revealed that 17 of the 25 schools examined in Boston failed to conform to even the minimal racial guidelines established by the court (*Boston Globe*, 21 January).

Ever since the implementation of this limited busing in Boston, the SL/SYL alone has raised the call for the extension of busing to the entire Boston school system and especially to the suburbs. All the busing plans drawn up by the liberals, in willing compliance with the Supreme Court decision proscribing cross-district busing, declare the suburbs to be off-limits.

In response the left and labor movement must raise the democratic demand that all the schools—the decrepit inner-city schools and the better-financed suburban schools—be integrated. As long as the public school facilities remain segregated and unequal, we support busing to undercut racial and class inequalities. The relatively superior suburban schools should be shared with inner-city youth—black and white—just as some suburban youth should be bused to the city schools.

At the same time we vigorously advocate a program for eliminating all unequal school facilities, demanding compulsory *quality public education*. In particular the SL/SYL calls for all public education to be funded and controlled at the national level and for an immediate federal government program of school construction and other

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GUARDIAN



ULRIKE WELSCH

BOSTON: Cops arrest black students (top), racists rampage (bottom).

**Fight  
Discrimination  
at Harvard**

*...see page 4*

**The Jacobin  
Communist  
Tradition**

*...see page 6*

## EDITORIAL NOTE

# Maoists Muddled By Teng Purge, Nixon Visit

Following the death of Chinese Prime Minister Chou En-lai in January, the Maoist press in this country was saturated with cloying eulogies for Chou and faithfully saluted his heir-apparent, Teng Hsiao-ping.

But this month these sycophants' jaws dropped when "Great Proletarian Leader" Teng was suddenly purged amidst an anonymous campaign denouncing him as a "capitalist roader" and when, almost simultaneously, imperialist swine Richard Nixon was received in Peking by the relatively obscure Hua Kuo-feng as acting Prime Minister amidst an all-out campaign lauding Nixon as a true "friend of China."

Unable to fathom the "Mao Thought" motivating the toppling of Teng into disgrace and the lifting of Tricky Dick from disgrace, the Maoist *Guardian* of February 18 simply buried these dramatic developments on page 12 in a six-sentence, no-comment news brief, "China Replaces Chou," which failed to mention Teng and which implied that the Nixon visit was merely an uninvited tourist jaunt.

With the reign of Mao now a geriatric matter, the death of Chou En-lai has unleashed a power struggle within the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy. Yet this struggle prefiguring the inevitable succession crisis remains so subterranean and inscrutable that even otherwise well-informed sinologists are completely baffled.

But, however orchestrated to intersect the factional feuding which has erupted within the bureaucracy ruling over the masses in "People's" China, the Nixon trip without doubt is intended to reaffirm the Mao/Chou policy of alliance with U.S. imperialism against "Soviet social-imperialism" inaugurated by the Nixon trip of four years ago. When Gerald Ford met with the Maoist leaders in Peking during December, the Chinese officials let no opportunity escape to praise the "Nixon Doctrine" and to lecture

Ford against conciliating the "new Czars"—so it went during the toasts at non-stop banquets, the interludes between peculiar performances of "Home on the Range" and "Turkey in the Straw," and the rest stops on the 880-step climb to the Hall That Dispels the Clouds.

Long before the death of Chou the Peking regime began to unabashedly woo the political pariah Nixon, bemoaning his Watergate Waterloo (which never once was mentioned in the Chinese press) as the result of "too much freedom" for critics (see our pamphlet, *China's Alliance With U.S. Imperialism*). In this country the Maoists were scandalized each time China sent get-well flowers to Nixon and praised the despised crook; most recently, Chiang Ching, the wife of Mao, declared, "Nixon is a brave man," and "His virtues [!] surely outdid whatever his liabilities were" (quoted in *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 15 February 1976).

Every Maoist group in this country maintained an embarrassed silence when Mao recently rolled out the red carpet for Julie Nixon Eisenhower and David Eisenhower, splashing their visit over the front page of *Hsinhua Weekly* (5 January 1976). Mao stressed to his "friends from America" that Nixon would be royally welcomed in China, concluding, "I will be waiting for him" (quoted in *Los Angeles Times*, 14 February 1976).

Nixon was forced to flee office by the mushrooming Watergate scandals, but in China purges and factional in-fighting in the bureaucratic jungle are deliberately obfuscated as "class struggle" against flushed-out "capitalist roaders." Referring to the power struggle now in full swing, acting Premier Hua Kuo-feng in his speech welcoming Nixon declared,

"In China a revolutionary mass debate is going on in such circles as education, science and technology. It is a continuation and deepening of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. It fully demonstrates the extensive democracy practiced in our country under the system of socialism. We are confident that through this debate, Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line will find its way deeper into the hearts of the people and our socialist motherland will be further consolidated."

—*New York Times*, 23 February 1976

But officially sanctioned wall posters to criticize "capitalist roaders," just like the bureaucratically imposed campaigns to "criticize Confucius," have nothing to do with *political power*, which is completely monopolized by the Stalinist bureaucracy. Despite its "mass debates" the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution at bottom represented a power

struggle by the Mao wing of the bureaucracy (which had suffered a setback after the Great Leap Forward fiasco) against the Liu Shao-chi/Teng Hsiao-ping party center. Mao demagogically mobilized masses of student youth, many of whom fervently desired to combat bureaucratic elitism and careerism, and he encouraged "mass criticism" of his opponents. Once retrenched in power Mao announced the end of the Cultural Revolution, and the more militant and idealistic Red Guards were dispersed by the army. The Cultural Revolution removed some bureaucrats but left the Stalinist bureaucracy unscathed.

The "deepening of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" then revealed that the "capitalist road" is a two-way street. During the Cultural Revolution Teng was "unmasked" by the Maoists as "the Number Two man in power following the capitalist road." But several years later Teng and scores of other so-called "capitalist roaders" (including Hua Kuo-feng) were rehabilitated by Chou En-lai and brought back in power! Only now that Teng has been caught in the renewed factional cross-fire does the Mao-line Chinese press rediscover "the faction following the capitalist road, who were criticized and uncovered during the Cultural Revolution, but still refuse to acknowledge their faults."

All the "revolutionary mass debates" staged by the regime are only for indoctrinating "into the hearts of the people" the Thought of Mao. The latest subject for Mao-cult "debate" are two trite poems by Mao, composed in 1965 but published... the very evening Mao received Julie and David Eisenhower. At a high-level meeting with a 10-member Chinese delegation, David Eisenhower asked for a "clarification" of the poems, and at once,

"Nine of the officials began reciting the poem, singing, interrupting, tripping over each other to give added meaning to the poem. Within hours of publication, the entire text had been committed to memory, its truths grasped. Only Teng sat silently, adjusting his watch."

—*Wall Street Journal*, 20 February 1976

Teng has been eclipsed in a still-murky factional struggle between the Maoist forces and at least the suppressed but intact factions which were formerly associated with Liu Shao-chi and which are advocating mending fences with the Soviet Union. At the same time the rise of Hua Kuo-feng, the Minister of Public Security who lacks a power base in any faction, recalls the short-lived emergence of Russian security chief Lavrenty Beria after the death of Stalin. For a

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## "S-1" Draws Fire At Stanford Actions

YOUNG SPARTACUS



Stanford rally opposing "S-1" addressed by SYL spokesman.

BAY AREA—"S-1: Nixon's Legacy of Repression" was the theme for two days of protest activities recently at Stanford University. A broad coalition, including the Spartacus Youth League, the Alliance for Radical Change, the San Francisco Prisoners Union, the Libertarian Party, the Women's International League for Peace and the Stanford chapter of the National Lawyers Guild, came together to organize on a united-front basis a forum and a rally to denounce and protest this comprehensive package of repressive legislation before the Senate.

At the February 19 forum, which drew about 100 people, Frank Wilkinson, the national director of the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation, expounded the position that the working people should defeat "S-1" by pressuring the liberals in Congress, even though his liberal darlings Mansfield and

Bayh have "capitulated" and support passage of the bill. In response to this futile strategy of hat-in-hand pressure politics, Joe Drummond, spokesman for the SYL on the panel, declared that only a blast of mass protest, including labor mobilizations and campaigns, can be relied upon to blow "S-1" off the docket in the Senate and effectively challenge the government's latest repressive policies. (For a full discussion of "S-1" and how to fight this repressive legislation, see "Smash S-1," *Workers Vanguard*, 14 November 1975.)

The following day a protest rally against "S-1" attracted about 150 demonstrators, who heard speakers from the SYL and other sponsoring groups. Only the SYL introduced a class-struggle perspective for the fight against state repression, raising the slogan, "Stop Attacks on Left, Labor, Blacks—SMASH S-1!"

**MILTON FRIEDMAN!**

Your brain-trusting for junta killers means...

**STARVATION IN CHILE!**

You protest radicals' violations of academic freedom but not the junta's...

**BOOK-BURNINGS IN SANTIAGO!**

**DRIVE FRIEDMAN OFF CAMPUS THROUGH PROTEST AND EXPOSURE!**

SYL

A radical group at University of Chicago protests Friedman's Chile involvement.

**Friedman, Harberger, and Chile**

Professors Milton Friedman and Arnold Harberger did not deserve the slings and arrows that were directed their way in "A Draconian cure for Chile's economic ills?" (*Economics*, Jan. 12). Particularly misleading was your

6 BUSINESS WEEK: February 16, 1976

University of Chicago professors Milton Friedman and Arnold Harberger, whose collaboration with the Chilean junta has been the target of an SYL campaign of protest and exposure, now are attracting controversy even in such bourgeois publications as the *New York Times* and *Business Week*. The January 12 issue of *Business Week* detailed the brutal "shock treatment" policy of planned starvation and grinding poverty for the Chilean workers engineered by Friedman and Harberger for the barbaric junta.

In its February 16 issue *Business Week* printed three letters in response, each whitewashing collaboration with the dictators. *Business Week* reserved editorial reply but reproduced as a graphic the SYL poster used to initiate the campaign at the University of Chicago (above).

## Braintrusts for Chilean dictators whitewashed by pals in Business Week

# Celebrate International Women's Day!



## FORUMS

### AMHERST

*Which Way to Women's Liberation?*  
D. L. REISSNER  
Editor, *Women & Revolution*  
SL Women's Commission  
March 10 at 7:30 p.m.  
Place to Be Announced

### ANN ARBOR

*Women, Class and Culture*  
HELEN CANTOR  
SL Central Committee  
March 4 at 7:30 p.m.  
Michigan University  
General Assembly Room

### BERKELEY

*Women in Struggle*  
SHEILA DELANEY  
March 13 at 7:30 p.m.  
Unitas House  
2700 Bancroft Way  
CHILD CARE AVAILABLE  
Not Sponsored by Unitas House

### BOSTON

*Which Way to Women's Liberation?*  
D. L. REISSNER  
Editor, *Women & Revolution*  
SL Women's Commission  
March 8 at 7:30 p.m.  
Place to Be Announced

### CLEVELAND

*Marxism vs. Feminism—Which Road for Women's Liberation?*  
March 6 at 8 p.m.  
Place to Be Announced

### DETROIT

*Women, Class and Culture*  
HELEN CANTOR  
SL Central Committee  
March 4 at 1 p.m.  
Wayne State University  
261 Student Center Building

### LOS ANGELES

*Women in Struggle*  
SHEILA DELANEY  
March 4 at 8 p.m.  
The Haymarket  
715 South Parkview

### NEW YORK

*Which Way to Women's Liberation?*  
KAY BLANCHARD  
SL Women's Commission  
Editorial Board,  
*Women & Revolution*  
March 6 at 7:30 p.m.  
Columbia University  
Ferris Booth Hall  
Schiff Room (216)

### PHILADELPHIA

*Which Way to Women's Liberation?*  
D. L. REISSNER  
Editor, *Women & Revolution*  
SL Women's Commission  
March 17 at 11:30 a.m.  
Room 309  
Student Activities Center  
Temple University

### SAN FRANCISCO

*Women in Struggle*  
SHEILA DELANEY  
March 6 at 7 p.m.  
Buchanan YMCA  
1530 Buchanan at Geary  
CHILD CARE AVAILABLE

### STONY BROOK

*Which Way to Women's Liberation?*  
KAY BLANCHARD  
SL Women's Commission  
Editorial Board,  
*Women & Revolution*  
State University of New York  
at Stony Brook  
Time and Place to Be Announced

# Students Occupy Wisconsin State House, Protest Cop Killing of Indians

MADISON, February 25—As of this writing, daily demonstrations here continue to protest the killing of two Menominee Indians, John Waubanasum and Arlan Pamanet, on February 3 by Menominee county sheriff Kenneth Fish, well known for his hatred of the Menominee Warrior Society, his drunkenness and his irresponsible gun-play (*Capitol Times*, 10 February 1976).

Demonstrations drawing 150-250 students from the University of Wisconsin campus have been held every day for over a week; these protests have demanded that cop Fish be jailed and that charges be dropped against the Menominee Warrior Society supporters involved in the armed occupation of the Alexian Brothers novitiate in Gresham in January 1975. At that time the Menominees, including Waubanasum, had demanded that the vacant buildings be converted into a medical facility for the desperately impoverished tribe (see "Wisconsin Indians Demand Hospital, Resort to Building Occupation," *Young Spartacus*, February 1975).

The protests began on February 6, when over 200 marched from the campus to the nearby State House. Then last Monday, February 23, student demonstrators marched to the State House and proceeded to enter the building for a sit-in protest, deciding to remain in the building after the 8:00 p.m. closing time. At a meeting convened in the building to discuss strategy, members of the Spartacus Youth League stressed the necessity for a strategy to sustain the wave of protest and to expand support on the campus. An SYL proposal to call for a demonstration of solidarity on campus the next day met with wide acceptance.

Late that night, however, the cops arrived on the scene. After several warnings the cops swooped into the building and dragged out the demonstrators, including the SYL supporters.

The following day over 100 demonstrators again marched into the State House and refused to leave at closing time. A tense confrontation developed as the cops removed the demonstrators one-by-one from the building to the beat of a Menominee war drum echoing throughout the marble capitol. As a result two demonstrators were arrested, including Michael Sturdevant, a defendant in the Gresham occupation, who was charged with disorderly conduct and resisting arrest.

As support grew for the demonstrations the rally on campus the next day attracted over 200. But when the militant march arrived at the State House to continue the sit-ins, the building was locked and guarded by a cordon of cops.

During the recent days and weeks of protests the SYL at Madison has solidified with the just outrage over the killing of the two Menominee militants by the trigger-happy cop, Fish. In the campus rallies and in the sit-in demonstrations SYL supporters have daily participated with signs and leaflets demanding the jailing of Fish and the dropping of all charges against the Menominees, victims of racist "justice." In our leaflets and in our speeches we have exposed the role of the cops and courts as the repressive agents of the capitalist class, pointing out that the liberal call for more Indian cops stands exposed by the simple example of Fish, himself a Menominee Indian.

While participating in every protest action against this outrage, the SYL

has argued that a small, indefinite, isolated sit-in as originally projected by the Menominee Support Committee would lead to certain demoralization and swift cop repression. While our proposals for broadening the protest activities won broad support from the sit-in demonstrators, our proposal to enlarge the steering committee of the Menominee Support Committee (consisting mainly of the social-democratic Wisconsin Alliance and organizationally unaffiliated liberals) to include representatives of all other groups active in the protest demonstrations was rejected, largely as a result of the race-baiting and anti-communism of the Support Committee.

Nevertheless, the SYL has continued to participate in the demonstrations and meetings, providing tactical leadership and political discussion. In contrast, the other campus organizations claiming to be socialist have only demonstrated their incapacity to provide leadership in struggle.

The Progressive Labor Party (PL), which has a long history of careening from ultra-left and tactically adventurist militancy to sub-reformist opportunism, on the very first day agitated for a suicidal kamikaze attack on the police lines guarding the Governor's office. But on both nights when the cops attacked the demonstrators in the State House, PL supporters were conspicuously absent. By the second day of protest PL had lost interest in the militant demonstrations.

Likewise, the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB), while for the first time recognizing the need for united action and open discussion of strategy, relapsed into its usual imbecilic "fight-back" rhetoric in the face of the large

demonstrations. At one point the RSB contingent actually began chanting a local high school basketball cheer, "We've got the power, we're hot, we can't be stopped." Such was the level of the RSB's tactical and political intervention.

At the other extreme the ultra-legalist Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) abstained from the first sit-in demonstration, assigning all its supporters on campus to other activities that evening. (To their individual credit several supporters of the YSA nonetheless turned up at the sit-in.) But the opportunity to tail after these large demonstrations got the better of its appetite for respectability, and the YSA by the next day joined the actions, although cautiously standing on the political side lines at all times.

In the days ahead the SYL intends to continue intervening in the protests, raising proposals for broadening the movement on campus, for building toward state-wide protest actions and for cohering a united-front steering committee capable of providing the daily leadership necessary to sustain the momentum of the protests. But at the same time our task remains that of linking this struggle against cop atrocities and state repression with a political perspective for the revolutionary destruction of capitalism. ■

*Young Spartacus* urges its readers to contribute to the defense of the remaining Menominee defendants. Financial contributions should be sent to: The Menominee Legal Defense/Offense Committee, P.O. Box 431, Keshena, Wisconsin 54135.

## For a Campus-wide Union to Recruit Women and Minorities!

# "Affirmative Action" Fraud at Harvard

BOSTON—Although its tuition has reached a spectacular \$7,000 a year, prestigious Harvard University these days likes to downplay its image as a bastion of privilege. Rather the Harvard "community" insists that it grants distinction to excellence of intellect and not the birthright of wealth.

An article in the March *Harper's Magazine*, however, asserts that Harvard is "on the way down." According to the nostalgic alumnus who authored this article, Harvard is troubled by pangs of introspection.

The administration is purportedly having trouble making ends meet, despite its prodigious \$1 billion endowment, greater than any other private university in the world; study groups have been set to work to answer such wistfully scholastic questions as, "What is a Harvard man?"; and faculty dons worriedly ruminate in their oak-paneled commons rooms, everlastingly refining their definition of "the cultivated man" and suspiciously surmising that beneath the construction boots/jeans/quilted parkas garb of many students are radical moods that are only dormant and may again flare into the activism of the sixties.

The spectacle of the revered Harvard community in the throes of an identity crisis would be amusing were it not so cynical. If Harvard is currently having difficulty projecting a satisfactory self-image, at least one policy has been maintained with near perfect consistency: Harvard University has successfully resisted almost all efforts to racially and sexually integrate its feudal-like academic aristocracy. Although 70 percent of Harvard employees are women, less than 10 percent of the junior faculty and 3 percent of the tenured faculty are women, while black tenured professors constitute only 1.4 percent of the total.

Admission statistics are only a slightly less devastating indictment of Harvard's failure to effect even the most minimal anti-discrimination actions. Until recently Harvard men have outnumbered Radcliffe women by four-to-one. The ratio is now 2.5-to-one, and the University promises that with the merger of the two schools and with "sex blind" admissions, the ratio will reach 3-to-2 within...ten years! Yet black admissions are actually declin-

ing; from 7 percent of the class of '76 to below 6 percent ever since.

Even the token affirmative action plan required by the federal government has never been taken seriously by the keepers of the bourgeoisie's elite training ground. Harvard had to present four plans to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) before one was accepted, and that one still failed to meet the extremely minimum requirements. After finally getting a plan approved, Harvard then proceeded to circumvent it.

In fact, the proportion of tenured black professors actually declined during the period of the plan's implementation, and the proportion of tenured women increased by only 1 percent. Special assistant to the Harvard president, Walter Leonard, the architect of the plan, admits its failures: "Not only have we not progressed a great deal since October 1971—both statistically and attitudinally—but I fear we have moved backward from that date in a number of areas" (*Crimson*, 9 December 1975).

Moreover, the Afro-American Studies Department and the DuBois Institute, which was instituted as a concession to student militancy in the late 1960's, have been subjected to six years of harassment. Despite the struggles of the DuBois Institute Student Coalition last spring, the Institute remains a near-corpse.

While Harvard worries that its reputation as the "strongest academic company anywhere" will be diluted by an influx of women and minorities, it certainly has never been concerned that its "academic integrity" might be impugned by the spawning of a host of imperialist killers, like John Kennedy, Robert McNamara and Henry Kissinger. Currently Harvard is providing sanctuary for Daniel Moynihan, defender of the racist Zionist regime and ideologue of the policy of "benign neglect" for the black ghetto.

### Task Force Formed

Early last December, a coalition of left, student, minority and women's groups announced the formation of the Task Force on Affirmative Action, whose purpose was to fight the racially and sexually discriminatory practices of the Harvard administration. The

twelve organizations in the Task Force include the February First Movement, Organization for the Solidarity of Third World Students, the Radcliffe Union of Students and the New American Movement.

The Task Force's sole orientation toward the fight against discrimination has been to rely on the responsiveness of HEW. The first weeks of its existence were spent in the preparation of a legal brief and collaboration with HEW's "compliance committee."

Even if Harvard were to actually meet the HEW's guidelines, the result would be no more than a token, superficial swipe at racial and sexual discrimination. HEW requires only that the proportion of women and minorities employed by a "contractor" correspond to their "availability" in the job market. Thus, the affirmative action plans are designed only to insure that Harvard does not discriminate any more than capitalist society in general. For example, in the detailed affirmative action program at the University of California at Berkeley, a timetable was agreed upon calling for 100 women and black and other minority faculty to be hired over the next 30 years!

In certain situations, when preferential hiring would not infringe on union prerogatives and would represent real gains for women and minorities in undercutting discrimination in hiring and promotion, the left and labor movement could support such affirmative action. But, since the affirmative action package at Harvard is so minimal and token and shot through with loopholes, it is insupportable.

### Gains for Minorities on the Campus?

It was not until the late 1960's that the prestigious northern universities were swept by militant black struggles for increased minority faculty and enrollment and for special programs, such as black studies departments. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the landmark civil rights legislation of the 1960's, were several years old when the bitterly fought Third World Strike shut down San Francisco State College.

In 1969, when militant black students won their demands for black studies programs and a black college from the Cornell administration and faculty by arming themselves and occupying a campus building, *The Black Panther* trumpeted, "Power At Cornell Out Of The Barrel Of A Gun." Power was to prove, however, much more elusive than militant black students and their white radical allies imagined at the time.

The gains made by blacks and women on the campuses since the late sixties were not backed up by significant social power; the militancy of black and other radical students extracted hastily made and easily ignored promises from administrations and Boards of Trustees whose identity of interests with the capitalist state is undeniable. The bourgeoisie was wielding both the carrot and the stick in an effort to quell the tide of black militancy which was sweeping American cities and campuses. While the bureaucracies and legal staffs of the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission burgeoned to accommodate the rapid influx of civil rights suits, its sister agencies savagely repressed any militancy that threatened to become outright rebellion. The vicious murder of members of the Black Panther Party and the massacre at Attica were among the most brutal warnings of the strict limits within which militancy would be tolerated.

While liberal enthusiasm for civil rights continued, the federal government intervened ever more directly in

enforcing the equal opportunity guidelines. By the early 1970's, there had been a clear shift from an insistence on the equality before the law of all applicants for jobs, housing and education to a requirement of equality of representation. Schools and industry, which previously were required to demonstrate lack of discrimination in hiring and admissions practices, now had to demonstrate positive fulfillment of quotas to avoid federal prosecution.

### Nixon and Fortune Magazine: Union Busting Under the Guise of Affirmative Action

The earliest of the quota hiring programs was the Philadelphia Plan, inaugurated in 1969 against the construction industry and building trades unions. What made the Philadelphia Plan different from previous plans which threatened federal sanctions for failure to comply with desegregation guidelines was that, instead of simply threatening loss of federal funds, this plan made the construction unions party to the suit. The penalties attached to the Philadelphia Plan included decertification of the union: union busting.



Committee for a Militant UAW counterposes a union fight for jobs to bosses' "affirmative action" scheme.

The construction trades craft unions were indeed lily-white and racist, but blacks demanding entrance into apprenticeship programs gained surprising allies—Richard Nixon, *Fortune* magazine, and an entire rogue's gallery of corporate interests, hardly staunch advocates of fighting discrimination. The federal government was on the of-

## DEFEND VICTIMIZED HARVARD WORKER!

BOSTON—"You cooked the cauliflower at the wrong time." This was the flimsy charge leveled against Sherman Holcombe on February 17 by elite Harvard University when the kitchen worker was suspended indefinitely. However, management at Harvard was not concerned about the vegetables which Holcombe prepared but with the five grievances which the militant black shop steward had just served the administration. The indefinite suspension is the most recent and most outrageous harassment of this militant by the racist Harvard administration.

The effective firing of Holcombe is part of a concerted drive by Harvard to bust the union movement on campus. Over the past few months the administration has fought the organizing efforts of the medical area workers and has forced the custodians' union to work without a contract since November.

On February 23 a meeting was held at Harvard to organize support

for the victimized militant. At this meeting the SYL proposed that a united-front defense committee be established based on the slogan, "Reinstate Sherman Holcombe!" The SYL proposal was adopted, and the defense effort was launched with a broad political appeal.

But this defense committee, which included supporters of the Communist Youth Organization, Revolutionary Student Brigade, Young Workers Liberation League, February First Movement, and Committee Against Racism, unfortunately shrinks from bold actions to build support for Holcombe. The proposal advanced in the committee by the SYL for a demonstration in support of reinstating Holcombe was rejected in favor of a campaign limited to petitioning. Circulating petitions can be a useful means to build support on campus, but campus-wide labor-student actions are necessary to force Harvard to reinstate this militant worker.

### FORUM

"THE LABOR MOVEMENT AND THE FIGHT AGAINST RACIAL AND SEXUAL OPPRESSION"

Guest Speaker: Jane Margolis

- Former Executive Committee Member, Local 9415, Communications Workers of America
- Member of the Militant Action Caucus, CWA

March 1, 7:30 PM, Harvard University, Emerson 305

For more information, call (617) 492-3928

**BOSTON**

ensive against large contract settlements in construction, fearing, as *Fortune* put it at the time, that such settlements might generate "pressure in the rank and file of the industrial unions for similar exorbitant [sic] increases." So Nixon announced a 75 percent cut-back on funds for federal construction, strengthened the contractors by appointing compulsory arbitration boards and... set quotas for minority hiring on federal construction.

Rather than launching a struggle for more jobs and for integrating the overwhelmingly white craft unions, the bureaucracies of the construction unions jealously guarded their privileged positions, thus pitting black against white workers in competition for a diminishing number of jobs and leaving the contractors and the federal government to gloat over their "reasonable" contract settlements and a divided work force. Given the anti-working-class prejudices of New Left activists, who wrote off the white working class as hopelessly racist, sexist and patriotic, the union-busting implications of such government strategies as the Philadelphia Plan, which became a model for all affirmative action plans, were deemed inconsequential by the liberal/radical supporters of the civil rights legislation.

However, in 1976, as state statisticians tally the casualties of the depression economy, the reversibility of the limited gains made by blacks and women becomes clear. In New York City, the open admissions program of the City University has been doomed; tens of thousands of minority students who would have entered the CUNY system next fall are left with nothing but the bleak prospect of unemployment. Black studies programs and, even more importantly, financial aid programs are being cut back and eliminated on campuses across the country.

Black unemployment now stands roughly double that of whites. In Detroit, which has a work force over fifty percent black, over a third of the city was unemployed during the last year. In New York City the figures speak for themselves: half of the city's Spanish-speaking workers, 40 percent of the black males on the payroll, and a third of the female workers have been laid off since the beginning of the tight austerity budget (*New York Times*, 20 February 1976)!

The fate of affirmative action plans under depression conditions is quite instructive. As soon as the layoffs threatened industry several years ago, the courts interpreted affirmative action hiring to mean affirmative action layoffs. As in the Philadelphia Plan, these court decisions served the interests of the bosses by invalidating hard-won union prerogatives, in particular, the entire seniority system, which represents a great victory for the union movement and a crucial protection against victimization of militants in the plants.

When rumors of massive layoffs began circulating in the auto industry in the summer and fall of 1974, eight women assembly workers at the Fremont, California, General Motors plant, including prominent supporters of the October League, filed a lawsuit in federal court seeking preferential treatment against layoffs for women, regardless of their seniority. The Committee for a Militant UAW (CMUAW), a militant opposition in the union fighting for a class-struggle program, pointed out that the lawsuit could do nothing to stem layoffs or unemployment but did enable the employers to break the seniority principle.

Inside the plant over 650 workers (more than half of whom were women or minority men) signed a petition circulated by the CMUAW calling for the union-busting suit to be dropped, because it would weaken the union and open the door to government intervention. Addressed to the union, the petition demanded "that the union fight all forms of discrimination, and mount a campaign to end layoffs..."

Two members of the CMUAW, Darlene Fujino and Ruth Ryan, were interviewed by the Fremont-Newark *Argus* (22 December 1974) in a full-page feature article on the militant opposition to the "women's lawsuit." After listing the reasons why Fujino and Ryan (both of whom at that time were being laid off) opposed the suit, the article gave the CMUAW's alternative: "They wouldn't rely on seniority alone to protect workers. What they have in mind involves more than that: institution of 30 hours work for 40 hours of pay and nationalization of the auto and energy industries without compensation were two of the parts of the program they emphasized."

When the company finally announced over 2,300 layoffs in December, the CMUAW counterposed union struggle against all layoffs to impotent court "remedies" which simply weaken the union, the workers' only fighting tool. Refusing to accept that women and minority workers could be protected only at the expense of their class brothers, the CMUAW at Fremont indicated the direction of a true class-struggle response to layoffs and the fight against discrimination could take. "WE ARE NOT HELPLESS IN THE FACE OF LAYOFFS," emphasized a December, 1974, issue of the CMUAW's paper, *The UAW Militant*: "One of the most powerful of labor's weapons comes from the UAW's own tradition: the sit-down strike."

### Affirmative Action at Harvard

While Harvard Yard and the Fremont GM assembly line are worlds apart in terms of social composition and perceived interests, a struggle against racial and sexual oppression even at the elite university will be crippled from the beginning by a reliance on the courts. With its minimal goals the Harvard Task Force will find itself settling for yet another HEW "thirty-year plan."

Furthermore, allowing the courts a *carte blanche* to impose quotas for hiring faculty and staff cuts across the collective bargaining rights of the small campus workers' unions.

The SYL supports demands that the administration immediately make available the funds necessary for the departments to actively recruit women and black professors, graduate students and undergraduates. But students must at the same time defend the tenure and promotional rights of faculty members when under attack from the Harvard administration or the government. It is quite true that tenure is frequently a vehicle for the perpetuation of the discriminatory status quo. But granting either the administration or the government the right to void tenured appointments hands them a weapon which will not be used to break down sex and race discrimination but will be used to victimize leftist, militant or even simply iconoclastic faculty members. Harvard's scandalous denial of tenure to W.E.B. DuBois, a black Communist, is the most well known case in point.

A serious plan to integrate women and black scholars into the Harvard faculty, and to eliminate racially and

## Chicago Pickets Assail Washington Post Union Buster

CHICAGO—For nearly six months *Washington Post* boss Katherine Graham has waged a ruthless battle to smash the pressmen's union on strike. Yet this strike-breaking media mogul also manages to discharge her lofty duties to the "community of scholars" as a Trustee of elite University of Chicago (UC). On February 10 Graham traipsed into the posh Hyatt Regency Hotel here to address the Chicago Economics Club.



Katherine Graham.

But as these fat cats and bourgeois snobs wined and dined with Graham, a picket-line demonstration organized by the Spartacus Youth League marched outside and raised the chants, "Down with union-buster Graham!" and "Victory to the *Washington Post* strike!" For several weeks the SYL at the UC and around the city had publicized the scheduled appearance of Graham and called for a united-front protest demonstration in solidarity with the *Washington Post* strike.

While endlessly smearing the SYL as "sectarian," the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) flatly refused to participate in the protest, just as these reformists-on-the-make failed to make any of the activities in support of the recent Capitol Packaging strike called by a city-wide strike-support coalition (in which the SYL participated actively). These non-actions speak louder than words; but the actions of the YSA thunder even louder. During campus workers' strikes at the UC in 1974 and at the University of Pennsylvania late last year, YSA supporters employed on both campuses crossed the union

picket lines and returned to work! Likewise, the do-nothing New American Movement, which maintains a shadowy chapter at UC, in a pusillanimous display of sectarianism did nothing to support the protest against Graham.

During the demonstration the spirited picket line was subjected to more than the usual cop harassment. Perhaps as a gesture to the strike-breaking Graham and her "distinguished" hosts, the Chicago cops announced that photographing the demonstration was "illegal," threatening to confiscate the camera of a *Young Spartacus* reporter.

However, the picket line and this cop rowdiness were photographed by a reporter from the UC campus press, and the demonstration in support of the *Washington Post* strike was featured on the front page of the *UC Maroon*.



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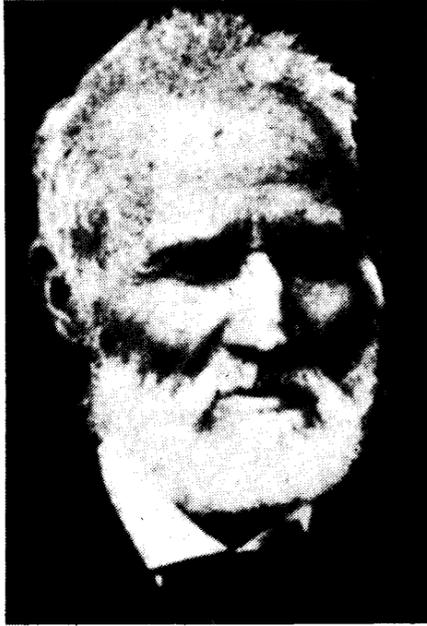
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# Marxism and the Jacobin Communist Tradition

## Part 2/Blanquism

By Joseph Seymour

HSC, AMSTERDAM



Louis Auguste Blanqui.

**EDITOR'S NOTE:** With this series Young Spartacus makes available for our readers a contribution presented by Joseph Seymour, a Spartacist League Central Committee member, at the mid-January Spartacus Youth League West Coast educational conference held in Berkeley. "Marxism and the Jacobin Communist Tradition," reproduced from the verbal presentation with a minimum of editorial abridgement, seeks to debunk the academic/New Left view of Marxism as a self-contained derivation from Hegelian philosophy by reaffirming the shaping influence of the experiences, programs and world-views of two generations of revolutionary militants who sought to fuse the bourgeois-democratic revolution with an egalitarian collectivist social order. The first part, featured in our February issue, discussed the Great French Revolution and the legacy of its insurrectionary and most radical wing, upheld by the revolutionaries Babeuf and Buonarroti.

The history of the French revolutionary movement after the overthrow of Napoleon Bonaparte is the history of the polarization of the left opposition to royal absolutism into its bourgeois conservative, revolutionary democratic and communist component of revolutionary democracy, which simultaneously was transformed through proletarianization. The two key dividing lines were the successful revolution of 1830 and the Lyons silkweavers' insurrection of 1834.

Now, at the beginning of this period, 1815, the left opposition to the Bourbon Restoration had three main tendencies. First, the liberal bourgeoisie, whose economic policy was *laissez faire*, whose power base was the very restricted parliament based on a limited franchise, whose political program advocated not democracy but rather an extended franchise and certain rights, and whose main leadership was the wealthy nobleman Lafayette.

Second, there were the Bonapartists, who were mainly centered in the army and whose program was roughly national populism. Until Bonaparte died in 1821, they stood for the restoration of Bonaparte: "Let's kick these foreigners and their lackeys out of France." Revolutionary nationalism. But they were not committed to economic *laissez faire*; they could make certain populist appeals to peasant economic protectionism, and in that sense were even demagogically to the left of the liberals.

Then there were the revolutionary democrats, who in this period (1815-1820) were almost exclusively limited to the student population of Paris. And the vanguard was a small group of revolutionary democrats who, being illegal, took over a masonic order and named it the Friends of Truth, whose leader was a rather reputable and important figure named Saint Amand Bazard.

These three forces united in their mass on two occasions: the Carbonari Conspiracy of 1821-23, where they were defeated, and the revolution of 1830, where they were in a military sense

victorious. But that victory split those component parts asunder.

### Carbonari Conspiracy

I will just say a few words about the Carbonari Conspiracy, which was important. First, it had a genuinely mass character, encompassing at its height probably 80,000 activists. In France every revolutionist who was mature, and even some who were not mature, was a member of the Carbonari. It provided the first revolutionary experience for that generation. The 17-year-old Louis Auguste Blanqui had his first revolutionary experience in the Carbonari and his later secret organizations were modeled on the Carbonari—only cells of three and only one person in the three knew anyone in the cell above, so one had a hierarchy which sealed off the leadership from the base.

In 1821, in response to the gains of the liberals in parliament, the Bourbons moved to the right and rewrote the parliamentary laws. The liberal bourgeois opposition in effect said, "Well, we have no choice but to engage in insurrection." They contacted the radical students and the disgruntled Bonapartists and even democrats in the army, organizing a conspiracy whose main strategy was the subversion of the army. The Carbonari Conspiracy, thus, was a democratic mutiny in the army, financed and organized by the liberal bourgeoisie, utilizing the student radicals, each seeking to manipulate and utilize the other.

But the army, in the absence of a general social crisis, was isolated and sufficiently loyal to the regime that the Conspiracy did not work. When someone would say, "Psst, you want to join?" he would get turned in and would be executed. So there was a whole series of executions and abortive mutinies.

The suppression of the Carbonari had a significant effect but, interestingly enough, the various forces involved maintained a kind of good will toward each other. They drifted apart. The

liberal bourgeoisie went back to parliamentary game-playing. The student-based revolutionary democrats, however, did something interesting. They decided to do some fundamental rethinking of political doctrine, and they soon discovered an eccentric nobleman named Saint-Simon, who actually died about the time they began reading his works.

### Discovery of Saint-Simon

Saint-Simon was not a socialist, he was not associated with the revolutionary movement, but rather he was a technocrat who believed in state economic planning. He inherited the Enlightenment tradition. He said, "Capitalism is obviously irrational, production is obviously uncontrolled, and I can think of fourteen different ways to improve the economy, but there has to be some kind of centralization."

So Saint Amand Bazard and his circle for a couple of years read this material and came out as the first socialist organization with a revolutionary democratic tradition. They were not an odd sect; they actually had experience in revolutionary politics and a real sense for political power.

Saint-Simonism, therefore, was the first politically significant socialist tendency, although Owenism in Britain,

by a very different process, was also achieving a semi-mass character. Saint-Simonism also spread through Germany—one of Marx's high-school teachers was a Saint-Simonian socialist—and was the first basic socialist doctrine to penetrate the continent.

While one tends to think of early socialist movements as being very primitive, in fact Saint-Simonism was the most technocratic of any socialist doctrine, not the most primitive. And it reflected the close organic ties between the radical democrats-cum-socialists and the liberal bourgeoisie, which at that time was very alienated from the state apparatus held by the Bourbons, who believed that they were living in the seventeenth century. So, certain elements of bourgeois technocratic socialism tended to penetrate these circles and became quite faddish. Only in a later period, with mass agitation, were the traditions of Jacobin communism rediscovered.

### Revolution of 1830

Now, the next time the left opposition to the Bourbon regime unified for insurrectionary action they were successful... much to their surprise. In the limited parliament, despite the various laws, the liberals were still gaining and finally won a majority. Then the king decided to pull a *coup*



On the barricades: street fighting in the revolution of 1830.

d'état and declared, "We are dissolving parliament, and we are having total censorship of the press."

Some journalists, among them Louis Auguste Blanqui, although he was not a leader, said, "We refuse! We protest!" Some of them were arrested, and the cops knocked on the doors.

It was the spark that was needed to set off the Parisian masses. Among them were all these Bonapartist army officers, who were much better than the French army of the day, which had been purged to make it impossible for France to conquer the other countries anymore. After three days of street fighting, the French army was defeated, decisively driven out of Paris.

Now this should have been, as the radicals and the Saint-Simonians expected, the beginning of the second French Revolution. Bazard, the leader of the Saint-Simonians, went to his old friend Lafayette. As the historic leader of the liberal opposition Lafayette was now head of the de facto state power, the so-called National Guard, which was the military arm of the bourgeoisie in Paris. And he said, "Look Lafayette, this is my program, it's a communist program. You be a communist dictator, and we'll support you." And Lafayette stared at him.

Then the liberal pretender—the king's cousin—visited Lafayette along with a banker named Lafitte; Lafayette says, "I am a republican"; the liberal pretender exclaims, "So am I"; and the banker says, "Look, you don't want a lot of trouble." So Lafayette says, "Okay," and they went out—there's a famous kiss of reconciliation in front of the masses of Paris. When the republicans cried "Betrayal!" they were beaten up and suppressed.

So the French Revolution simply led from an attempted absolutist monarchy to a somewhat more liberal one, although becoming increasingly repressive, in which the Parisian masses and particularly the left—the left wing of the left wing being Saint-Simonian socialists—rightly felt themselves be-

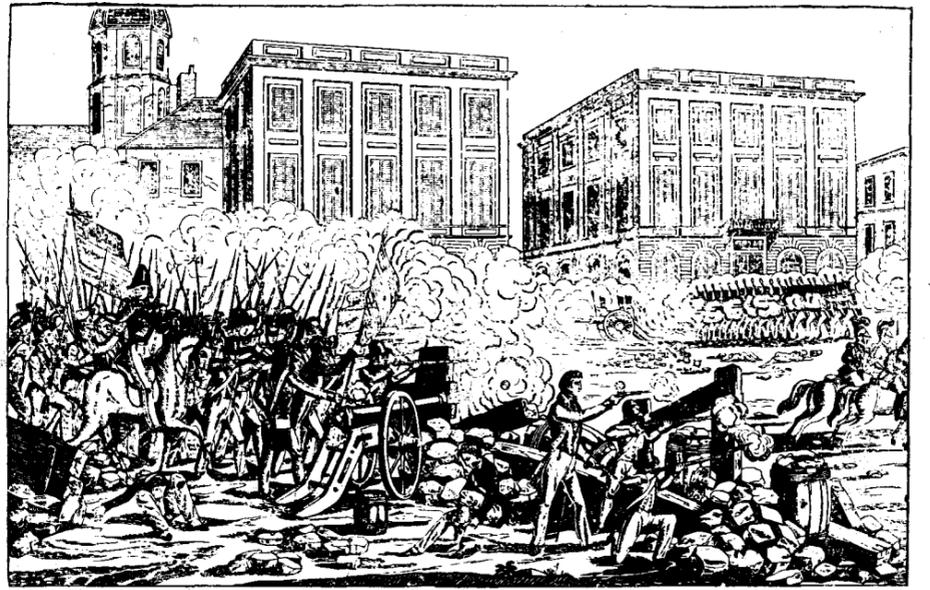
trayed. It took approximately five years for the new regime to consolidate itself, and the period between the revolution of 1830 and the great repression of 1835 was a continued series of attempts, some of them having a mass character, to carry the revolution of 1830 to a successful conclusion.

The first phase of the struggle, spearheaded by the organization called the Society of the Friends of the People, was simply leftist insurrections in Paris. They felt that the masses would never accept this king, and every couple of months they would rally the students, whatever artisans they could collect, and some disgruntled soldiers and simply attack the state. Blanqui was the vice president of the Society of the Friends of the People and was arrested for student agitation. This is for the SYL: in case anybody puts down agitating on campus, you can point to Blanqui, who never thought that agitating on campus was beneath his dignity.

### Buonarroti and the Continuity of Revolutionary Jacobinism

Now, by 1832 the revolutionary democrats had gotten a little bloodied, and they formed another organization with a somewhat longer range and propagandistic purpose, called the Society of the Rights of Man. This was the first mass democratic organization in which revolutionary communists were a serious contender for factional power and the first revolutionary organization which intersected and in a certain sense led the mass organizations of the pre-industrial proletariat.

During 1832-34 in the Society of the Rights of Man there were two factions. The orthodox Jacobin faction republished Robespierre's writings, Robespierre's "Rights of Man," and could be called revolutionary bourgeois democrats anticipating social democracy. And the other faction, the out-right Jacobin communist faction or-



The Lyons insurrection, 9-14 April 1834.

ganized by Buonarroti, also claimed the same historic tradition. The 1833 program of the agents of Buonarroti within the Society of the Rights of Man declared:

"All property, movable or immovable, contained within the national territory, or anywhere possessed by its citizens, belongs to the people, who alone can regulate its distribution. Labor is a debt which every healthy citizen owes to society, idleness ought to be branded as a robbery and as a perpetual source of immorality."

[—Louis Blanc, *History of Ten Years, 1830-1840*]

And it was through the Society of the Rights of Man that Buonarroti in the last four or five years of his life was able to intersect a new revolutionary generation and win them to the traditions of Jacobin communism.

### Class Battles at Lyons

Now, after 1832, the scene of the major revolutionary battles in France shifts to the provincial industrial city of Lyons, which was the main concentration of the pre-industrial French working class concentrated in the silk industry, which was producing for the world market. In 1831, as a result of a wage struggle, they had a demonstration, the bourgeois National Guard attacked them, and they attacked back. The army vacillated, because after the revolution of 1830 the army was a little wary of going against the people—they had gone against it and lost. The weavers took over the city, but they had no ulterior political motives. They said, "Here, we don't want the city, you can have it back." So then, of course, the army came in and smashed them.

The silkweavers, however, were organized in a pre-industrial union known as the Mutualists. At the same time there were these burgeoning bourgeois-democratic-cum-communist propaganda groups in Lyons which sought to intersect the Mutualists. The leadership of the first unions were not socialists or revolutionary democrats but rather traditionalists heavily influenced by the clergy. It was only through a long period of struggle that the revolutionary democrats and the communists among them were able to penetrate the organizations of the pre-industrial working class and to win the masses.

The relationship between the Society of the Rights of Man and the silkweavers' union has been described by Louis Blanc, the leading socialist historian writing in the 1840's in his *History of Ten Years*:

"We have said that a considerable number of Mutualists had entered the Society [the Society of the Rights of Man] but they had done so as individuals, for as the Mutualists societies considered collectively and in its tendency, it is certain that in the period in question, it was governed by a narrow corporate spirit. Above all, it was bent on preserving its industrial physiognomy, its originality, and all that constituted for it a situation apart amongst the working classes. No doubt, there were amongst it men exalted above the corporate interest, by the strength of their intellect and by the generosity of

their feelings. But these men did not constitute the majority, all whose interests might be summed up in increased wages for silkweavers. The influence of the clergy, moreover, over the class of silkweavers in Lyons has always been rather considerable. Now the following was the spirit in which was exercised this influence, of which women were the inconspicuous but efficient agents. The clergy, beholding in the manufacturers but liberals and skeptics, had felt no inclination to damp a disposition to revolt which animated the workmen against them. But at the same time it urged the latter to distrust the republican party but taking advantage of its sympathies. Now this was in fact precisely the conduct towards the Society by the leaders of Mutualism; for while they suffered themselves to be charged with republicanism, and availed themselves against the manufacturers in the popular diatribes of the *Glaneuse* [the republican press] they spared nothing to deaden the republican propaganda in the lodges."

### Communist Ideology and Proletarian Struggles

The famous dictum of Lenin [in *What Is To Be Done?*] that socialist ideology must be brought to the proletariat from without is not a programmatic statement. It is not even a theoretical statement. It is an indisputable historical fact.

The communist movement has a prehistory, and the mass economic organizations of the proletariat have different prehistories. The communist movement arose out of the left wing of the bourgeois-democratic movement and, in its earliest phases, its mass base was essentially the young intellectuals concentrated among students. The mass economic organizations of the working class go back to the earliest mercantilist period, and their earliest natural leaders tended to be the clergy. The communist movement arising out of the democratic movement and the trade unions emerging out of the artisan guilds intersect, and the workers movement is shaped by that intersection. But at every point there is a deep ideological struggle between the revolutionary democrats or socialists and the Catholic priests in France, or the Russian Orthodox priests in Russia, or the Methodists in England.

As a result of their experiences the leaders of the Mutualists, who were traditionalists and monarchists, appealed to the king and sought reforms, but at every point they were thwarted. Then in 1834 the Orléans monarchy attempted to totally suppress the left opposition, mainly the political opposition, with the so-called Law of Associations, which banned all associations. While these laws were mainly directed at political associations, they also affected the economic organizations of the workers.

So the Lyons silkweavers said, "You attempt to ban our organizations and we will fight." And they fought. There was a mass meeting, jointly called by the Society of the Rights of Man and the silkweavers' union and appealing to

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The Revolution Betrayed: Lafayette embraces Duke of Orléans, 1830.

J. F. GARNER

## Jacobin Communism...

continued from page 7

other workers organizations in Lyons; they called a mass demonstration in April, 1834. When the army attempted to suppress the demonstration, the greatest revolutionary violence in France between the revolution of 1830 and those of 1848 occurred in Lyons—six days of fighting, in which hundreds, mainly silkweavers, were killed.

The leaders were repressed in a so-called "Monster Trial," in which both the political left opposition, including virtually all the leaders of the Society of the Rights of Man, and the leaders of the silkweavers were charged with conspiracy and insurrection and were imprisoned. After 1834 Lyons was a Red City for three decades; every communist tendency, Buonarroti, Blanqui, Cabet, had an organic base among the silkweavers in Lyons—until the industry essentially disintegrated in the 1860's. But it didn't begin that way.

### Blanqui—Insurrectionary Communism

Blanquism as an identifiable doctrine is a product of the suppression of open insurrectionary activity culminating in the so-called "Monster Trial" of 1835. Blanqui had been a revolutionary activist since the age of 17. He had fought in all the street battles and had been decorated for his role in the revolution of 1830 by the new king. Until 1833-34, however, he was simply one of the boys, in no sense distinguishable, except by his personal courage, from three or four dozen other revolutionary democrats.

In prison between 1832 and 1834 he became a communist, but without particular doctrinal sophistication. He always pooh-poohed attempts to describe the nature of communist society. In prison he developed not the goal of communism, which as I said always had a very general characteristic, but strategic conceptions which were so radically different than those of his contemporaries that they constituted a new and distinct political tendency.

Blanqui asked himself two questions. First, why have all of the insurrections since 1830 failed? And second, why did the revolution of 1830, which succeeded in a military sense, also fail, bringing into power a regime which was at best only quantitatively less reactionary than the regime the masses had replaced?

Blanqui rejected the French revolutionary model which had inspired

Buonarroti: you begin with a bloc with the liberals or even the constitutional monarchists, and then you have the gradual radicalization of the revolution. Historical experience had proven impossible the replication of the experience of the French revolution, that is, the gradual radicalization beginning with a broad unity of all the opponents of the existing regime and then narrowing it down.

Instead, Blanqui insisted that communists must overthrow the government and directly rule. So he created what was in fact a secret army: the army was secret from the authorities, and the leadership of the army was secret from the ranks. He organized secret societies, such as the Society of Families and later, in the late 1830's, the Society of the Seasons.

In order to enter one of these societies, you were asked questions and you had to give the right answers, the revolutionary catechism. This is the catechism of the Society of the Families, 1836:

"What is the people? The people is the mass of citizens who work. What is the fate of the proletariat under the government of the rich? Its fate is the same as that of the serf and the Negro. It is only a long tale of hardship, fatigue and suffering. Must one make a political or social revolution? One must make a social revolution."

[—Samuel H. Bernstein, *Blanqui and the Art of Insurrection*]

You answer those three things correctly, and three years later you'll be fighting it out with the army in the streets of Paris.

The Society of the Seasons was not only a French organization; it had a German appendage, which for the history of Marxism is important. There was a large German population in Paris in the 1830's, heavily artisan. In Paris there was the so-called German Republican Party which contained all of the democrats. A man named Theodore Schuster, who by some curious coincidence was a friend of Buonarroti, formed a faction in the German Republican Party, split the party and from that split arose an organization called the League of the Just. When Buonarroti died in 1837, Blanqui inherited his constituency and formed a military bloc with the League of the Just, at that time a handful of communist intellectuals and a base of German artisans.

So, one nice spring day in 1839, a thousand Frenchmen and Germans, largely artisan, met for their routine military exercise in downtown Paris. But this time Blanqui and his lieutenant Barbès walked up and said, "Gentlemen, we are your leadership,

and this is it!" They broke into a gunsmith shop, and for the next couple of days they were fighting a very surprised French army.

How did Blanqui recruit this relatively large number of people willing to just walk into the streets of Paris and start shooting? In a certain sense, he didn't. Blanqui rallied the militant wing of the broader revolutionary democratic opposition, which in general tended to be of the plebeian social background. At his trial Blanqui was the only one who was a bourgeois. Everyone else, there were 30 some odd, were all either artisans or shopkeepers. They had nothing to lose.

This indicates an essential aspect of Blanquism which in a certain sense is the key to this talk. Blanquism was the intersection of two currents. On one hand, Blanquism represented the extreme militarist wing of the bourgeois-democratic revolution whose tactics, concepts and whose method of recruitment were conditioned by the existence of a broader bourgeois-democratic movement. On the other hand it also represented the nascent collectivist instincts and impulse of the plebeian and particularly urban artisan masses. If one liquidates that dialectical tension, one cannot understand Blanquism. And if one fails to understand Blanquism, then one cannot comprehend this entire period.

To be sure, the Blanqui/Barbès uprising of 1839 was a pure putsch. But Blanqui remained tied to the bourgeois-democratic revolution; he proposed a revolutionary provisional government which contained himself and his lieutenants, but also one of the leading democratic oppositionists who knew nothing about the putsch. He said, "This is the government, we take power, you're the president." Blanqui assumed that if he overthrew the state, then the more cautious, conservative bourgeois democrats would go along with him, and, moreover, would also be easily won to communism.

In a certain sense Blanqui was right. The king really wanted to execute Barbès, the Blanquist leader who was captured first; it was only fear of a mass insurrection and mass violence if Barbès and Blanqui were executed that prevented it. So that even though this was a pure putsch, it was profoundly popular, and the execution of these two revolutionaries would have been not only in the mass unpopular but also not in the interest of the liberal bourgeoisie: the Blanquists had the protection of the bourgeois democrats on the grounds that the revolutionary communists can be used, as in 1830. One is not talking about the Weather-

men. One is talking about an insurrectionary act under conditions of severe repression.

Blanqui spent the 1840's in jail. Blanquism as an organized phenomenon disappeared. If you knew the right Parisian cafés in the 1840's, you could walk in and somebody would come up to you, start talking, ask for money to buy guns and say, "Well, do you want to come to a meeting?" Dispersed revolutionary activity.

Marx had great respect for Blanqui. He certainly is the only figure in the 19th century who stands comparable to Marx. He was, however, critical and in some ways contemptuous of Blanqui's conceptions of organization.

In the early 1850's Marx wrote a scathing attack on the typical Parisian revolutionary conspirator in the form of a book review ["Review of A. Chenu's 'Les Conspireurs,'" in Saul K. Padover, *Marx on Revolution*]. And Marx said, "Oh, you're a bunch of Bohemians, declassed intellectuals, declassed proletarians, easily penetrated by the cops, tending to lead a dissolute life-style." Marx was very prudish, a very straight guy.

What distinguished Marx was his insistence that the communists must be tied to the workers—not simply the exceptional workers who were prepared to become professional revolutionaries—the mass of the workers through their established organizations. So that's the negative aspect of Blanquism which quite early on Marx rejected. But in the only two revolutionary situations in which Marx was involved during his lifetime—the Revolution of 1848 and the Paris Commune—Marx and Blanqui were forced together, and Marx on both occasions had to break with right-wing allies.

So, whatever his failings, Blanqui insisted, again and again, on certain fundamental truths: namely, that one cannot build communism simply through cooperative bootstrap operations, which were very popular in that period; that you cannot establish communism unless the communists wield state power; and that the bourgeoisie is not going to establish a stable parliamentary democracy in which the communists could establish their constituency and by that means take over the government.

Engels, in a much later critique of the Blanquists, observed that Blanqui was a man of the pre-1848 period. But in some ways he was also a man of the post-1914 period—Blanqui above all grasped the centrality of the revolutionary overthrow of the state.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

### Details....

the treacherous foreign policy of Maoism, which lauds the butchery of the Ceylonese youth revolt and of the Bengali independence struggle, which sacrifices the guerrillas in Oman and Eritrea for "detente" with the Shah and Ethiopian junta, which supports NATO and European militarism and Portuguese reaction, which lines up with the U.S./South Africa axis in Angola, which refuses support for Puerto Rican independence and lavishes aid on butcher Pinochet and the Sudanese generals...

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Irene Gardner

Production manager: K. Johnson  
Circulation manager: M. Sanders

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**WORKERS VANGUARD**

# Boston...

continued from page 1

public works, providing union jobs for the unemployed.

## Quality Education Only Through Integration

In Boston the racist ROAR also bel-lows about "quality education," but only to demagogically counterpose "separate but equal" schools and "community control" to desegregation. For the racist parents and youth in South Boston, integration threatens not "quality education" (which in South Boston, East Boston and Charlestown is identified with the Roman Catholic school system) but "Southie" High School as a central institution of white ethnic community life, pride and tradition.

Also counterposing "quality education" to desegregation is the Revolutionary Communist Party/Revolutionary Student Brigade (RCF/RSB), the Jim Crow Maoists who shriek about "smashing" (!) busing, who despicably cheer the allegedly "progressive aspects" of the racist "fight-back" against desegregation and who orient toward the fringes of the racist anti-busing movement!

Without a frontal attack on racial discrimination, however, the desperately needed improvement of ghetto schools will not result in the eradication of the special oppression of black and Spanish-speaking people. Inner-city

schools—especially ghetto schools but also white working-class schools like "Southie"—are decrepit and provide more the discipline of prison than quality education precisely because this racist, capitalist society has no use for masses of educated black and working-class youth.

Under capitalism public education certainly is race-biased and class-biased. But the basis of racial oppression and class exploitation is capitalism. Thus, while fighting against every manifestation of racial discrimination and struggling for reforms benefiting the working people, communists at every step advance a program and perspective for black liberation through socialist revolution.

## For Labor/Black Defense!

The racist mobilizations in Boston have once again placed the lives and rights of black people in immediate peril. But the cops and federal marshals deployed to "uphold the law" again and again have failed to adequately defend black people under racist attack or to move swiftly and decisively against the racists.

From the outset of the racist attacks two years ago, the SL/SYL has warned against placing the least confidence in the repressive forces of the bourgeoisie—the cops, national guard, U.S. marshals and federal troops. They can be trusted only to uphold racist "law and order" and to suppress the struggles of the oppressed.

In Boston the cops, who carry their

"justice" strapped to their belts, have intimidated, harassed and framed up black youth. When ordered to intervene in racial confrontations, as at Carson Beach last summer, the cops usually victimize blacks and seldom respond even-handedly toward the whites.

Only when attacked by violent mobs have the cops retaliated against the racists. Following the February 15 melee in South Boston, Police Commissioner Robert diGrazia defended anti-busing mobilizations as "reasonable" and only condemned the cop-fighting "hard-core hoods," reminding the racists that the cops were not their enemy: "For almost two years, this Police Department has had a tolerance policy" (*Boston Globe*, 17 February).

Only now, after two years of "tolerance," does cop chief diGrazia vow to prevent infringements "on the liberties of others." But the "others" have not and will not include the black people of Boston. In fact, diGrazia expressed his concern only for his own cops and for bourgeois "dignitaries" Kitty Dukakis, Edward Kennedy and Henry Jackson, whose public appearances have recently been disrupted by ROAR forces.

Black people must not rely on the armed forces of the ruling class to protect their hard-won gains, their hard-fought struggles and their very lives. Rather, the oppressed must rely on their own strength and their own organizations.

Over the past two years in Boston, the SL/SYL has agitated for the formation of a racially-integrated, organized defense force based upon the strength and authority of the trade unions and black community organizations. Only such defense squads can intimidate and demoralize the racists, reliably protect the black students from attack, and ensure the implementation of busing. The successful organization of a labor/black defense in Boston would represent an enormous advance for the struggle for black equality.

Such a strategy is effective and possible. In our calls for labor/black defense we have pointed to the successful defense effort undertaken in Chicago by Local 6 of the United Auto Workers for a black family whose home in a previously all-white neighborhood had been firebombed. The Labor Struggle Caucus, a militant opposition in Local 6 fighting for a class-struggle program, was responsible for involving the union and actively participated in the integrated defense squad.

But such a strategy for well-organized, decisive action against racist terror and in defense of school desegregation has been summarily rejected by the labor bureaucrats and black misleaders in Boston. Without class-struggle militants, like the UAW Labor Struggle Caucus, fighting in the Boston-area unions, the pro-capitalist, pro-Democratic labor skates have not been compelled to take action, and the white workers have not been mobilized for a struggle championing the interests of the black masses.

## "Socialist" Sellouts Squeal for Troops, Cops

Since the initiation of busing in fall 1974, the legalist NAACP as usual has preached total reliance on the government and raised the call for federal troops to "defend" black rights in Boston. Well known for hiding in the political shadow of liberalism, the fake-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA) for almost two years has been shamelessly calling for federal troops to Boston and for more Boston cops to "defend" black people and "uphold the law."

At first the SWP/YSA called only for federal troops, denouncing our slogan for labor/black defense as a call for black people to "wait" for the "impossible." But after months of waiting for the Lt. Calleys to invade Boston, and after the cops had swarmed en masse into the violence-torn schools, the SWP/YSA in its *Militant* began calling on the city and federal government to "use all necessary force to enforce its laws, including city police."

At last October's conference of the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR), created and dominated by the SWP/YSA as a liberal front group, a Boston SWP/YSA leader summed up, "When I saw a cordon of blue-eyed Irish cops beat back the [racist] mob, I said to myself, 'I'm in favor of that, and if they don't have enough policemen, send in federal troops'." At this conference speaker after speaker from the SWP/YSA viciously denounced the strategy of independent defense by labor, community and left organizations, while re-counting over and over specific incidents of cop "protection" for blacks to defend their call for cops (for details, see "NSCAR Demands More Cops in Boston," *Young Spartacus*, November 1975).

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## ANN ARBOR

Endlessly preaching reliance on the cops and categorically denouncing the strategy of independent working-class defense, the SWP/YSA shares responsibility for the present vulnerability of black people in Boston. Yet even now the *Militant* (27 February) still brazenly calls for the cops and federal authorities to "defend" desegregation. But the very same issue, in a display of nauseating cynicism, carries a news item from Boston describing a racist attack on a meeting of the Citywide Coordinating Council in which the racist thugs arrived on the scene in school buses (!) escorted by the cops and then broke up the meeting and physically destroyed the hall as FBI agents, U.S. marshals, Justice Department officials and city cops stood by with folded arms!! Once again the *Militant* concluded with a call for the cops and federal marshals to behave themselves and "protect" black rights.

## NSCAR Revived

Just as the SWP/YSA preaches reliance on the cops and federal troops, so these belly-crawlers now plead for the black Democrats and liberals to call for another respectable, dead-end "mass march" in Boston. On February 21 at Boston University the SWP/YSA staged an "emergency meeting" of its moribund NSCAR to plan a response to the recent racist offensive. To set the political tone the SWP/YSA festooned the hall with banners emblazoned with such hand-over-the-heart, social-patriotic, red-white-and-blue slogans as "1776-1976 Bicentennial Year—200 Years is too long to wait—Desegregate the Schools Now."

## ...on the move?

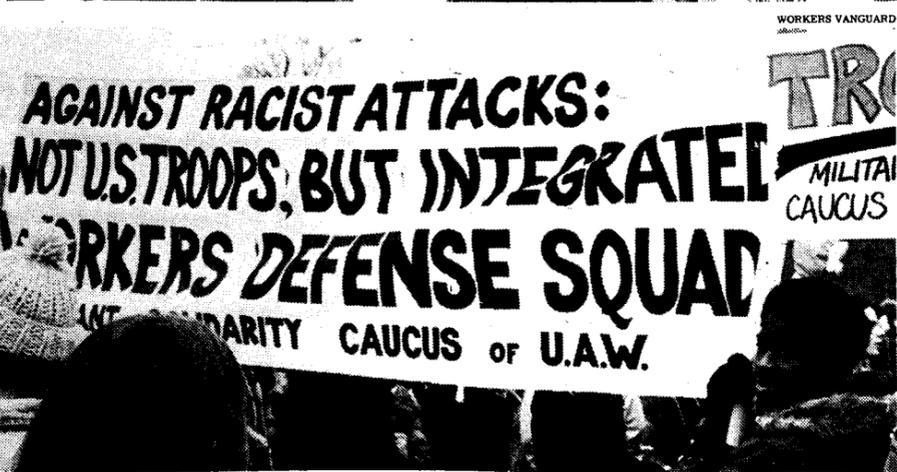
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But when the local liberal Democrats, the NAACP and other big-name big-wigs failed to attend the conference or even endorse any protest action in Boston, the NSCAR tops, for whom two years is not too long to wait for the troops (by land or by sea), decided to wait a little longer for liberal endorsements before announcing a date for a "spring offensive" protest march in Boston!

At the conference NSCAR leader Maceo Dixon called upon the audience of 200-250 (mostly SWP/YSA supporters sporting NSCAR buttons) to "contact prominent leaders" for endorsing a march, "if called." Speaking out of both sides of his mouth, Dixon broadcasted the SWP/YSA line in stereophonic double-talk.

First Dixon hailed the liberal-  
*continued on page 10*



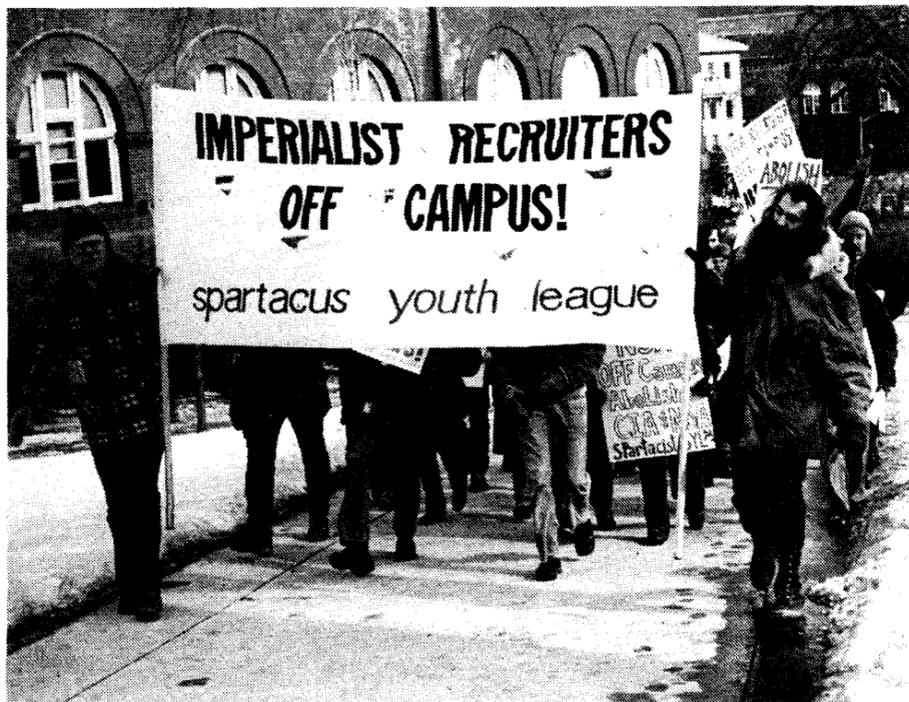
Trade-union militants in National Maritime Union (top) and United Auto Workers (center) raised slogans for labor/black defense in Boston demonstrations, December 14 and May 17. UAW Local 6, Chicago, formed a defense squad to protect home of black family under racist attack (bottom).

## Madison Demo Demands:

# Killer-Spies Off Campus!



YOUNG SPARTACUS



YOUNG SPARTACUS

MADISON—On February 9 several recruiters for the imperialist National Security Agency (NSA), the super-secret spy arm of the Defense Department, were met by 30-40 chanting demonstrators at the Madison campus of the University of Wisconsin. While the stone-faced NSA recruiters sat without comment in Science Hall, awaiting mathematicians and linguists in search of a slimy career in the service of the U.S. imperialists and their hit-men, the protesting students marched in a picket line outside and chanted, "NSA recruiters off campus!" and "Abolish the CIA/NSA!"

The rally and picket-line demonstration, initiated by the Spartacus Youth League and organized with the on-again/off-again support of the reformist Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), heard speakers recount the insidious intrigues and murderous crimes of the NSA around the world. An SYL spokesman pointed out that NSA agents, working hand-in-hand with the Bolivian police, were directly responsible for the murder of Che Guevara in 1967.

The SYL leaflet distributed at the demonstration detailed other known counterrevolutionary crimes of the NSA. In Indochina, for example, the NSA conducted IGLOO WHITE, a major component of the genocidal "Electronic Battlefield" campaign. Moreover, the two U.S. destroyers which invaded North Vietnamese waters, provoking the infamous "Gulf of Tonkin incident" used by Johnson as the pretext for U.S. intervention in South Vietnam, were on NSA assignment. Likewise, the *USS Pueblo*, which intruded into North Korean waters in 1968, was working for the NSA.

At home the NSA routinely monitors all the overseas telephone calls of almost 8,000 organizations. Dwarfing even the Central Intelligence Agency in its staggering budget and vast ultraclandestine apparatus, the NSA, which provides the ruling class with 80 percent of all "valid" intelligence, is com-

pletely exempt from the Freedom of Information Act, which has been employed by journalists to pry select documents from the CIA and FBI.

At the rally the SYL speaker also insisted that the secret police and imperialist spy cabal, which are absolutely indispensable for maintaining the international position of U.S. imperialism, cannot be curbed through reforms but will be abolished only through successful proletarian socialist revolution. While debunking liberal illusions in the current spate of Congressional "disclosures" intended only to discipline the CIA/NSA to be a more effective counterrevolutionary force, the SYL nevertheless has maintained that these imperialist recruiters must be protested and excluded from campus. Effective mass protest and exposure does put these spy agencies on the defensive, and we seek to arouse campus sentiment against the appearance of cloak-and-dagger killers on campus, just as we oppose ROTC recruitment and training in the universities.

### Sectarians Attempt Sabotage

In the weeks prior to the demonstration, plans for a broad united-front action appealing to all who opposed NSA recruitment on campus were disrupted, however, by the sectarian, stupid antics of the juvenile Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB). When the RSB called a "public" meeting to plan an anti-NSA action, supporters of the SYL as well as the YSA attended to argue in favor of the united-front proposal. First the RSB attempted to exclude all "Trotskyite scum dogs" from the "open meeting." When their bluff was called, these Maoists simply walked out of the meeting which they had called!

Then the RSB began organizing for a competing anti-NSA demonstration under the slogan, "NSA recruiters off

campus." But the RSB was rewarded for its bungling splitting-and-wrecking campaign when its "mass" demonstration could muster only nine students. When representatives of the SYL and YSA approached the RSB splinter "action" with a proposal to merge the two picket lines into a united demonstration, the RSB vehemently refused, declaring opposition to the slogan, "Abolish the CIA/NSA"!!

The much-touted "anti-imperialism" of the RSB is indeed hollow, since these Maoists must apologize for the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy, which ceaselessly calls for increased U.S. "vigilance" against so-called "Soviet social-imperialism," for a stronger NATO and for a fortified West German militarism (see the SYL pamphlet, *China's Alliance With U.S. Imperialism*). Not once has the Peking regime publicly denounced the CIA/NSA. Not once have the Maoist mouthpieces even publicized the recent disclosures of NSA/CIA covert operations abroad. Pursuing alliances with U.S. imperialism against the Russian bureaucratically degenerated workers state, the Maoist bureaucracy worked arm-in-arm with the CIA/NSA in Angola, where both Washington and Peking sent aid and military advisors to the anti-Communist FNLA, which had pledged to massacre "every single communist" in Angola.

Unable to defend its political line at the anti-NSA demonstration, the RSB fled the vicinity, leading its dwindling band on a long march around the campus... and away from the larger demonstration and the resounding chants, "Unite against the NSA!—NSA off campus!" Emerging later from the student union the clot of six RSB supporters loitered abjectly across the street from the on-going anti-NSA picket line and then decided to call it a day.

### Drive NSA Off Campus!

It is significant that the NSA is now testing the waters of campus opinion by openly appearing on campuses with histories of radical activism, such as Madison and Berkeley. But recent anti-CIA/NSA demonstrations across the country have served notice that the quiescence of the 1950's has not returned to the campuses. At Berkeley the SYL played the leading role in organizing the large demonstration against NSA recruiters last November, and we were involved as well in the simultaneous actions in Los Angeles (see "Stop CIA/NSA Recruitment on Campus!," *Young Spartacus*, December 1975). And last year at Yale University an SYL propaganda campaign against an announced visit by the CIA resulted in the abrupt cancellation of the recruiting sessions.

Militant opposition and an outpouring of protest can be effective in frustrating the efforts of the CIA/NSA to openly recruit on campus as a legitimate "employer." The SYL is determined to struggle against these imperialist henchmen by calling for broad, united mobilizations to get these killer spies off campus. ■

## Boston...

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dominated civil rights movement led by Martin Luther King for allegedly "not relying on the federal government" and "the politicians." (For a critical history of the civil rights movement and a refutation of the SWP/YSA's whitewash of that movement's liberal misleaders, see "SWP/YSA Pushes 'New Civil Rights Movement'," *Young Spartacus*, October 1975.) At the same time Dixon declared that the "only way" to defeat the Boston racist forces is to... "put pressure on the city, the state, as well as Washington to protect the rights of black people." As Dixon knows, the civil rights movement was contained by its liberal politics and leadership; but the SWP/YSA, by its reliance on the cops and troops and by its political subordination to liberal misleaders in the NAACP, the Democratic Party and the trade unions, seeks to recreate another dead-end for black people.

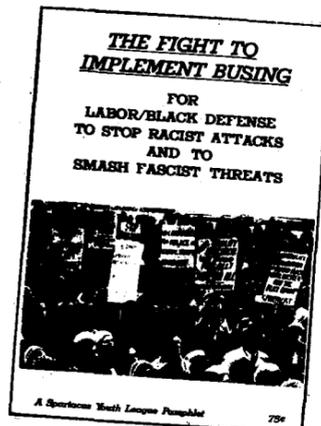
### For a Class-Centered Militant Action Strategy

The "discussion" period was bureaucratically manipulated, but a member of the Militant Action Caucus of the Communication Workers of America (Local 9410) drew applause when she denounced reliance on the cops or troops and counterposed some of the concrete actions in support of busing and in defense of black rights taken by this class-struggle opposition in the union. Then the chairman only recognized one SWP/YSA hack after another, each taking the floor to demagogically defend the call for troops and to ridicule and denounce the strategy and examples of independent working-class action.

When an SYL speaker was finally recognized by the chair, he blasted the entire bankrupt NSCAR strategy, pointing out that its last, much-touted "mass action" on May 17 sought to contain the struggle within bounds acceptable to the liberals, limiting the protest to a flag-waving, do-nothing demonstration and fostering the most dangerous illusions in the repressive arms of the capitalist state. He concluded with a call for a "broad movement"—built not on the basis of "toothless NSCAR liberalism" but on the independent strength of an organized, racially-integrated defense force based upon the trade unions, left and black community groups.

In the weeks ahead this perspective must be raised in Boston. For, the lives, the struggles, the rights of black people in Boston and across the country must never be entrusted to our class enemy. All who stand in support of desegregation, all who oppose the ugly racist terror gripping Boston must be mobilized in protests to defend busing and the black students. The need for organizing a defense based on labor and black organizations has never been more urgent. IMPLEMENT BUSING! FOR LABOR/BLACK DEFENSE AGAINST RACIST ATTACKS! ■

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# Halt RSB Hooliganism!

continued from page 12

and threats made by the RSB against the SYL at Boston University and the Boston area. Despite our political differences we jointly condemn such acts of violence within the left as part of a tendency, which, if escalated, would destroy the entire left. We stand for the right of all left and working class organizations to freely propagate their views in the public domain and to defend themselves against gangster attacks."

To date this statement has been endorsed by C. Cranston, vice president for Umoja, the BU black student organization; BU professors Murry Levin, Joseph Boskin, Robert Cohen; Ray Sherbill, former president of the BU Student Union; Bill Donahue, Mark Klinedienst, and Tina Sanchez, members of Socialist Union at Clark University; Al Gimmerson, professor at Clark; Jack Roach, professor at the University of Connecticut; Janet Roach, professor at Eastern Connecticut Community College; the Revolutionary Communist League (Internationalist); the Spartacist League; and the Boston University Spartacus Youth League. The petition has been submitted to *The News*, a weekly student publication at BU.

In addition to circulating this statement the SYL has continued to exercise its democratic right to sell and distribute literature at the BU campus, including at RSB public forums. The RSB's efforts to stifle revolutionary politics by silencing the revolutionaries has met with signal failure.

## Fists as the Handmaiden of Betrayal

Like all Stalinists the RSB resorts to gangsterism because it cannot politically defend its rotten politics. The RSB glorifies Stalin, who used concentration camps, firing squads and assassinations to wipe out the entire leadership of Lenin's Bolshevik party, and Mao, who has smashed all opposition to his bureaucratic clique and cult of personality, even those oppositions, like the Chinese Trotskyists 25 years ago and the Shanghai rail workers

last year, who were loyal to the gains of the Chinese revolution.

The RSB's cringing support for Mao's foreign policy leads it to line up with Kissinger, the CIA and the imperialist power play in Angola. At the same time the RCP hailed the suppression of the leftist soldiers' rebellion in Portugal as a "good thing," since "the social imperialists have been blocked from power" (*Revolution*, December 1975). In 1971 the RU/RSB apologized for Pakistani genocide in East Bengal and the brutal suppression of the youth revolt in Ceylon.

For the last two years in Boston the RCP has lined up with Louise Day Hicks and even demanded in one newspaper headline, "People Must Unite to Smash the Boston Busing Plan!" The RSB finds so-called "progressive" aspects in the racist offensive against busing but opposes the ERA and denounces homosexuality as "moral depravity" and "capitalist degeneracy."

It is their reactionary politics as well as their growing isolation that has driven the RSB supporters at BU and elsewhere to low-life thuggery. The RSB punks have reacted by aping the macho "toughness" of the racist "Southie" street gangs.

## We Will Defend Workers Democracy!

The SL/SYL has consistently defended the rights of every tendency in the left and labor movement to hold its own meetings, distribute its literature in any public place, attend all public meetings and defend itself from gangster attack. Our commitment to workers democracy is not merely verbal; we actively uphold workers democracy for ourselves and for every left group, including the RSB.

At Boston University, for example, we participated in a defense campaign for all the militants arrested in the 1974 CLADS demonstration, including several supporters of the RSB. At the City College of New York last year the SYL initiated a Committee to Defend the RSB to protest the victimization of RSB supporters after a sit-in at President Marshak's office. Just last semester the SYL protested the decision of the administration at the State University of New York at Stony Brook to revoke the campus status for the RSB, despite our protest over the RSB's disgusting exclusionism which had provoked the administration reprisal in the first place.

# Nixon's Visit... Harvard...

continued from page 2

succession crisis the Stalinist bureaucracy must establish an axis of stability capable of suppressing any genuinely anti-bureaucratic proletarian mobilization triggered by the turmoil and convulsions at the top within the bureaucratic regime.

As a parasitic bureaucracy forced by hostile imperialism to defend the revolutionary gains embodied in this non-capitalist state, the Chinese government for good reason stands in fear of the masses. But the bureaucracies misruling China, Russia and all the bureaucratically deformed workers states cannot be reformed through the rectifications of Stalinist "liberalism" (such as the ill-starred Hundred Flowers Campaign of the late 1950's) or the pressure of "mass criticism" (such as the Cultural Revolution).

Only a proletarian political revolution can smash the Stalinist bureaucracy and establish upon the collectivist property foundations a proletarian regime led by a revolutionary party and based upon soviet democracy. Only the proletariat in power can defend and extend the revolutionary gains through the urgently needed Sino-Soviet unity against world imperialism. ■

The record of the SL/SYL in defense of workers democracy and in opposition to violence against the left is impeccable. Even our opponents on the left have recognized our principled work. In a polemic against the SL, the Canadian supporters of the Internationalist Tendency admitted:

"they [the SL] have established a generally commendable record of support for other left tendencies under attack from the bourgeois state and have refrained from the use of violence against the left. (Itself not a minor achievement in light of the record of most other left formations within the labor movement)"

—SL: *Anatomy of a Sect* [emphasis added]

And once again we call on all those who uphold workers democracy to condemn the RSB's Stalinist thuggery. We warn the small-time Maoist hoods that their gangsterism against the left will be stopped.

DEFEND WORKERS DEMOCRACY!  
DEFEAT RSB GANGSTERISM! ■

continued from page 5

sexually biased wage differentials or hiring and promotional practices among the staff, must not be left to the "generosity" of administration budgets. All employees of Harvard—faculty, employed graduate students, and staff—need to unite into one campus-wide union. (Like any workers organization, such a campus-wide union would exclude from membership those who serve as direct representatives of the bourgeoisie or its repressive agencies; namely the Daniel Coynihans!) Such collective strength could wrest from the Board of Trustees funds sufficient not only to defend existing bargaining agreements and prerogatives and secure increased promotional opportunities but also to launch, under the control of the campus-wide union, an effective anti-discrimination recruitment drive.

While the Task Force may rest content with tokenism, the SYL sets its goals on something quite different. For many decades Harvard and a few other elite institutions have been the repository of much of the finest scholarship, the most extensive libraries and archives and some of the richest resources of bourgeois culture. But in capitalist society culture and scholarship are degraded as a refuge for the privileged rather than the heritage of all society. Consequently the SYL demands that all private universities be nationalized and supported in full by the federal government. We also raise the demand for open admissions with a state-provided living stipend and with all the necessary remedial and tutorial programs which would make university training economically and academically feasible. The end of discrimination means that the working class and poor can attend Harvard and the large plebeian colleges provide quality education!

The exclusiveness of Harvard's tremendous wealth of resources, protected as they are by literally centuries of bourgeois tradition, will not be attacked by the likes of Harvard President Derek Bok and his plethora of vice-presidents who are simply tools of the bosses who now dictate both means and ends for Harvard. The administration should be abolished and the university operated democratically under teacher/worker/student control! ■

# Sub Drive A Success!

YOUNG SPARTACUS announces with satisfaction the successful completion of our January 19-February 9 subscription drive. Through the dedicated and energetic efforts of the SYL membership we were able to more than fulfill our goal, finishing the drive with 116 percent of our national quota. We are encouraged by the many renewed subscriptions, and we greet all our new readers!

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DETROIT: SYL, c/o SL, Box 663A, General P.O., Detroit, MI 48232, or call (313) 881-1632

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LOS ANGELES: SYL, Box 2911, Vermont Sta., Los Angeles, CA 90029, or call (213) 485-1838

MADISON: SYL, Box 3334, Madison, WI 53704, or call (608) 257-4212

NEW YORK: SYL, Box 825, Canal Street Sta., New York, NY 10013, or call (212) 925-5665

PHILADELPHIA: SYL, c/o SL, Box 25601, Philadelphia, PA 19144, or call (215) 667-5695

### Trotskyist League of Canada

TORONTO: Box 222, Station B, Toronto, Ontario, or call (416) 366-4107

VANCOUVER: Box 26, Station A, Vancouver, B.C., or call (604) 299-5306

# Young Spartacus

## Frenzied Maoists on Gangster Binge

# HALT RSB HOOLIGANISM!

In Boston during February the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB), the youth group of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), has run amok in a campaign of threats, harassment, provocation and hooligan attacks against the Spartacus Youth League at Boston University (BU). Well known and justly despised for thuggery against its political opponents on the left, the RSB has been roundly denounced for its gangsterism against the SYL in a statement signed by several faculty members and the black student organizations at BU.

This most recent campaign against the SYL at BU began on February 3, when a lone SYL supporter was set upon by three RSB goons in the George Sherman Union (GSU) an hour before a scheduled "public" class sponsored by the RSB. One of the Stalinist hoods shoved the SYL comrade against a wall and hissed, "You better not show up tonight."

Determined to defend our democratic right to distribute literature in any public area, the SYL refused to be cowed by such threats, and a *Young Spartacus* sales team was dispatched to the area near the room where the RSB class was scheduled. But in the public hallway forty feet away from this classroom a group of frantic RSB supporters confronted our comrades and warned that we would not be allowed in the area. When the SYL sales team declared its intention to sell *Young Spartacus* and hand out flyers in front of the class, the RSB started a fight.

During the melee one RSB thug suffered a bloodied head while another received an arm injury. As the SYL withdrew from the scene, several RSB goons threatened to "get" SYL members later, and one of the Maoists spewed racist epithets, referring to a black SYL supporter as "curly head."

Then, in an act of cowardice and hypocrisy, the RSB ran to the agents of the BU administration in the GSU building, knowing full well that this would provoke the intervention of the campus cops. Indeed, the next day, when the SYL set up its literature table in the student center, the RSB in the company of campus cops fingered SYL supporters, charging them with an unprovoked assault!

### Maoist Gangsterism—The Record

But it is the RCP/RSB which is smeared by a long record of gangsterism, threats and harassment directed against its leftist critics. Only space limits the list of RCP/RSB thuggery:

- At BU last October 21, RCP/RSB goons assaulted three SYL members who were selling *Young Spartacus* outside a showing of "Ten Days That Shook the World." In this unprovoked attack one SYL comrade was thrown to the floor, another slammed against a wall, and a third kicked in the groin. A petition condemning the RSB's thuggery was published in the campus press.

- At BU on January 25 an RCP/RSB petty thug snarled at an SYL member, "You're going to be floating down the river just like the dead Vietnamese Trotskyites!"

- In New York last spring the RSB launched an unprovoked assault on the SYL at an anti-ROTC picket line at Columbia. Outnumbering the SYL by at least 4-to-1, the RSB knocked three comrades to the ground and then repeatedly kicked them in the back and neck; so brutal was this attack that one SYL comrade was hospitalized. This attack was roundly condemned by numerous campus organizations in a statement which appeared in the *Columbia Spectator*.

- In San Francisco on June 1, 1974, the Revolutionary Union (RU, forerunner of the RCP) harassed militant trade unionists passing out pro-ERA literature at a women's rights rally. An SL supporter who came to the aid of the militants was jumped by the Maoists and had his ear lobe bitten off—yes, bitten off!—by one of these rabid Stalinists.

- In Fremont, California, the RU had repeatedly threatened socialist newspaper salesmen outside the General Motors plant. In response the workers of UAW Local 1364 on October 8, 1973, passed the following motion,

"No member of this union shall attempt to prevent the sales or distribution outside the plant gate of the literature of the various labor/socialist groups, since this violates the basic tradition of free and open discussion within the labor movement."

- On April 11, the RSB in Los Angeles attacked members of the Progressive Labor Party who were attempting to join a demonstration protesting Moshe Dayan.

- On October 24, 1974, the *Guardian* reported an invasion of its New York offices by RU members trying to use "strong-arm tactics" on the *Guardian* staff.

- On February 21, 1975, and June 13, 1975, the *Militant* carried reports of

RCP/RSB attacks on *Militant* salesmen in Denver and Portland.

The list is endless!

### RSB Invites Administration Repression

By fingering the SYL the RSB has provided the Boston University administration with a pretext for a crack-down on the entire left on campus. The BU administration has a long history of repression against students, faculty and workers. In October 1974, the BU administration prosecuted some students protesting a conference at the reactionary Center for Latin American Development Studies (CLADS). During the past period the BU administration has fought against faculty unionizing drives and is currently involved in a court suit to deny union recognition. It has fired BU clinic workers solely for political activity and refused to allocate funds to these workers as mandated in a student referendum.

So, as a result of the RSB complaint, on February 4 the administration announced the suspension of the SYL from the campus, without providing charges, evidence or a trial. The administration then demanded that the SYL appear before an "unofficial" hearing on the "incident" involving the RSB. The SYL immediately responded with a leaflet stating: "We oppose testifying to the administration against any left group and will refuse to do so even when it involves our own defense... Keep the administration out of the affairs of BU students, faculty, and workers!"

In contrast to the enthusiastic cooperation the BU administrators received from the RSB, the SYL categorically refused to supply any details of the incident and refused to incriminate the RSB in any way during the forced hearing. The BU bureaucrats felt compelled to lift the suspension, having no evidence to back up the slanderous claims of the RSB. But the administra-

tion imposed a de facto suspension on the SYL and the RSB. "You might say that they are on probation," one bureaucrat stated (*The Daily Free Press*, 9 February 1976).

As a result of its collusion with the BU officials the RSB has facilitated the further tightening of restrictions against the left on campus. Sales are now banned in certain areas of the GSU making it difficult for any group to distribute propaganda in the student center. Also the administration has stepped up arbitrary harassment of the left, the SYL in particular. Objecting to our use of the term "class series" they recently threatened to cancel room reservations for the SYL.

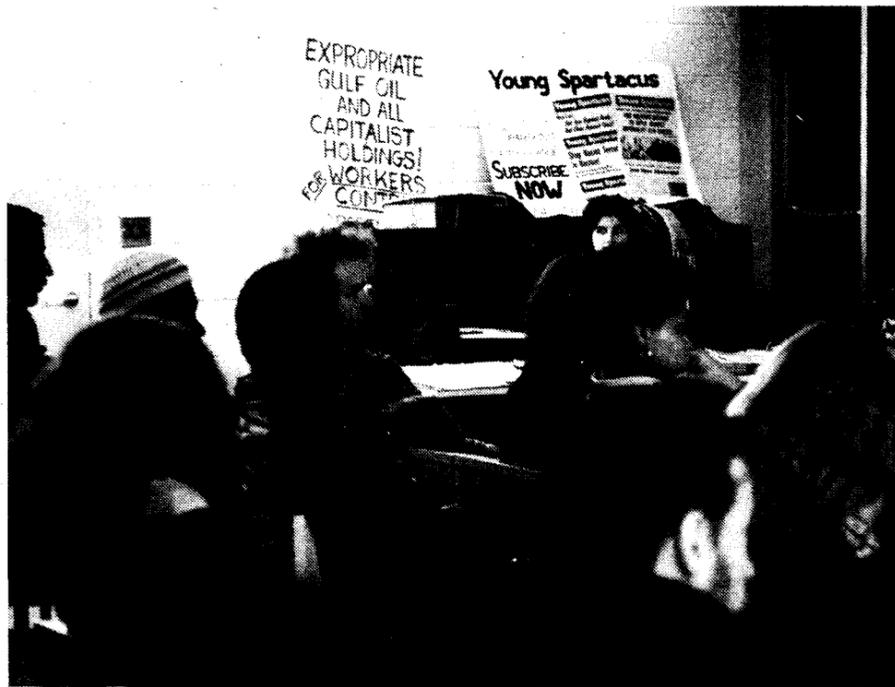
### Campaign of Threats

In the days and weeks following its ill-considered thug attack on the SYL, the RSB has continued to threaten our comrades. On February 6 in the Boston subway a raving RCP punk confronted an SYL member and threatened to "knife" him. At once the Stalinist was restrained by bystanders and the train conductor. That evening, in front of numerous witnesses in the BU student union, another livid RSB thug threatened to "pay back" an SYL member. Later, eight cowardly RSB supporters were seen lurking outside a YSA forum, but the SYL members attending the forum left the area together with YSA members in a show of force which prevented an RSB ambush.

The SYL has refused to be intimidated by Stalinist threats and thuggery at BU. Combatting the RSB with a political campaign, we began to circulate a petition against the RSB's despicable behavior soon after the February 3 confrontation. The petition stated,

"The undersigned organizations and individuals, considering themselves part of the left and working class movement, denounce the recent physical attacks

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Despite RSB threats, SYL held forum at Boston University (above), and



four other area campuses, exposing Mao's block with U.S. and South African imperialism in Angola.