

Young Spartacus

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Black Youth Battle Apartheid In South Africa



August 31—During the past few weeks in South Africa tens of thousands of black youth have courageously demonstrated their bitter hatred of the entire apartheid system by staging effective school boycotts, militant protest marches and a "stay-home" strike in Soweto township.

South Africa has been swept by these struggles against the white-supremacist regime of Prime Minister Vorster since June, when police in Soweto opened fire on students who were protesting the mandatory Afrikaans-language requirement. Since then at least 290 black people have been killed and over 170 detained without trial as the Vorster regime has answered the voice of plebeian black protest with snarling police dogs and bullets.

Militant and well-organized black youth again riveted international attention on Soweto when they began organizing a "stay-home" movement, and on August 23 they began a three-day strike which had been called by the bourgeois-nationalist African National Congress (ANC). In Soweto black youth ensured the success of the strike by amassing demonstrators at the commuter railway stations, bus stops and all other transportation points used by Soweto's 220,000 black workers to reach their workplaces in "white South Africa."

The three-day strike was effective. In Johannesburg industries and construction projects ground to a halt, revealing once again the enormous social weight of the black proletariat in South Africa. In addition, whites could be seen for the first time doing, or attempting to do menial labor. One caretaker of a swanky apartment building remarked, "Most [white] women in South Africa have no idea how to perform ordinary domestic chores" (*New York Times*, 24 August 1976).

Government Incites Murderous Strike-Breaking

Opposition to the three-day protest strike, however, was not confined to the Vorster government and the capitalists. While the large majority of black workers in Soweto reportedly supported the "stay-home" protest, at least some of the migrant workers in Soweto continued to travel from the township to

their workplaces during the strike. Part of a circulating contract labor force, most of the migrant workers are still closely tied to their homes and families in rural areas, where political opposition to the apartheid system is least developed. The migrant workers are generally recognized to be less detribalized than the urbanized resident population of Soweto and other large townships (*New York Times*, 27 August 1976).

At the outset of the "stay-home" strike, confrontations developed between the anti-apartheid demonstrators and some migrant workers. According to press reports, a mob of Zulu tribesmen armed with clubs and knives clashed with the demonstrators and during the next three days committed indiscriminate terror and violence which left 21 dead (*New York Times*, 25 August 1976).

At least in part the Zulu attack represented a recrudescence of tribalist animosity. And not surprisingly, the Zulus were also encouraged and even aided by the Pretoria regime and the employers. Even before the Zulu attacks Minister of Justice Kruger had called upon "responsible" blacks in Soweto to "band together" and defend their "right to work." At any other time, of course, the racist regime would deal brutally with any black person found bearing weapons. When the Zulus reportedly attacked black demonstrators as well as bystanders (including Zulus), the police refused to intervene. Likewise, a photo appeared in the South African press depicting employers driving truckloads of club-wielding Zulus into the worst trouble spots in Soweto (*New York Times*, 27 April 1976).

Free All Anti-Apartheid Militants!

An effective struggle against apartheid is necessary to unlock the class struggle in South Africa. To be carried forward, the fight against apartheid must secure basic democratic rights for the dispossessed and super-exploited black masses who now are locked into an oppressed caste. It is necessary for black people to win the right to form legal organizations for economic and political struggle. All restrictions on residency and mobility must be abolished, just as the color bar in employment and advancement must be ended. Such a struggle must demand

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**KARL
MARX
BEFORE
1848**

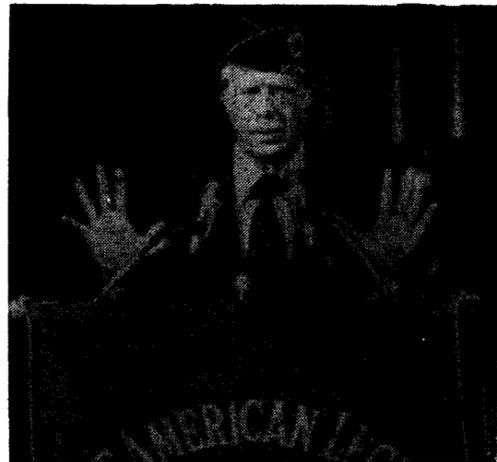
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**ARGENTINE
UNIVERSITIES
PURGED AS JUNTA
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**CARTER:
"BORN AGAIN"
WAR MONGER**



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Jimmy Carter: "Born Again" War Monger

When Democratic presidential candidate Jimmy Carter announced his support for pardoning Vietnam-war draft evaders during his recent speech at the American Legion convention in Seattle, many of the 15,000 assembled veterans howled in disapproval. But Carter responded by reverently bowing his head for a moment and then flashing his grin. It was a calculated performance, for no vote-seeking bourgeois politician—least of all Carter—would carelessly raise a liberal issue like amnesty for "draft dodgers" in front of an audience of super-patriots.

First, but not foremost, Carter realizes that in this presidential race the very mention of the word "pardon" should make his Republican rival Gerald Ford wince. The spectre of Watergate and the Nixon pardon indeed hung over the Republican nominating convention like a pall which even the frantic frivolity of the delegates could not exorcise. Following the Carter speech imperialist commander-in-chief Ford maintained a telling silence, letting his cohort Robert Dole respond.

In his speech to the same American Legion convention Dole criticized Carter for distinguishing between "pardon" and "amnesty;" then he proudly recalled that Ford had offered draft evaders a hard-nosed amnesty two years ago. Not a few of the American Legionnaires certainly must have recalled that Ford announced his "compassionate" amnesty offer ("I want them to come home, if they want to work their way back") at a convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, only to turn around and pardon the mass murderer and crook Nixon.

Dole has every reason to be just as eager as Ford to avoid the issue of the Nixon pardon. At the time of the pardon Dole publicly criticized Ford, albeit meekly like all the liberal politicians. In an interview with *Newsweek* (30 August 1976) Dole squirmed his way through a question about his attitude to the pardon now:

"Q. You criticized him over the Nixon pardon. How do you feel about it now?
A. At least it's behind us. Now you may not agree that it was the right thing to do. But perhaps as far as the settling of the Watergate problem it was probably a wise judgment."

As far as the pardon of Nixon, Carter today oozes sticky "compassion"—declaring, "I've never raised the question of the pardon at all myself"—while rubbing salt in the wounds of bourgeois opponent Ford. The insidious Carter wants to rake up Watergate to the detriment of the Republicans, while diverting attention from his past position on the Nixon pardon.

Carter Pardons Ford

At the time of the Nixon resignation Carter never once criticized Ford's pardon of Nixon. He simply joined in the chorus of Republicans and Democrats who exhorted the American people to "put Watergate behind us." No major capitalist politician denounced Nixon for his heinous crimes against the Vietnamese workers and peasants; they only turned on Nixon when he turned his "dirty tricks" against his Democratic class cronies, and then sought to brazen out his guilt through clumsy lies and desperate maneuvers "unbefitting" the highest political office of U.S. imperialism. Nixon was pressured out of office in the interest of a smoothly-functioning

imperialist machine.

In contrast to the liberals, the SL/SYL at the time raised the slogan, "Amnesty for draft evaders and deserters—No Amnesty for Nixon!" While opposing individual draft evasion as an empty moral gesture which can not substitute for anti-war organizing within the armed forces, we nevertheless opposed all attempts of the imperialist

order to obscure his long record of staunch militarism and flag-waving jingoism.

Carter was a firm supporter of U.S. imperialist intervention in Vietnam as late as 1971, when he began to inch toward the bourgeois politicians who opposed the war as detrimental to the long-range, overall interests of their class. But Carter was no liberal "dove,"



state to victimize and harass "draft dodgers." On the eve of the Nixon pardon we stated:

"Impeachment is too good for Nixon. A far more just reward for his crimes would be extradition to North Vietnam to face a jury of his victims. However, it is a foregone conclusion that the U.S. capitalist class, which daily condemns hundreds of men and women to long terms in the most revolting prisons for literally nothing more than stealing a loaf of bread, will do no more than possibly slap Nixon's hand."
—*Workers Vanguard*, 16 August 1974

Compassion for Lt. Calley

While using the pardon issue to snipe at Ford and Dole, Carter unquestionably has another more important maneuver afoot. Carter is faced with the difficult task of creating a liberal image to cover up his record of all-out support for the Vietnam war. Being booed by the American Legion is a cheap way to appear "liberal."

In his speech at the Legionnaires convention Carter described the amnesty question as the "single hardest decision" of his campaign. What nerve! In 1976 amnesty for draft evaders is simply not a campaign issue, having been favorably accepted by a majority of the American public as early as 1974 (which is one reason Ford came out in favor of "earned amnesty"). Amnesty is the one issue on which anti-war bourgeois liberals and even most conservatives can agree. Today Carter seeks to pose as a peace-loving liberal on the amnesty issue in

April 1971 Carter expressed sympathy for Lt. Calley, the beast who butchered Vietnamese civilians at My Lai, and called him a "scapegoat." Carter denounced the conviction of Calley as "a blow to troop morale" and shortly thereafter proclaimed an "American Fighting Men's Day."

Carter showed no such "compassion" for the student anti-war demonstrators at Kent State who were gunned down in cold blood by the Ohio National Guard. At the time stumping as a gubernatorial candidate in Georgia, Carter pledged to deploy National Guardsmen armed with live ammunition to clamp down on future campus "unrest" "even before violence erupts" (*Harper's Magazine*, March 1976).

At the 1972 Democratic Governor's Conference Carter sponsored a resolution which urged Democratic presidential candidates to avoid the issue of the war in Vietnam. As he later commented, "We should have appreciated and supported Nixon's efforts," which included defoliation, napalm, and genocidal terror bombing. From Nixon's mining of Haiphong harbor, which Carter characterized as "long-delayed," to Ford's desperate efforts to prop up the crumbling Thieu regime, Carter demonstrated his commitment to defend by the most barbaric means the interests of U.S. imperialism.

Jimmy Carter rivals Ronald Reagan and Gerald Ford in his undying hostility to the bureaucratically degenerated Russian workers state. Carter complains that "detente has been pushed too far" and that the CIA has been

"crippled" by recent disclosures. He has gathered a gaggle of foreign policy advisors with unblemished records of cold-war militarism. His military man is Admiral Hyman Rickover; his diplomatic specialist is former Secretary of State Dean Rusk; and his anti-Soviet "expert" is Columbia professor Zbigniew Brzezinski, who is a strong opponent of U.S.-USSR "detente."

For the Unconditional Defense of the Soviet Union!

Today all the ostensibly revolutionary organizations in this country denounce Carter's militarist policies. But, unlike the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League, the pro-Moscow Communist Party (CP) and the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), which are fielding their candidates as a so-called "socialist alternative," have failed to call for the unconditional defense of the USSR and the deformed workers states from imperialism.

The CP campaign is devoted to promoting "detente" between the Soviet Union and the U.S. (see article last page in this issue). Fostering the illusion that U.S. imperialism can be permanently pressured to "peacefully coexist" with the USSR, the CP "postpones" the necessary struggle to champion the unconditional defense of the Soviet Union and refuses to defend the People's Republic of China.

The SWP/YSA is campaigning on a "Bill of Rights for Working People" which also refuses to defend the USSR. In its stampede to make its politics acceptable to disaffected liberals the SWP/YSA candidates oppose "all dictatorships," equating the Stalinist regime in the USSR with reactionary capitalist regimes, such as Spain. The SWP/YSA refuses to draw the *class line* and to point out that despite the repressive bureaucratic caste which monopolizes political power, the USSR still preserves proletarian forms of property and a planned economy which must be defended from imperialism.

As Carter and Ford duel in reactionary demagoguery we call for the unconditional defense of the deformed/degenerated workers states, while simultaneously stressing the need for workers political revolution to oust the parasitic bureaucracies and to establish soviet democracy and revolutionary internationalism. Our task remains the fight for the independent mobilization of the working class against the twin parties of Wall Street and the Pentagon. Our task is to fight for the formation of a workers party based on the trade unions committed to a class-struggle program and a workers government—a government which will expropriate the capitalist class and dump their lackeys like Carter and Ford into the dustbin of history. ■

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Argentine soldiers.

Argentine Universities Purged

As Junta Repression Escalates

Following in the footsteps of the Chilean junta, the Argentine military regime headed by bonapartist-strongman Videla recently has escalated the repression sweeping campuses across the country.

Threatening a purge of all suspected "subversives" from the university system, General Adel Vilas, the deputy commander of the Fifth Army Corps, warned,

"Until we can cleanse the teaching area, and professors are all of Christian thought and ideology, we will not achieve the triumph we seek in our struggle against the revolutionary left."

Despite its pledges of "moderation," the junta is demonstrating its determination to strangle all dissent in an ever-tightening vise of repression. Above all the Argentine dictatorship has intensified its reign of terror against the "far-left" guerrilla movement.

In the recent campus crackdown 17 faculty were arrested at the University of the South in Bahia Blanca, and a police dragnet is reportedly in force for another 31 (*New York Times*, 5 August 1976). Earlier hundreds of faculty and students were expelled from other universities. The Buenos Aires leftist journal *Adelante* reported in its June 2 issue

"the expulsion of 347 teachers and non-academic employees in Córdoba, more than 150 in La Plata, a similar quantity at the University of Buenos Aires, 212 at the University of the South, the dismissal of all the temporary teachers in Salta and more than 70 in Tucumán. In the Ministry of Education, moreover, 25 functionaries were dismissed and massive dismissals occurred among the primary teachers."

In addition, large numbers of students have been expelled at the University of Córdoba for allegedly violating a new law which prohibits "all student, teacher and employee activity which assumes forms of indoctrination, propaganda, proselytism or agitation of a political or trade-unionist character." In several other universities "disciplinary regimes" have been established under military control. Moreover, the junta has announced plans for the "total reorganization of the system" of education to eliminate open admissions, an important gain for the working class won in 1970, and to slash enrollment.

As part of its iron-fisted campaign against "undesirable aliens" and in defense of "Christian thought" the junta has condoned and even encouraged anti-Semitism. In late July the government arrested eight Jews, releasing them only after a harrowing ten-day detention. In past weeks *Mein Kampf*, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and other fascist and anti-Semitic tracts have been distributed in both the public and Catholic schools, although the Ministry of Education officially dis-

claims responsibility.

More recently the Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance (AAA) and fascist gangs have stepped up their anti-Semitic terrorism. According to the *New York Times* (16 August 1976) several shops in Buenos Aires which are owned by Jewish merchants have been riddled with bullets by gunmen firing from speeding cars.

"War of Annihilation" Against Guerrillas

While the purge of liberal intellectuals from the universities and the encouragement of clerical terrorism indicate the increasingly totalitarian measures adopted by the junta to stabilize its dictatorial rule, the main target of the Argentine military continues to be the left and working-class movement. In the aftermath of the "Gentleman's Coup" in March the Argentine armed forces as well as the para-police squads of the AAA have arrested and often assassinated suspected leftists and trade unionists by the hundreds, including political refugees from Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay and Bolivia who are now trapped in Argentina.

In the past few weeks alone scores of guerrillas have been killed in police

raids and shoot-outs with the military. According to recent reports the leading cadres of the two largest guerrilla organizations—the Montoneros and the Revolutionary Workers Party/People's Revolutionary Army (PRT/ERP)—have been decimated. In late July Mario Santucho and Gorriaran Merlo, the two top leaders of the petty-bourgeois radical PRT/ERP, were reported to have been gunned down by the military in a raid.

Within the last two weeks the junta's "war of annihilation" against the "far left" has greatly intensified. According to *Newsweek* (30 August 1976) 47 "suspected guerrillas" were massacred with machine guns and dynamite near Buenos Aires; at one ambush site the hitmen posted a sign with the epitaph, "This is a Montonero cemetery." Meanwhile, "off duty" police have been abducting scores of Chilean and Uruguayan leftist refugees, and their fate remains unknown.

The repression in Argentina has taken a terrible toll on the "far left" and imperils the lives of thousands of political refugees. An international campaign of working-class defense on behalf of all who are threatened by the junta's right-wing terror continues to be a burning task. The victory scored by the international campaign to save Mario Muñoz, the Chilean miners' leader who had been marked for death

by Videla, represents a beacon of hope for the thousands of militants stranded in Argentina.

Crisis of Proletarian Leadership

The escalating repression in Argentina has dealt harsh blows to the fatal illusions promoted by both the pro-Moscow Communist Party of Argentina (CPA) and the main guerrilla organizations. Most criminal was the overt support for the junta proclaimed by the CPA following the March coup. Within days of the military takeover the Stalinist CPA sent a high-level delegation to General Videla to pledge their loyalty to the new regime of "moderation,"

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SYL FORUM

For
Workers Power
in Chile!

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CLEVELAND

Chilean Workers' Leader Saved From Videla Junta

Mario Muñoz is safe! The Chilean workers' leader hunted and hounded for months by the Argentine junta arrived safely in Vienna on August 4. The safe exit of Muñoz from Argentina came as the result of a four-month international defense campaign on behalf of Mario Muñoz and his family. The campaign was co-sponsored by the European-based Committee to Defend the Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile and the U.S.-based Partisan Defense Committee (PDC—an anti-sectarian, class-struggle defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League).

Mario Muñoz—a mineworker since the age of 14 and a recognized trade-union leader—was forced to flee Chile to Argentina following the September 1973 Pinochet coup. Within Argentina Muñoz continued his work in defense of his class brothers and sisters. But within days of the Videla coup Muñoz was a hunted man, as the junta issued orders for him to be shot on sight.

The success of the international defense campaign waged by the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz, which culminated in the arrival of Muñoz in Vienna under the auspices of the United Nations and through the cooperation of

Mario Muñoz arriving in Vienna.



Hubert Schatzl

the Austrian government, stands as a confirmation of the anti-sectarian, class-struggle policies which guided the Committee.

From around the world, and from scores of important labor organizations and prominent individuals, a barrage of letters, telegrams, inquiries and resolutions drew attention to the plight of Muñoz as well as the thousands of other class-war prisoners still trapped in Argentina. The Committee received the endorsement and support of hundreds of left and labor leaders, trade-union and defense organizations, political figures and intellectuals. Letters and articles focusing on the plight

of Muñoz and other victims of the junta's repression were printed in numerous newspapers, from the *New York Times* and the *New York Review of Books*, to *Le Monde* and the *Australian Tribune*.

Mario Muñoz is safe. But the struggle to defend his class brothers and sisters who are still imperiled by the barbaric military dictatorships in Latin America must continue. The international campaign to save Mario Muñoz, conducted in the spirit of international labor solidarity, is an important example of the kind of defense needed to save tens, hundreds and thousands more in Latin America.

Bureaucrats Betray Strike—

SYL Demonstrates Solidarity With Hospital Workers



Young Spartacus

NEW YORK CITY—At the beginning of August 17,000 hospital workers organized in Local 420 of District Council 37 (AFSCME) walked off their jobs in the decrepit New York City municipal hospital system in the first official strike here against the cutbacks and layoffs which have been pounding the city labor movement.

Predictably, the capitalist media denounced these low-paid, non-professional workers for striking against the so-called "public interest." The "liberal" *New York Times* shed crocodile tears for "the sick, the young and other victims" of this "illegal" strike, while the sensationalist *Daily News* accused the largely black and Puerto Rican union ranks of being "Cold, Callous and Cruel."

But in fact it is the bourgeoisie and its Democratic city administration which have callously disregarded the health and well-being of the working and poor people of this city through a vicious austerity drive that includes slashing cutbacks in the municipal hospital system. Demanded the *New York Times*:

"in the long run there must be fewer hospitals, fewer beds and fewer hospital workers if the city is to have an efficient health care system that can meet the needs of its sick with fair return to employers at a price the public can afford to pay."

Quality health care *should* be provided in the public interest, and *not* administered to provide "fair return to employers"! The private hospitals should all be nationalized, and all health facilities should be funded at the federal level to provide *free, quality health care for all*.

The massive layoffs in the already woefully inadequate New York municipal hospital system have become literally a life-and-death matter for working-class and poor people who cannot escape the city hospitals through private insurance coverage or Medicaid programs. For example, the *New York Times* reported (one week after endorsing the hospital cuts) the grisly story of one woman who entered the emergency room of Lincoln hospital in severe pain but was informed that she could not be accommodated until a bed became available after the death of a patient!

So devastating have been the cutbacks that many once-dedicated young doctors are simply leaving in despair. One told the press, "Now I'm through. Given up, essentially. To stay here is to watch people die needlessly."

Union Tops Sabotage Strike

In the face of the capitalist austerity drive the bureaucratic misleadership of the city labor movement has given up without a struggle, and given up generously, sacrificing over 50,000 jobs in the last two years. The strike by Local 420 against the layoffs could have been the rallying point for strike action by the entire municipal labor movement to smash the austerity drive ravaging New York City to restore all the jobs and needed social services which have been slashed.

But the leadership of Local 420 called the strike only to let the militant and angry ranks blow off steam. Victor Gotbaum and Lillian Roberts, the president and associate director of DC 37 respectively, have *never* called out the ranks of Local 420 before, last year sacrificing 3,000 union

jobs without a fight.

Moreover, when the 40,000 private hospital workers of District 1199 struck in July, Gotbaum and Roberts ordered their members to scab on the 1199 picket lines set up in front of municipal hospitals. Instead of bringing out their own ranks in solidarity and calling for a city-wide strike action against the layoffs, Gotbaum and Roberts were hobnobbing with the "friends of labor" as delegates inside the Democratic Party convention.

During the strike the Local 420 and DC 37 labor fakers made no effort to defend and sustain the strike. With pressure for a strike building up among clerical workers in Local 1547 (whose ranks had been instructed to cross the lines of its own District Council strike by Gotbaum!), and right after the ambulance drivers finally announced their intention to honor the picket lines, the DC 37 bureaucracy called off the strike and unveiled its "victory" settlement: *giving up* the \$10-million cost-of-living increase previously won by the union in return for a *postponement* of the layoffs until January 1! The militant ranks, constantly harassed by

the cops and betrayed on all sides by the labor tops, agreed to return to work.

The defeat of the four-day municipal hospital strike only underscores once again the need for a struggle within the city unions to oust the class-collaborationist, sellout bureaucracy and replace these "labor statesmen" with a militant leadership fighting for a class-struggle program. Essential to advancing the struggle of city labor is a fight for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay, providing jobs at the expense of the capitalists, as well as for full cost-of-living escalator clauses. The burning task still remains to mobilize the entire city labor movement for a general strike against all the cutbacks and layoffs.

Solidarity with City Workers

During the hospital strike the Spartacus Youth League worked to rally students at the City College of New York to walk the picket lines and demonstrate solidarity with the striking workers. In contrast, the big-talking opportunists of the Revolutionary Student Brigade, Young Socialist Alliance and Progressive Labor Party were nowhere to be found. The Young Socialist Alliance was busy praising Lillian Roberts, while Progressive Labor raised the irresponsible slogan, "mass violence is the only way to win any strike."

The SYL intervened with the call for labor/student mobilizations against the cutbacks and layoffs. We pointed out the need to fight for the restoration of open admissions/no tuition in the City University of New York, for an end to all cutbacks and layoffs and the rehiring of all dismissed personnel, for federal funding of all higher education and the nationalization of the private universities. We pointed out that the fight against the cutbacks must be linked to a class-struggle program and perspective pointing to a workers government to expropriate the capitalist class.

At CCNY the Ad Hoc Committee for Victory to the Hospital Strike, initiated by the SYL, held a rally on campus on August 5 and marched through Harlem to Harlem Hospital. The chants—such as "Victory to the hospital strike, workers and students must unite" and "Victory to the hospital strike, end all cuts and layoffs"—were enthusiastically received by bystanders along the way. When the contingent of CCNY students and members of the Militant Solidarity Caucus of the National Maritime Union reached the hospital they were met by applause and shouts of encouragement by the 200 strikers on the picket lines.

As the contingent joined the picketing workers SYL spokesman Brian Mendis was offered the union bullhorn to address the strikers. He drew prolonged applause when he declared, "It is necessary for city workers and CUNY students to link their struggles against the common enemy. What is needed to defeat the offensive of the Beame administration is a general strike of all city workers and students! Victory to the hospital strike!" ■

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Collective Bargaining On Campus:

"Student Input" Scheme No Victory For Kent Union

This summer the Board of Trustees at Kent State University agreed to grant student government representatives "observer status" in collective bargaining negotiations between the administration and the United Faculty Professional Association (UFPA), which is the Kent faculty union. The decision by the trustees came in response to a campaign which had been waged by a small circle of campus pseudo-radicals in the Student Caucus (the undergraduate student government). The final agreement stipulates that three student government officers would be permitted to participate in the administration/UFPA bargaining sessions with full voice, but no vote, on "all issues being negotiated which impact directly on students" (*Kent Weekly*, 14 July 1976).

During their campaign the Student Caucus "radicals" disclaimed "striving for power" and occasionally indicated their support for the UFPA, although the petition which they circulated did not explicitly support the faculty union, but merely called for "responsible student input" to "expedite and harmonize negotiations." For its part the leadership of the UFPA decided to endorse the petition campaign.

Trailing after the Student Caucus was the fake-left Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB) and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), both of which uncritically supported the demand for "student input" into the administration/UFPA negotiations. Despite all the illusions of the fake-radicals in this scheme, the administration decision to allow "student input" in labor/management

disputes represents no victory from the standpoint of the interests of the working class. Why?

The Labor Movement and the "Public Interest"

For the frustrated campus-parochial "radicals" of the Student Caucus the "student input" agreement has been seen simply as another means for student-government "progressives" to voice their support for the faculty union and perhaps wrangle some concessions from the administration in the process. But for socialists and class-conscious trade unionists such token schemes involve a larger class issue—the question of "public representation" in labor/management disputes.

Many students on campus have viewed the campaign as a contest between the administration and the "campus community," namely, the students and faculty. Indeed, the UFPA—as its name implies—considers itself more a campus "professional association" than a labor union. Consequently, the elementary issues of union rights and prerogatives have not been raised by the faculty union.

The task of communist youth on campus is to intervene to draw the class line. To begin, we do recognize the distinctions between teachers and industrial workers. University faculty in their social position constitute a petty bourgeois layer, widely differentiated with respect to income, privilege and job security. A great gap separates the ivy-league academic elite from the semi-proletarianized teachers at many plebeian institutions.

But we nevertheless recognize that an employee/employer relationship prevails between "professionals" such as teachers and their capitalist employer, the university administration. Thus, we advocate the formation of campus-wide unions of all university employees (excluding, of course, supervisory personnel and campus cops), and we seek to build student support for organizing drives by faculty as well as employed graduate students.

As socialists on campus we stress that employees unions can protect their interests and fight for demands in the interests of students only through the methods and organizations of the class struggle. It is an elementary tenet of the labor movement that the interests of labor can only be defended by struggle centered on the organizations of labor. The trade-union struggle between labor and management at its most basic level concerns a struggle over how much the capitalist will exploit his workers. It has nothing to do with "the public."

The rise of the trade-union movement in this country left a history of often bitter and stormy class battles by the working class to be represented in collective bargaining by the unions—and only by the unions. At the bargaining table, no less than on the picket lines, a class line separates the interests of the workers from the interests of management. Any "public representatives" brought into labor/management disputes must ultimately serve either one side or the other, just as there can be no "neutral ground" between strikers and scabs.

It is no mystery why the bosses and their state promote a plethora of schemes for introducing allegedly "neutral" third parties in labor/management struggles, from binding arbitration deals to wage-price control boards which include so-called "representatives of the public." By virtue of its commanding economic and social position the bourgeoisie has at its disposal a thousand-and-one resources to ensure that "public representation" will work in its favor.

Are Students Inherently Pro-Labor?

It is a scandalous indication of indifference and even contempt for the principles of labor solidarity that self-proclaimed socialists like the RSB and YSA enthuse over the "student input" scheme at Kent State. The RSB on campus echoed the worst liberal "professionalism" of the UFPA by declaring to the SYL that "teachers aren't workers." Period.

The RSB defends its support to the Kent variant of hoary "public representation" schemes by maintaining that students as a social group are somehow inherently "progressive." This contention is simply indefensible. Especially in this country college students form a heterogeneous group derived from diverse backgrounds. Student youth are a trans-class population, coming from and, upon leaving the university, taking their place in the various classes of bourgeois society. During the period of their studies students are a declassed group, divorced from specific relations to the main means of production.

It is certainly true that student youth tend to be politically volatile under the impact of broad social crises. During the labor upsurge of the '30's, for example, students were mobilized in significant numbers both for strike-support activities and for strike-breaking.

At Kent State University the decision providing for "student input" will by no means necessarily strengthen the hand of the faculty union in any way. The Kent administration clearly recognizes this. When one Student Caucus member stated, "We just want to provide input, not cause an impasse," a Kent trustee replied: "We may want an impasse. Collective bargaining is the erosion of the day" (*Kent Stater*, 14 May 1976).

Democratic and Class Issues

The YSA at Kent State, on the other hand, justified its support for the "student input" scheme on the basis that it allegedly represents a first step to "democratize" the university. Even if this "student representation" were not a token but really involved, for example, students with voting rights in the collective bargaining process, socialists would unconditionally oppose such a "democratic" infringement of the hard-won rights of the working class. In the Bay Area, for example, the bourgeoisie has placed on the ballot—how democratic!—a spate of anti-labor propositions. Socialists must oppose all attempts to subordinate the class struggle of the proletariat to the so-called "will of the majority," even when expressed through such formally democratic procedures.

How To Support the Union

The "student input" in effect now at Kent at best could result only in the most token verbal support for the union from the present crew of "radicals." Any "input" critical of the administration will fall on their deaf ears, while the sham spectacle of "student participation" will only foster illusions in "harmonious" labor/management relations and open the door to union busting; the "student representation" at Kent already is, and almost invariably will be just a special-interest lobby for one or another clique of student careerists.

We fight to mobilize students not for such token schemes but for struggles in support of campus worker's strikes and organizing drives, as well as labor-student mobilizations against cutbacks and layoffs. We demand that the capitalist administration be abolished, and the university be placed under student/faculty/worker control.

Presenting itself as the "moderate" socialists on campus the YSA has demonstrated its unwillingness to see the class issues over and above the democratic issues and to fight for them. Thus, recently at Kent the YSA members who work within the Kent Gay Liberation Front threw themselves into a campaign demanding that military recruiters not be permitted to visit campus until the military ceases its discrimination against homosexuals. The YSA "forgot" to raise as an issue its supposedly unconditional opposition to the military recruiters appearing on campus to drum up volunteers for the imperialist war machine.

Moreover, as socialists we fight for the nationalization of all private universities and for all education to be funded at the federal level. To break down the barriers of class- and race-discrimination within the educational system we call for open admissions with a living stipend for all. Ours is not a struggle for student-power schemes, but for a socialist society in which quality higher education will cease to be a privilege for the few but rather will become an egalitarian and genuinely enriching opportunity open to the masses of working people. ■

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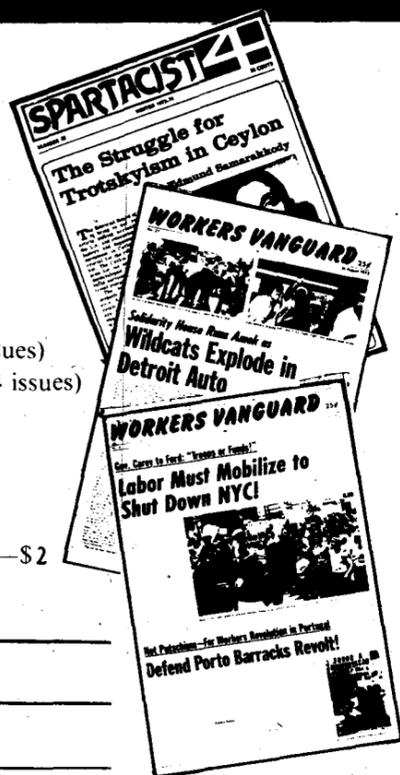
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From the "Arsenal" of Pacifism

Sunday Socialists Preach "Bill of Rights Protection" for Fascists

It has long been a battle cry of crusading civil libertarians that the working-class movement should recognize and respect "freedom of speech and assembly" for all, including fascist demagogues.

But this misguided liberalism also finds an echo on the American left among opportunist tendencies eager to demonstrate their "respectability." Most vociferous in its repudiation of any intention to deny "democratic rights" for fascists has been the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and its youth appendage, the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA). For some time the SWP/YSA has capitulated to the civil-libertarian fetish of defending the so-called "right" of fascists to spew their inflammatory filth and rally forces for racist terror.

Yet the SWP/YSA has been increasingly hard put to defend this despicable line. Over the last few years fascist gangs such as the Nazis and Ku Klux Klan, even though they are still isolated and generally despised sects, have been able to exploit festering situations of racial polarization, becoming more emboldened in their racist provocations and vicious attacks.

During the past several months, for example, the Nazis in Chicago have given the working people and black masses a glimpse of the threat posed by their exercise of "free speech and assembly." In Marquette Park, a predominantly Lithuanian ethnic community which has been a citadel of fierce racist opposition to residential desegregation, the Nazis have enflamed the long-simmering segregationist mood into hysteria and have been able to spearhead mob violence against black people in neighborhoods across the white "Maginot Line" (see "Racist Assaults Escalate in Chicago," *Workers Vanguard*, 11 June 1976).

A recent issue of the New York *Village Voice* (23 August) carried a front-page feature story covering the Nazi organizing drive in Marquette Park. Despite its petty-bourgeois admiration for the tenacious "cultural cohesion" of the Lithuanian community, the article provides a vivid description of how the Nazi thugs, having been ignored for years, now are tolerated and even respected by many as the voice and muscle of "white power." According to the *Village Voice*, these uni-

formed fascists today can draw crowds of lumpen white youth to their open-air meetings in Marquette Park, where these would-be stormtroopers rant about race war and distribute large numbers of T-shirts emblazoned with swastikas.

The prevailing mood in Marquette Park was tersely summed up by a 23-year-old resident, who described himself as more liberal than most of his neighbors. He told the *Village Voice* reporter, "I don't want to join the Nazi party, but I'm coming to the point where I think we need them to help us."

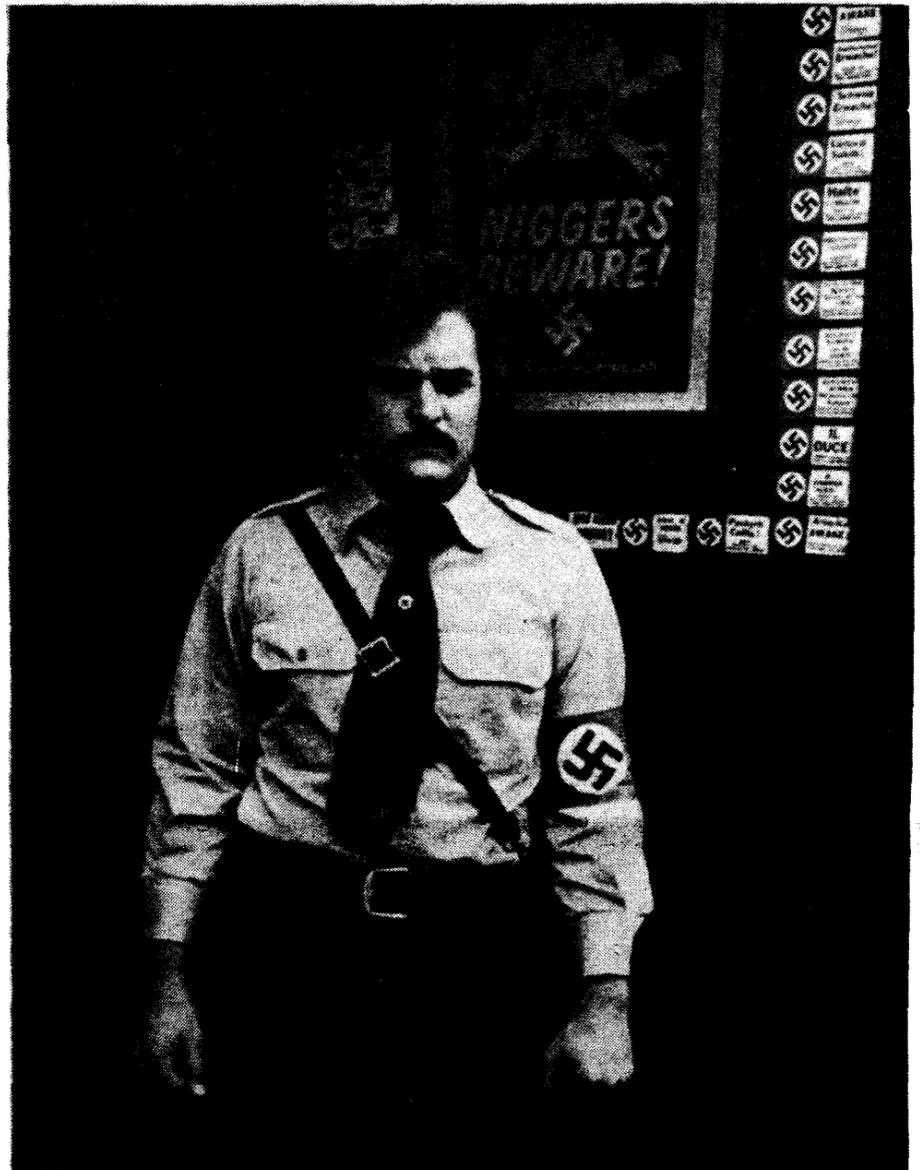
Groveling Before Liberalism

To be sure, the SWP/YSA did not embrace the position favoring "free speech for fascists" as a result of ignorance about the menace which even small fascist gangs represent to black people, as well as ostensibly socialist organizations. More than a few times the SWP/YSA has been the target of vicious fascist attacks, especially in Los Angeles.

Nor does the SWP/YSA respect "democratic rights" for fascists simply as a maneuver to reach the few working-class elements misled by "radical" fascist demagogy. The SWP/YSA has not yet tried to link its line with the only conceivable parallel in the early history of the Comintern: the German Communist Party (KPD) of 1923 and its dubious "Schlageter line" on fascists.

At that time the revolutionary KPD, in an attempt to intersect the masses of pauperized petty bourgeois attracted to the Nazi Party on the basis of its opposition to French revanchism and Entente capital, pursued debates with the fascists and even addressed nationalist rallies on common platforms with Nazis. Nevertheless, at no time during this short-lived but controversial maneuver did the KPD suggest that the proletariat was bound to respect the "democratic rights" of the Nazis and Freikorps bands; on the contrary, Karl Radek, for example, called for militant action "to defend the proletariat with armed force against the Fascists and, if necessary, to attack them."

Rather, the SWP/YSA today pledges never to infringe upon the alleged "rights" of the fascists above all be-



Recent recruit for fascist scum, Marquette Park.

Rachel Cowan/Village Voice

cause of its appetite for liberal "respectability." Having abandoned a revolutionary program and perspective more than a decade ago, the SWP/YSA today shares with the liberals their illusions of isolating and thwarting the fascists simply through the "democratic process."

At bottom, the SWP/YSA is content to spout liberal pacifism and grant the fascists their alleged "rights" because, like the liberals, these ex-Trotskyists operate within the political perspective of reforming capitalism to "work" in the interests of the oppressed and against the fascist thugs. While revolutionaries maintain that only the destruction of the capitalist system can ensure the final defeat of the fascist threat, the SWP/YSA reformists offer as their "solution" to crisis-ridden capitalism a panacea (the "Bill of Rights for Working People") so innocuous and legalist that not very long ago the staff director of the Democratic Party platform committee actually suggested that "we adopt this. It all looks perfectly reasonable" (quoted in the *Militant*, 14 November 1975).

Likewise, while Trotskyists call for labor/black defense against racist and fascist terror, the SWP/YSA has championed (even more vociferously than the NAACP and black Democrats) the demand for federal troops and more cops to be sent to Boston to "protect" black people from the anti-busing racist

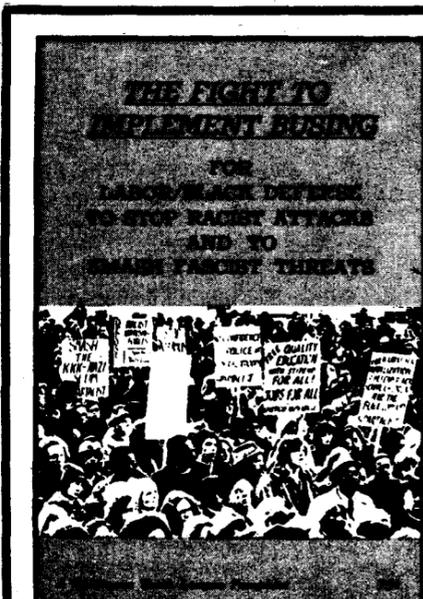
offensive. It is this confidence in reformist pressure politics which the SWP/YSA today expresses in its demand that fascists be allowed their "right" to organize.

Flabby Reformists Wrestle with Revolutionary Criticism

The SWP/YSA has also been compelled to defend its line on fascism from the polemics of the Spartacus Youth League and Spartacist League. Several months ago the SWP/YSA issued an "Education for Socialists" bulletin entitled *The Fight Against Fascism in the USA*, which was an attempt to answer the program and practice of the SYL regarding the struggle against fascist threats. *Young Spartacus* has already published two articles exposing this small-scale monument of obfuscation and deceit (see "Why We Do Not Recognize 'Free Speech for Fascists,'" *Young Spartacus*, May and June 1976).

Within the last several weeks, however, the SWP/YSA has churned out yet two more such "educational" bulletins on anti-fascism, entitled *Counter-mobilization* and *What is American Fascism?* Like *The Fight Against Fascism in the USA*, *Counter-mobilization* is devoted to defending "free speech for fascists" and to attacking the Trotskyist politics of the SYL.

According to its introductory note, *Counter-mobilization* reproduces a dis-



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

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cussion by SWP and YSA leaders that was "sparked by an incident at San Francisco State University" in March, 1975. This so-called "incident" happens to be the united-front picket-line demonstration against Nazi speakers at San Francisco State that was initiated by the SYL (see "No Platform for Fascist Scum! SYL Builds Anti-Nazi Demonstration," *Young Spartacus*, April 1975). It should be added that this "incident" also "sparked" the first SWP/YSA bulletin on anti-fascism.

As *Young Spartacus* detailed at the time, the YSA played an utterly despicable role at San Francisco State. From the outset the YSA refused to endorse or in any way support the anti-fascist protest. Why?

The YSA whined that the united-front slogan—"No Platform for Fascists!"—denied "free speech" for these degenerate thugs! Thus, while the slogan was endorsed by the campus workers' union and several Bay Area militant trade-union caucuses, the YSA refused to participate in the allegedly "ultraleft" demonstration, surfacing on campus only after the protest, and then only to denounce the militant demonstration as a "disruption" (*Zenger's*, 19 March 1975).

Repudiating the "Excesses" of Liberalism

Unlike the first bulletin, which smears the San Francisco State protest, *Counter-mobilization* repudiates the political line adopted by the YSA on campus. Perhaps the SWP/YSA has reconsidered its conservative opposition to the slogan "No Platform for Fascists"? Absolutely not!

On the contrary, *Counter-mobilization* declares that in the anti-fascist struggles of the New Deal period, when the then-revolutionary SWP and its youth section campaigned with slogans like "No Platform for Fascists," the Trotskyist movement allegedly committed a grave "error" by "declaring that the 'rights' of the fascists must be 'taken away' by the workers" and by "describ[ing] the objective of anti-fascist counter-mobilizations as preventing the fascists from 'assembling and spreading their insidious program.'" Thus, in no uncertain terms the SWP/YSA repudiates revolutionary propaganda indicating the need to stop the fascists from mobilizing for their anti-labor, racist attacks.

Moreover, even the mealy-mouthed, simpering line of the YSA calling for an "educational campaign" at San Francisco State to convince the "campus majority" of the need "to stop the fascists from speaking" proved to be too much for the SWP/YSA leadership. Says SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes in *Counter-mobilization*:

"I think the YSA's only mistake [at San Francisco State] was the one statement opposing the fascists' right to speak on campus. That was unnecessary. In one sense, of course, these murdering goons have no right to breathe air. But that sentence could be interpreted as meaning that radical groups are taking it upon themselves to decide that these individuals have no Bill of Rights protection. We don't say that."

At last an honest statement! Barnes and Co. serve notice that the SWP/YSA has no intention of building a movement that would ever "prevent the Nazis from speaking," even when such action has been prepared by an "education campaign" and has the support of the "campus majority."

This repudiation of the YSA line as applied at San Francisco State actually exposes all the arguments rattled off by the SWP/YSA leaders in *Counter-mobilization*. The SWP/YSA seeks to justify its capitulation to civil libertarianism with the rationalization that granting the fascists the "right" to organize is simply a clever "tactic" which "helps you to mobilize young people and win over civil libertarians. You build up the forces that will be able to deal with the fascists when the reality of the conflict between fascists and anti-fascists manifests itself in a more physical form." But the SWP/

YSA in fact preaches that anti-fascists must always respect the "rights" of fascists, no matter how many liberal-minded students and civil libertarians have been "mobilized" on the basis of pacifist slogans. *Counter-mobilization* deflates like a balloon filled with hot air.

Where's the Working Class?

Counter-mobilization argues that granting the fascists their "rights" is absolutely necessary to lure liberals—the "forces that will be able to deal with the fascists." But these petty-bourgeois radicals "forget" to even consider the working class, the only force with the class interest and social power to effectively "deal with" the fascists when the struggle "manifests itself in a more physical form." As Trotsky argued so forcefully in *Whither France?*, the only effective means to rally the vacillating middle class to the struggle against a serious fascist threat is through demonstrating the power and resolve of the proletariat, mobilized in workers defense guards. History has demonstrated that "flabby pacifism" on the part of the working-class movement can only encourage the frustrated petty bourgeoisie to turn in despair to the fascists for a "radical" solution to the social crisis.

So hardened in reformism is the SWP/YSA that it cannot even conceive of the working class ever suppressing the fascists through defense guards based on the organizations of the working class and black community. Rather, the SWP/YSA can only conceive of the capitalist state as the force to beat back the fascists in the name of "democracy." Thus, in the course of the discussion as recorded in *Counter-mobilization* the YSA leadership declares: "It's basically self-contradictory to say that we don't call upon the state or campus administration to ban these fascist groups and at the same time say that they have no right to speak."

It's the SWP/YSA line that in fact is blatantly contradictory. If the capitalist state really can be "pressured" by "mass action" to defeat the racist offensive in Boston and defend the struggle of black people, then the SWP/YSA should logically conclude that the bourgeois state likewise could be "forced" to suppress the fascist bands and defend the left and labor movement.

Yet *Counter-mobilization* maintains that "Anything the government might do to interfere with the exercise of democratic rights by the fascists, they will at the same time apply to the left, to the anti-fascists." Quite true! And for the same reason the capitalist state will deploy troops and cops in Boston only to restore racist "law and order," smashing any self-defense efforts of the black people.

In the past the SWP/YSA has not openly supported liberal demands for the state to ban the fascists. While the SWP/YSA is prepared to demand troops to Boston, which would gravely imperil the lives of black people fighting for black equality, it is not yet prepared to call for government suppression of fascist organizations, which would indeed jeopardize the SWP/YSA's democratic rights. The manifest contradiction in the SWP/YSA line reeks of the most rank opportunism.

"Ultra-Leftism" and All That

In *Counter-mobilization* the YSA leaders confess that arguing in favor of "free speech for fascists" is certainly not popular with many black students and other radicals who "don't have any civil libertarian hangups." With chagrin they relate how at several anti-fascist demonstrations black students in particular have become so outraged by the filth spewed by a fascist demagogue that "Fifty or sixty Black students just went inside and started shouting down the racist."

What is the response of the SWP/YSA to such spontaneous protests against the fascists? Not only does the SWP/YSA defend the so-called "right" of the fascists to appear on campus in a

continued on page 10

The Record

Speaks For Itself

Trotskyism vs. SWP/YSA

"Only militant counter-action can nip American fascism in the bud."
—*Militant*, 14 July 1945

"A fascist movement cannot be 'nipped in the bud' no matter how many of their meetings are disrupted."
—*Militant*, 1 August 1975

"The experience of all countries, including the United States, proves beyond any doubt whatever that the agencies of the bourgeois democratic state will not and cannot carry out this defense [against the fascists]; but that on the contrary, reliance upon these agencies guarantees the smashing of the workers and the victory of the fascists. Only the workers themselves, relying on their own means and strength, can defend their own organizations and life and liberties. The only possible form of defense against the fascists is the Workers Defense Guard... Advocacy and support of the Guard is an integral and decisive part of the political program of our party and a political weapon of the utmost importance."
—*Socialist Appeal*, 7 July 1939

"You [the Trotskyist SL/SYL] say that bringing federal troops to Boston would necessarily lead to the suppression of both Black and white workers. That's not true... The call for trade-union defense guards isn't realistic right now... It's not a serious proposal. It has nothing to do with meeting the needs of the Black community today."
—*Militant*, 1 November 1974

"As revolutionaries we distinguished ourselves from the liberals by qualifying our interpretation of civil rights. We aim to deny these rights to our enemies... WE REFUSE TO STRUGGLE FOR OR DEFEND THE CIVIL LIBERTIES OF THOSE MOVEMENTS AND ORGANIZATIONS WHICH AIM TO DENY US (the working class) CIVIL LIBERTIES AND RIGHTS (Fascists)."
—*New Militant*, 20 July 1935

"...an effective struggle against reactionary ideas and violence cannot be carried out if one begins by placing qualifications on democratic rights in the case of fascists... Because of the importance of democratic rights to the oppressed, the denial of this right to racists or fascists can only backfire."
—*Militant*, 1 August 1975

[original emphasis]

"In addition, [at a picket-line protest demonstration against fascist Gerald L.K. Smith in Los Angeles] many hundreds entered the hall, booing the speakers, applauding lustily at the wrong places, and finally making a demonstrative exit as Smith himself took the microphone... In Sacramento his meeting was picketed from the outside and met with heckling from the majority of the audience inside."
—*Militant*, 10 November 1945

"Many of these Black students don't have any civil-libertarian hangups... A couple of them will sometimes go into the meeting and hear what this guy is spewing out. They bring it back to the demonstrators. Several times the [SWP/YSA] picket-line monitors have lost control of the demonstrations because of this. Fifty or sixty Black students just went inside and started shouting down the racist... The problem is ultraleftism. In this case, it is ultraleftism on the part of Black students... The ultralefts in the Black student movement don't know the time of day any more than the Spartacists."
—*Counter-mobilization*

"The wailing and weeping about the Nazi's 'rights' can safely be left to the prissy liberals and the phony democrats. The self-preservation of the working class demands that it cut through all abstract chatter and smash the Fascist gangs by decisive and relentless action."
—*Socialist Appeal*, 3 March 1939

"If you demand that the government suppress the freedom of speech of the fascists or declare your intention of suppressing it, you automatically put the civil libertarians on the other side... If you are insisting that fascists can't speak, you risk antagonizing students."
—*Counter-mobilization*

Marxism and the Jacobin Communist Tradition/Part 5

Past issues of *Young Spartacus* have featured the first four installments of "Marxism and the Jacobin Communist Tradition." The first part of the series was devoted to the Great French Revolution and its insurrectionary continuity through the Jacobin Communists Babeuf and Buonarroti. The second part treated the Carbonari Conspiracy, the French Revolution of 1830 and Buonarroti, the Lyons silkweavers uprising and the Blanquist putsch of 1839. The next article analyzed British Chartism in detail, and the fourth part discussed the origins of the Communist League. Back issues may be obtained for 25 cents per issue. Send your check or money order to Spartacus Youth Publishing Company, Box 825, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

By Joseph Seymour

Karl Marx Before 1848



Marx as a student in 1836.

EDITOR'S NOTE: The following article is an edited transcript of a presentation given by SL Central Committee member Joseph Seymour at the SYL Midwest Regional education conference held in Chicago during April.

Most of you know that the "young Marx" had something to do with the Young Hegelians and with Hegel's philosophy. The relation of Marx to the Young Hegelians and Hegelian philosophy actually involves two very different questions, and only the second is difficult, obscure and interesting. Marx's relation to the Young Hegelians, which was a literary/ideological/political movement among the radical intelligentsia, is actually quite straight-forward and easy to comprehend.

The Young Hegelians

Hegel lived through the epoch of revolution and counter-revolution, and he was probably the only really great thinker to be profoundly influenced by both the French Revolution and also the Metternichian reaction. He attempted to mediate on an ideological level between the revolutionary Europe of 1789-1815 and the reactionary Europe thereafter. Politically, he was a liberal, or constitutional monarchist.

Therefore, one aspect of Hegel's thought was an attempt to mesh the traditionalist ideology of post-1815 absolutism with elements of the Enlightenment of the French Revolutionary epoch. This was obviously impossible. As a result, even to this day there

are those who claim that Hegel really was an orthodox Lutheran Christian, and those who claim that he really was an atheist. His writings had sufficient ambiguity making him appear to be both at a certain level of abstraction.

Once Hegel died—and could no longer say what he meant—it was obvious that these tensions and contradictions in his philosophy would blow up among his followers. And the blow-up came on the religious front.

There was enough in Hegel to indicate that he did not take Christianity as the literal, gospel truth, but rather regarded the story of Christ as symbolic and allegorical. In 1836 a young Hegelian, David Strauss, wrote *The Life of Jesus*, arguing that Christ had never existed but rather was only a popular myth. Since Prussia had a quasi-state religion, this book caused a big furor. The Hegelian school blew up and Strauss initiated the "left" Hegelians—the terms "left," "center" and "right" referring to the attitude toward religious orthodoxy.

The further evolution of the "left," or Young Hegelians is quite logical. From the rationalist criticism of religious orthodoxy of David Strauss developed the outright atheism of Bruno Bauer: if God doesn't exist, it follows that nature and the material environment shape humanity. From atheism, then, springs the naturalistic humanism of Ludwig Feuerbach: In the 1830's, those who believed that man makes society also believed that he could construct an ideal society. So the naturalistic humanism of the Young Hegelians led logically to communism, a step first

taken by Moses Hess.

Basically the Young Hegelians represented in Metternichian Germany what the Enlightenment *philosophes* represented in pre-1789 France, a similarity which they fully recognized. However, around 1840 communism was not simply an idea, but in France was a movement which had acquired a mass artisan, working-class base.

The Rheinische Zeitung

In 1840 the king of Prussia died, and his death created certain expectations of liberalization. However, it turned out that the new king was more reactionary than his father. In response the liberal big bourgeoisie, centered in the Rhineland (then the most economically advanced part of Germany), adopted a more aggressive oppositional posture. They looked for writers to agitate and propagandize against absolutism, and they found the Young Hegelians.

The liberal bourgeoisie with their Young Hegelian ideologues founded the *Rheinische Zeitung* in Cologne. It is important to realize that the *Rheinische Zeitung* was supported by very prominent bourgeois forces. One of its leading backers, Ludwig Camphausen, became head of the Prussian government during the revolution of 1848.

Karl Marx, who was a respected member of the Young Hegelian circle, enters history as a literary contributor, staff writer and finally editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung*. Thus, Marx's first political experience was as a propagandist for the liberal big bourgeoisie in the period when it had made a short-lived left turn against absolutism. At that time Marx was by no means the most left wing of the Young Hegelians; in fact, he was rather right-of-center.

The most radical wing of the Young Hegelians was an anarcho-communist circle called "The Free," which included Bruno Bauer, the extreme libertarian Max Stirner, a young Russian exile named Mikhail Bakunin and a callow youth named Friedrich Engels. Members of "The Free" kept smuggling communist propaganda into the *Rheinische Zeitung*, much to the dismay of its wealthy liberal backers.

Marx's first political fight was against these anarcho-communists, whom he purged from the pages of the *Rheinische Zeitung*. In one of his letters of the period Marx wrote:

"But I have allowed myself to throw out as many articles as the censor, for Meyen and Co. sent us heaps of scribbles, pregnant with revolutionizing the world and empty of ideas, written in a slovenly style and seasoned with a little atheism and communism

(which these gentlemen have never studied)."

—letter to Arnold Ruge, 30 November 1842

While Marx made the transition from liberal bourgeois democracy to communism the following year, this early faction fight reveals certain attitudes that would remain with him throughout his life. Marx was always contemptuous of petty-bourgeois radicalism, with its desire to shock conventional opinion above all else. Conversely, Marx always took seriously the liberal big bourgeoisie whenever it opposed reaction; for example, his attitude toward Abraham Lincoln's Republican Party during the American Civil War.

Marx Becomes a Communist

In early 1843 the *Rheinische Zeitung* was suppressed, and Marx went into exile in Paris, where he encountered communism as a mass, artisan working-class movement. By late 1843 we know that Marx considered himself a communist and associated with the League of the Just, at that time under the influence of Cabet.

The period 1843-46 is now undoubtedly the most studied period of Marx's life. If you had fourteen lifetimes, you couldn't read all the works written about the young Marx. The older social-democratic and Stalinist traditions assume that when Marx became a communist in 1843, he was already in some sense a Marxist; that his refusal to join the League of the Just revealed that he was more advanced and had rejected its utopianism. I do not believe this proposition can be defended.

What kind of communist was Marx in 1843? This is a difficult question to answer for a number of reasons.

First, Marx himself didn't know. Even geniuses like Marx go through transitional periods where they do not have a fully consistent outlook. A careful reading of his writings during this period produce different interpretations, perhaps because his early works are not internally consistent. In later life Marx didn't think it worthwhile to republish his earliest writings, because he considered them to have been largely self-clarification.

Marx still considered himself as a spokesman and political representative of the German radical intelligentsia. His major works in this period—*Contribution to a Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right*, the so-called *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844*, *The Holy Family*—insofar as they are polemics are directed at those Young Hegelians who had not yet come over to communism, who



Hegel.



Feuerbach.

had not yet traversed the same path as Marx. Marx's belief that communism was the logically necessary outcome of naturalistic humanism comes through clearly in his letter to Feuerbach dated 11 August 1844. Marx says:

"In these writings you have provided—I don't know whether intentionally—a philosophical basis for socialism and the Communists have immediately understood them in this way. The unity of man with man, which is based on the real differences between men, the concept of the human species brought down to earth, what is this but the concept of *society!*"

Marx's 1843-45 writings contained a defense of the general principles of communism against bourgeois criticism. They do not develop or explicate a *unique* concept of communism. References to prominent socialists are either uncritical or laudatory. Thus, both Weitling and Proudhon are praised to the skies in 1843.

I will argue that between 1843 and late 1845 Marx had not yet broken with the utopian aspects of contemporary communism. This statement requires further clarification, since Marx did have fundamental differences with some contemporary socialist schools. What we need is greater precision about the utopian aspects of early communism—a term I much prefer to utopian socialism, which implies a too-great doctrinal coherence.

Utopian socialism is sometimes identified with the rejection of class struggle in favor of a trans-class socialist movement. Some socialist leaders in the 1840's, notably Robert Owen and Etienne Cabet, were consciously class collaborationist and appealed to universal brotherhood.

In contrast, upon embracing communism Marx also adopted a working-class orientation. However, he certainly was not unique in this. There was the workerist messianism of Weitling; and Julian Harney of the left Chartists and Karl Schapper of the League of the Just had been leading working-class struggles long before Marx came on the scene. Marx inherited his proletarian orientation. He did not develop it.

The early Marx rejected communal experiments and the notion of barracks communism which was prevalent at the time, promoted, for example, by Cabet and Weitling. Communism is not mechanical equality; it is not modelling society on the Prussian army. Communism is the full realization of individual potential based on the highest development of society. Marx adhered to this vision from the day he became a communist until his death. But again, he was not unique in rejecting primitive egalitarianism: Karl Schapper, Julian Harney and also Auguste Blanqui shared a similar vision of communist society.

The essential element of utopianism which Marx shared with contemporary communists in 1843-45 was the belief that the triumph of communism was based on the triumph of the communist *idea*. An objective reading of the early Marx shows a belief in the imminence of communism arising from its growing support among the masses. Marx did not reject violent revolution against the state. But he believed that with the mass acceptance of communism, such a revolution and the creation of a communist society would follow necessarily—easily and quickly.

Hegel and the Origins of Marxism

In 1844 one could not have been a follower of Marx; it wouldn't have meant anything. In 1846 one could, and there were "Marxists." By 1846 Marx had developed a unique conception of history and derived from this a distinct revolutionary strategy for Germany.

To understand this, it is necessary to digress on the relation of Hegel to Marx. In developing what later came to be called historical or dialectical materialism, Marx in some ways went back to Hegel. He turned the weapons of Hegel against the naturalistic humanism of the Young Hegelians, whose greatest spokesman was Feuerbach. Generally speaking, the world view

of early nineteenth-century communism was derived from the Rousseauian concept of natural rights. Marx incorporated Hegel's criticism of Rousseauian naturalism and of Enlightenment rationalism. The core of Enlightenment rationalism was belief in the sovereignty of the intellect and its capacity to master external reality. From this certitude derived a particular and extreme form of political voluntarism—the belief that society could be made to conform to an ideal model. All tendencies of early nineteenth-century socialism were based on intellectual constructs appealing to natural rights, primitive pre-class society, scientific rationality or early Christianity.

In one sense Hegel's philosophy is an attack on the notion of the autonomy of thought, on the free-wheeling play of the intellect. He asserted that at any given time consciousness is shaped, limited and constrained by a long historical development. New ideas arise from the contradictions embodied in existing consciousness and, therefore, have a definite progression.

Marx accepted this conception and used it to attack the voluntarism of

environmental power required a democratic revolution like the French Revolution of 1789-93, but more radical, given the advanced state of European society. Such a revolution was a necessary precondition for the economic and political ascendancy of the proletariat. Marx maintained that communists should not deny, ignore or abstain from the coming bourgeois-democratic revolution, but participate in it supporting its most radical tendencies.

The new Marxist strategy was first sketched out in "The State of Germany" by Engels, published in early 1846 in the Chartist *Northern Star*:

"The political dominion of the middle classes is, therefore, of an essentially *liberal* appearance. They destroy all the old differences of several estates co-existing in a country, all arbitrary privileges and exemptions; they are obliged to make the elective principle the foundation of government—to recognize equality in principle, to free the press from the shackles of monarchical censorship..."

"The working classes are necessarily the instruments in the hands of the middle classes, as long as the middle classes are *themselves revolutionary* or progressive.... But from that very

somewhat mistrustful of Marx and Engels as inexperienced, literary intellectuals, however persuasive their ideas might be. Thus, Harney refused to affiliate with the Communist Correspondence Committee until Schapper had been won over.

In early 1846, the workerist, religious messianic Wilhelm Weitling, having been factionally defeated by Schapper in London, crossed the Channel to Brussels. There he was smashed by Marx in a famous confrontation where Marx shouted at the veteran workers' leader and martyr, "Ignorance never did anybody any good." Common battles against the messianic, revolutionary phrase-monger Weitling drew Schapper closer to Marx.

In late 1846, Engels went on a recruiting mission to Paris, where he was unsuccessful, but managed to console himself through physical pleasure. The Paris groupings of the League of the Just were Cabetan pacifists, and Engels made little headway among them.

When politics wasn't going so well, Engels still knew how to enjoy life. He wrote to Marx that he had become acquainted with "several cute *grisettes* and much pleasure," and invited Marx to join him in Paris. Now you know why Mrs. Marx never liked Engels that much.

What was the new doctrine which the Brussels-based Communist Correspondence Committee was propagating throughout Europe? In a report from Paris to the Brussels center (23 October 1846) Engels summarizes the pre-1848 Marxist line:

"So I therefore defined the object of the Communists in this way: 1) to achieve the interests of the proletariat in opposition to those of the bourgeoisie; 2) to do this through the abolition of private property and its replacement with a community of goods; and 3) to recognize no means for carrying out these objects other than a democratic revolution by force."

The first two points were not particularly controversial and in no sense uniquely Marxist. It was the third point that really defined the Marxist tendency. Many contemporary socialists—for example, Schapper and Louis Blanc in France—considered a democratic government a necessary precondition for the triumph of communism, but they rejected revolution. The prominent advocates of violent revolution, like Weitling and the infinitely superior Auguste Blanqui, looked to a minority dictatorship of the communist party. Marxism was unique in espousing a democratic government—a sovereign parliament based on universal suffrage and achieved through a popular revolution.

In 1847 the bourgeois liberal oppositions in both Germany and France became more aggressive. The King of Prussia got into financial trouble and had to call the Assembly to raise taxes. Everybody's mind leapt back to the calling of the Estates General in France in 1789. Metternich in Vienna wrote to the Prussian monarch advising him to dismiss the Assembly and collect the needed taxes willy-nilly. He followed Metternich's advice and as a result drove the liberals into an anti-monarchical fury. In France one also had the beginning of a bourgeois liberal oppositional campaign, which eventually led to the toppling of Louis Philippe. So Marx's strategy of an alliance with the bourgeois liberal opposition appeared more realistic and, therefore, more attractive to German communists.

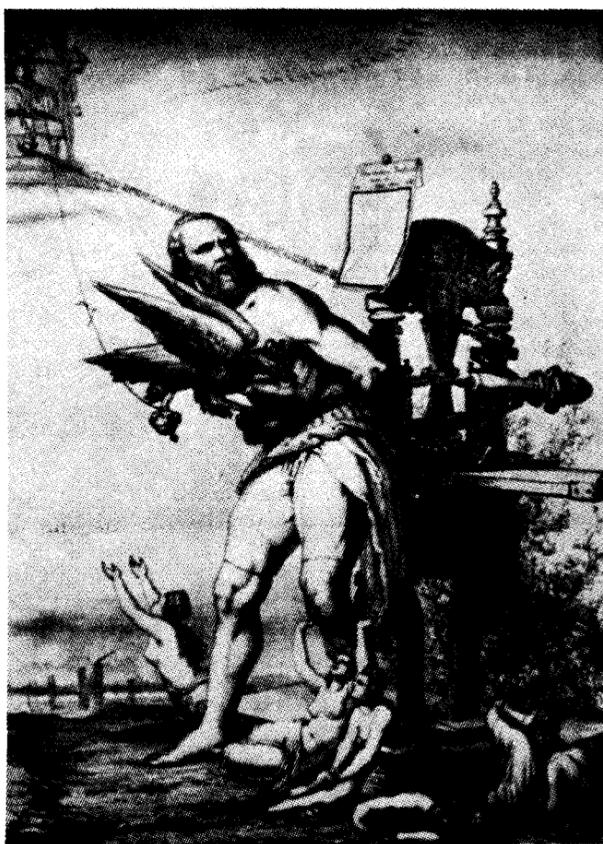
The Communist League and Manifesto

During 1847 the Schapper group, prodded by Harney, came over to Marx. In early 1847 the London-based League of the Just sent an emissary, Joseph Moll, to Marx.

Moll said the League was in general agreement with the Marxist position, having at most secondary differences. He invited Marx to join the League and to fight for his complete program. Marx agreed. It was through this regroupment that Marx became a leader of the hegemonic organization of German communists.

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Marx as Prometheus Bound: allegory on the prohibition of the *Rheinische Zeitung*.



contemporary communism. As Marx put it some years later:

"Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under conditions directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past. The tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living."

—*The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (1852)

In the dispute over "the young Marx" versus "the old Marx," we support the mature, more Hegelian and less Feuerbachian Marx. However, both the pre-1914 Social Democratic and Stalinist traditions have transformed the Marxist dialectic into a crude, mechanical evolutionism associated with a two-stage theory of revolution. On the other hand, the New Left cult of the early Marx, *à la* Marcuse, is a reversion to moralistic utopianism and the belief in the immediate realization of human liberation through petty-bourgeois intellectualism.

Toward the Leadership of German Communism

From his newly developed theory of history, Marx derived a unique revolutionary strategy for German communism. At that time the central contradiction in German society was *not* between the bourgeoisie and the still underdeveloped proletariat. Rather, it was between the economically ascendant bourgeoisie and the absolutist state bureaucracy, which rested on the landed nobility.

For the bourgeoisie to acquire gov-

ernment power... from the day on which the middle classes *cease* to be progressive and revolutionary, and become stationary themselves, from that very day the working-class movement takes the lead and becomes the *national movement*." [emphasis in original]

The year 1846, then, is when Marxism comes into being as a distinct communist tendency. That year saw the creation of the first Marxist organization—the Communist Correspondence Committee in Brussels; the comprehensive exposition of the newly developed Marxist worldview in a polemic against Young Hegelian naturalistic humanism—*The German Ideology*; and the first statement of a new revolutionary strategy for German communism—"The State of Germany."

The Communist Correspondence Committee was a very small circle created to propagate the new Marxist doctrines, centrally but by no means exclusively among the German left. At one time or another, the Committee attempted to contact virtually every prominent socialist in Europe. This first Marxist organization was unsuccessful except in England, where Engels had long-standing ties to the left Chartist Julian Harney and through him to the Schapper wing of the League of the Just.

The Schapper group had not yet broken from its passive and pacifistic propagandism. However, Harney stood programmatically quite close to Marx and Engels. Harney had great respect for Schapper as a tested and heroic workers' leader, while remaining

Marx...

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That same year witnessed the transformation of the League of the Just into the Communist League and its acceptance of Marxist principles. Marx maintained that between the victory of a democratic revolution in Germany and the creation of a communist society on a European scale, there must be a transitional period. In the beginning the German proletariat would be neither politically nor economically dominant. Consequently, the Communist League must ally itself with the bourgeois-liberal opposition, while maintaining its own organization—as public as real security precautions permitted—and its own anti-bourgeois propaganda and agitation.

The transformation of the League of the Just into the Communist League was symbolized by a change in its main slogan, "All Men Are Brothers." Marx objected to this slogan on the grounds that there were many men whose brother he did not wish to be...like Metternich. So the slogan of the Communist League was, "Proletarians of All Lands, Unite." Incidentally, Marx did not author this slogan; we don't know who did.

In terms of strategic perspectives, Marx divided Europe into three parts and formulated radically different revolutionary perspectives for each. In Britain, and only in Britain, did Marx contend that a proletarian revolution was immediately possible and that a democratic government would lead directly to the rule of the workers party. Only Britain had a mass, working-class party: the Chartists.

In Germany and France, where the majority of the population were peasants, there would be a bourgeois-democratic revolution. A radical democratic party might come to power, but

not the communists.

Then there was the Russian Empire, where a bourgeois-democratic revolution was not possible; tsarist Russia could only be a counter-revolutionary force. A victorious democratic revolution in France and Germany would require a revolutionary war against the Empire of the Tsar. This was the Marxist strategic schema on the eve of 1848.

Pre-1848 Marxism insisted that the realization of communism had to pass through bourgeois-democratic rule. However, there were a number of different reasons given for this assertion, which implied different periodicities in the transition to proletarian class rule. One argument was that bourgeois-democratic freedoms were absolutely necessary to organize a mass workers party. In Britain where such freedoms existed, there was a mass workers party, the Chartists. In the Germany of Metternich's Holy Alliance, the workers were passive and atomized, while the Communist League was small and largely in exile.

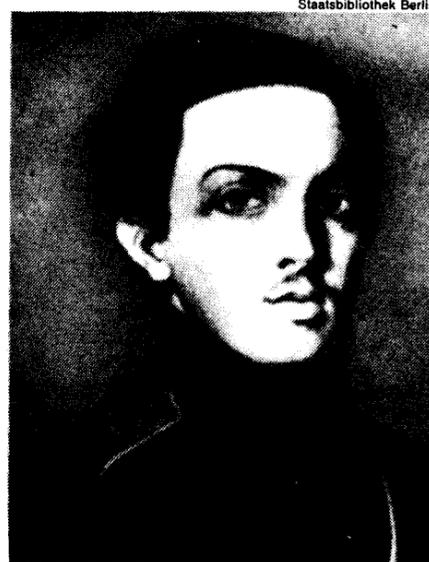
Another argument focused on the subjective development of the proletariat. As long as the bourgeoisie was out of power, in opposition to monarchical absolutism, the proletariat would have illusions in trans-class, popular democratic rule. Only when faced with bourgeois political rule would the workers in the mass recognize the fundamentally hostile class antagonism.

Marx and Engels also indicated that they considered Germany and even France too economically backward to establish proletarian rule. This notion implies a relatively long transitional period between the bourgeois-democratic revolution and the proletariat's accession to power.

The Marxist strategic schema is most clearly stated in Engels' second draft for the *Communist Manifesto* written in October 1847 and later published under the title, "Principles of

theless displayed a no less fatal disorientation at the time of the coup. After having done nothing to politically break the working class from illusions in bourgeois Peronism, the PRT/ERP mindlessly declared that the coup would only weaken the grip of the military and arouse the masses to revolutionary struggle. Yet despite this spontaneist cretinism the PRT/ERP soon thereafter revealed its class-collaborationist appetites by calling for a "patriotic front" with the bourgeois Radical Party. Even more disastrous was the political line of the Montoneros. Claiming to be more "Peronist" than Isabel Perón, the Montoneros adopted the attitude that a military coup would prove to be an improvement or "less-er evil".

Lacking a revolutionary leadership the working-class movement has suffered a severe defeat in Argentina. Despite claims of "moderation" in restoring "stability" to Argentina the junta cabal is close on the heels of the butchers in Santiago with its repression. The task of revolution-



Engels as a soldier in 1841.

Communism." Composed in the form of a revolutionary catechism, Engels' draft makes explicit concepts which are only implicit in the *Manifesto*, and is therefore important in understanding the strategic concepts underlying the latter.

Referring to the course of the revolution, Engels writes:

"In the first place it will inaugurate a democratic constitution and thereby, directly or indirectly, the political rule of the proletariat. Directly in England, where the proletariat already constitutes the majority of the people. Indirectly in France and in Germany, where the majority of the people consists not only of proletarians but also of small peasants and urban petty bourgeois, who are only now being proletarianized and in all their political interests are becoming more and more dependent on the proletariat and therefore soon will have to conform to the demands of the proletariat. This will perhaps involve a second fight, but one

that can only end in the victory of the proletariat." [emphasis in original]

The Revolutions of 1848 ended in the greatest defeat for the proletariat and socialist movement in the nineteenth century. The defeated revolutions showed that the strategic conceptions expressed in the *Communist Manifesto* were, in a number of fundamental ways, wrong.

First, the German liberal bourgeoisie turned out to be far more cowardly than the English, much less the French. They capitulated to Prussian absolutism with hardly a fight.

Second, the French peasantry turned out to be far more reactionary than expected. Universal suffrage in France resulted in a reactionary bourgeois regime which slaughtered the vanguard of the Paris proletariat. After this experience, Marx became more sympathetic to Blanqui's position that a victorious revolutionary Parisian proletariat should not give the peasants the vote until they had been "re-educated."

And third, the 1850's showed that the bourgeois revolution in an economic and social sense could proceed under a bonapartist government, namely, Louis Napoleon in France and Bismarck in Germany. The unification of Germany did not in fact require the overthrow of absolutism.

It is an indication of the real strength of Marxism that the *Communist Manifesto*, despite specific flawed strategic conceptions, retained and retains to this day its validity. Marx and Engels were not the only, or even the most prominent communists to fight in the revolutions of 1848. However, they were among the very few "red 48ers" to remain faithful to the communist cause after this truly epochal defeat. As such, Marx and Engels were able to transmit their revolutionary experience and their wisdom to a new proletarian generation when the pall of reaction began to lift in the early 1860's. ■

ment don't know the time of day any more than the Spartacists. There's no difference on that level at all."

Fight Fascist Provocations Through Labor/Black Defense!

Despite all the slick arguments and double-talk of the SWP/YSA leaders, their "counter-mobilization" strategy has been proven bankrupt in the struggle for desegregation in Boston. For the last two years the SWP/YSA has intervened in Boston to rally pro-desegregation forces behind the treacherous demand for federal troops and more cops. For two years these reformists have ridiculed the call raised by the SL/SYL for labor/black defense, lecturing that "on the level of tactics" a "gut-level" opposition to troops was "sectarianism." And for two years the SWP/YSA has prattled that its annual Sunday "counter-mobilizations" dominated by liberal slogans had and would continue to "set back" and "demoralize" the racist forces.

But in the face of the renewed racist offensive last spring the SWP/YSA "discovered" that it could not rely on its liberal "allies" to support, or the Boston cops to "protect," the planned April 24 March on Boston. The SWP/YSA strategy is incapable of organizationally and politically preparing the pro-desegregation forces to effectively defend the struggle for black equality when the racists turn from their "counter-mobilizations" to their mob violence and well-planned terror attacks.

As revolutionary socialists our first task must be to champion the call for labor/black defense against racist attacks and fascist provocations. Any attempt by ultra-legalist reformists like the SWP/YSA to denigrate or obscure this crucial political struggle through pleas for "Bill of Rights protection" for the fascists must be brushed aside with the contempt such sniveling civil libertarianism so justly deserves. ■

Argentina...

continued from page 3

whimpering only about the military raid on the CPA headquarters in Buenos Aires (see "The Bloody Repression Behind 'Gentleman's Coup' in Argentina," *Workers Vanguard*, 21 May 1976). Relying on class-collaborationist maneuvers rather than struggling to mobilize the proletariat, the CPA shamelessly saluted the junta for its "respect for representative democracy, social justice, the reaffirmation of the state's role in controlling society, and the defense of the capacity for national decisiveness"! Repeating the *danse macabre* of the Indonesian Communist Party, which in 1965 refused to mobilize its formidable forces against the Suharto coup in a futile gesture intended to placate the on-rushing reaction, the CPA fell to its knees only to be kicked in the teeth.

While not cravenly capitulating to the junta like the CPA the PRT/ERP never-

aries remains the construction of an authentic Trotskyist party to lead the working class in the coming class battles which will topple the junta and establish proletarian dictatorship in Argentina. ■

Fascists...

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the first place, but when these fascists provoke anti-fascists to vocally express their indignation and outrage *Counter-mobilization* condemns such protest—even mere heckling!—as "ultraleftism"! Just listen:

"The problem is ultraleftism. In this case [simply the heckling of a fascist speaker on campus], it is ultraleftism on the part of Black students... You can begin with an entirely justified gut reaction, but its reflection on the level of tactics, strategy and action in these cases is ultraleftism. The ultralefts in the Black student move-

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Young Spartacus

Editorial Board: Charles O'Brien (editor)
Susan Adrian
Peter Atkins
Irene Gardner

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

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Gus Hall...

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New York from a 'Communist takeover'." —Daily World, 17 April 1976

While the CP/YWLL by no means even threatens a "Communist takeover," this bizarre appeal sums up the entire fake-"independent" strategy of the Stalinists: to pressure, and perhaps even provoke, the capitalist politicians to "get off their cans" and "sit up and take note." "The Vote With Clout" is simply a vote for reliance upon the government.

No less than in 1972 this year's Hall/Tyner campaign will only channel votes to "progressive" politicians in the party of Jimmy Carter, the party of the mass murder in Vietnam and racist reaction in the U.S. For example, CP vice presidential candidate Tyner declared that the election of black Democrat Coleman Young as Detroit mayor was "a case in point" of "the unity of labor and the Black community in an independent[?] political alliance" which is "key to any advances in the 1976 electoral struggles" (Daily World, 17 February 1976). Coleman Young, of course, was one of the first black Democrats to endorse Jimmy Carter.

Likewise, Gus Hall has stated recently that the reason washed-out "clean" Gene McCarthy is having difficulty in getting on the ballot in California is that "he represents an independent wave of the future that the major parties don't like" (quoted in the San Francisco Chronicle, 6 August 1976).

This is exactly the same tune the CP sang for U.S. Senator John Tunney from California a few years ago. In 1971 Hall gave this comment on the fact that Tunney received only \$5,000 in campaign funds from the Democratic Campaign Committee but \$40,000 from trade unions: "The role of the working class in this situation has historic connotations for its future class role"

(Political Affairs, January 1971). In the unions CP supporters generally bury their "independent" campaign and openly support the Democratic "friends of labor" backed by the bureaucrats, a betrayal which indeed has "historic connotations" in the Browderite CP.

It has been in New York City, however, that the CP/YWLL has most clearly demonstrated in action its strategy for "political independence." This summer the CP/YWLL initiated a popular-front coalition which included a slate of capitalist candidates, including Congressional incumbents Shirley Chisholm and Herman Badillo (Daily World, 22 June 1976). The name of this vote-catcher? "The Committee on Independent [!] Political Action."

A "Lesser Evil"?

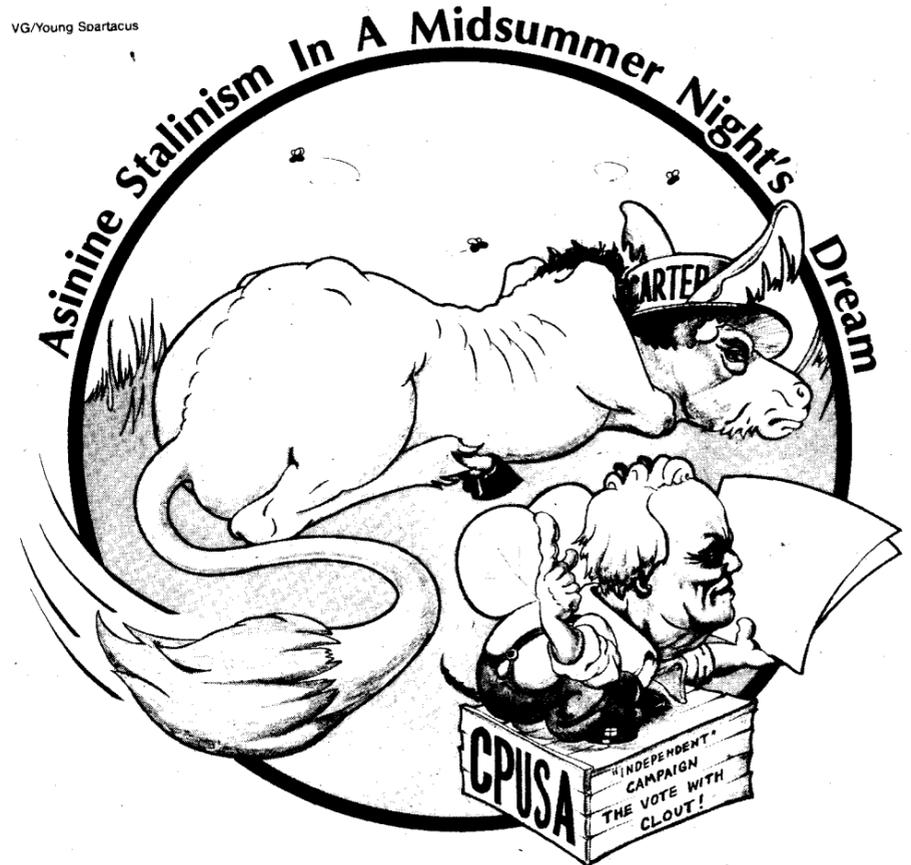
A vote for the CP/YWLL campaign in this election will not be a vote for independent working-class politics. In this country the working class is chained to the bosses' parties not to any significant extent by the CP but through the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy. But the present labor/Democrat political configuration was in no small part the result of the popular-front policies followed by the CP during the "New Deal" period. Following the then-"detente" line of Moscow the CP contributed to channeling the labor upsurge unleashed with the stormy struggles of the CIO into the arms of Roosevelt and the "progressive" Democrats.

What "clout" did this policy bring? The Stalinist popular-front policy rallied the working masses behind the "democratic" imperialists and paved the way for the U.S. entry into the Second World War. During the war the CP was among the most bellicose in demanding all-out support for Roosevelt and the war effort. With the onset of the Cold War, however, the Democrats and the labor bureaucracy repaid the CP for its "clout" by driving CP members and supporters out of the labor movement and up against the wall of bourgeois-"democratic" reaction.

A vote for the CP/YWLL today would simply be a vote for a policy of subordinating the working class to the Democrats and their loyal representatives in the labor bureaucracy. The task for Marxists is to break the working class from the political stranglehold of the Democratic Party through the formation of a workers party based on the trade unions and fighting for a class-struggle program. Only through

shattering the present ossified pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy—which in the face of a discredited government administering an austerity drive has restrained the proletariat might and main—and politically defeating its Stalinist hangers-on, can the working class step onto the road of real independent political action, extending the class struggle to another battlefield in the fight for the socialist revolution. ■

VG/Young Spartacus



"A big Communist vote in New York City would make the federal government take notice. The federal government and the banks would rush to save New York from a 'Communist takeover'."

—Gus Hall, in Daily World, 17 April 1976

South Africa...

continued from page 1

full citizenship rights for the black people, the "coloureds" and the Asians.

To the international labor movement falls the duty of championing the cause of the anti-apartheid demonstrators and campaigning for immediate and unconditional freedom for all victims of the racist regime's repression. Today scores of militants belonging to the ANC and the South African Students Organization, as well as others, languish in South African prisons.

The international labor movement must oppose all military aid to South Africa. France is the largest supplier of arms for South Africa, but Israel recently has been engaged in building arms and training military specialists for Pretoria (New York Times, 18 August 1976). Yet we do not advocate open-ended or unlimited trade bans against South Africa, which ultimately can only lead to severe economic hardships for the black masses and a decline in the class struggle in South Africa.

Retribalization Schemes

The clashes in Soweto between the anti-apartheid demonstrators and the Zulus clearly point to the dangers posed by the retribalization policy advocated by Vorster and his Nationalist Party. Pretoria currently stands for establishing "independent" black homelands in nine bantustans, denying blacks in "white South Africa" their civil rights and "emancipating" others with "separate development." The Transkei "homeland" scheduled to become formally independent in October is projected as a model for Vorster's bantustan scheme.

Retribalization is also the policy of the government in the black townships where the black workers live as

"guests." Soweto is officially subdivided along ethnic/tribal lines into 26 residential sections. Furthermore, the schools of Soweto are required to enroll only pupils of one language group, even though the students are taught in English and Afrikaans.

Moreover, within the black townships the racist Pretoria regime seeks to establish a quisling tribal leadership to administer local affairs. Today the most prominent tribal leader is Gatsha Buthelezi, the so-called "anti-apartheid" leader of the Zulus. The racist regime uses these leaders to divide the masses along tribal lines and to split popular anti-apartheid struggles. In Soweto, after the relatively small number of Zulu migrant workers attacked the demonstrators, Buthelezi rushed to the Zulu district in an attempt to rally all Zulus in "unity."

All these schemes aimed at retribalization or preserving tribal divisions must be opposed. From the barren "homelands" in the bush country to schools which perpetuate tribal regimentation, the policy of the Vorster government is to further atomize the black masses, setting up one tribal group against another and weakening all.

South Africa Is Not Rhodesia

The only road forward in South Africa leads through the destruction of the apartheid system to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

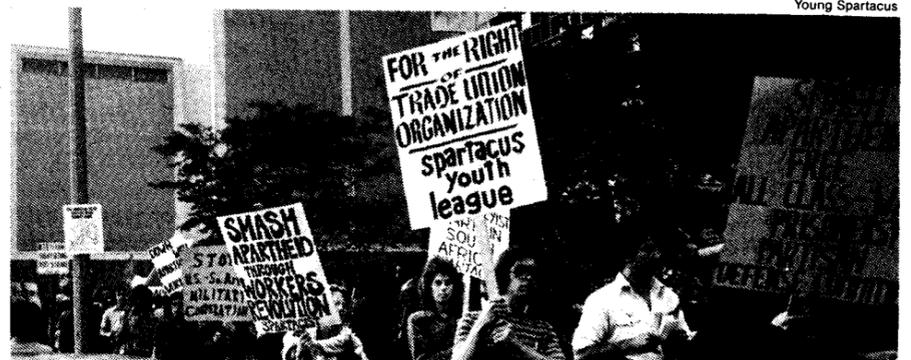
Apartheid South Africa is not Rhodesia. Today the fragile white-supremacist regime in Rhodesia in fact is threatened by escalating guerrilla war. The Rhodesian whites are outnumbered by black Rhodesians 20-to-1; their economy is not as industrially developed as the South African; and blacks in Rhodesia are not totally militarized and segregated as in South

Africa. The Rhodesian regime indeed is living on borrowed time. A guerrilla war in Rhodesia could shatter the Salisbury regime (although the regime established by the radical-nationalist Zimbabwe guerrilla forces would not qualitatively differ from the military-bonapartist capitalist states consolidated in Angola or Mozambique).

In South Africa, on the other hand, the whites are no longer a settler colony, and there are nearly five-million whites to the 18-million black Africans. Given South Africa's advanced technology, an undivided white regime in South Africa simply will not be defeated by the guerrilla operations which the ANC projects. The white regime has nuclear capacity and cer-

tainly would not shrink back from using nuclear weapons on a bantustan revolt which completely lacked white support.

A revolutionary perspective for South Africa cannot be based on petty bourgeois guerrilla war and the ANC goal of a "two-stage revolution" (NOW class collaboration, "tomorrow" class struggle). On the contrary, the black masses of South Africa will break the chains of apartheid and overturn the capitalist state through the struggle for a workers and peasants government centered on the black proletariat. Only a Trotskyist party, guided by the perspective of permanent revolution and armed with a revolutionary program, can lead the oppressed masses forward to a socialist South Africa. ■



Boston SL/SYL demonstrates against apartheid.

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Young Spartacus

A Case Of The Tail Trying To Wag The Donkey

"Independent" Stalinist Campaign Backs Democrats

During the last several months the pro-Moscow Communist Party (CP) and its youth group, the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL), have appeared on numerous campuses across the country campaigning for their Gus Hall/Jarvis Tyner "independent Communist ticket." As a result of the campaign many students for the first time are encountering the CP/YWLL, which at least during the past several years has generally confined its campus work to raising its liberal reformist pabulum while buried deep within often innocuous front groups (such as the "Progressive Film Society" at Harvard).

With much fanfare this year the CP/YWLL is presenting the Hall/Tyner campaign as an "independent" alternative to the Democrats. In the past, however, the CP/YWLL has run limping campaigns which allegedly "fight the right," while in reality catching votes for "progressive" Democrats who claim to favor "detente" with the USSR.

During the 1972 presidential election

campaign the CP/YWLL abandoned all pretense of electoral independence and used the CP/YWLL campaign simply as a stalking horse for "dove"-Democrat George McGovern. Following the Nixon victory the CP felt compelled to assuage disgruntlement over its liquidationist electoral policy that apparently had been brewing among its members and followers.

In response, the CP produced a "self-criticism" in the form of a pamphlet entitled *A Lame Duck In Turbulent Waters*. This "self-criticism," while very cautious and riddled with duplicity, nevertheless provides a damning glimpse of the depth of the Stalinists' cynical opportunism. Says its author Gus Hall:

"Let us face the problem squarely. My guess is that 30 per cent, maybe 40 per cent, of Communists did not vote for the Communist Presidential ticket [but for George McGovern]. In some areas it may be even higher. Let us face a still more serious

problem. There are members of this body [the CP Central Committee] who did not vote for the Communist ticket. If that is so, why should we be surprised that people on the Left who generally support the Party's position did not vote for the Communist ticket?"

At that time the CP leadership promised its apparently dissatisfied ranks that its next election campaign, while "of course" seeking to influence "progressive" capitalist candidates, would strike out on an "independent" course.

"The Vote With Clout"

To be sure, the Hall/Tyner campaign this year stresses its "independence" from the Democratic Party and its "ethnic purity"/"detente hardliner" Jimmy Carter. It is also clear that the CP/YWLL has decided to exploit the political opportunities created by mass popular disaffection with the bosses' parties and economic hardships and, to

a lesser degree, by the disintegration and disorientation of the pro-Peking Stalinists.

But despite its more flamboyant rhetoric the CP campaign this year is fundamentally *no different* than its reluctantly criticized campaign of 1972. No less than the last time around the CP/YWLL now justifies its "independent" campaign as above all a vehicle for pressuring the "anti-monopoly"/"pro-detente" wing of the Democratic Party to deliver some reforms. The CP/YWLL campaign stands as an *obstacle* to the development of genuine proletarian political independence.

The theme of the CP/YWLL campaign this year is that a large vote for Hall/Tyner will pressure the capitalist politicians:

"A big Communist vote in New York City would make the federal government take notice. The federal government and the banks would rush to save

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Stalinism—The Tortuous Line of Betrayal

This year the Communist Party election platform ends on a militant note: "You wouldn't elect your boss as your shop steward. Why elect his stooge to public office?" But in almost every single national presidential election for the past four decades, the CP has supported one or another of the bosses' stooges.

When in 1964 Lyndon Baines Johnson defeated his rival, Barry Goldwater, the CP trumpeted, "VICTORY SPURS FIGHT FOR THE PEOPLE'S GOALS" (*The Worker*, 8 November 1964). According to the CP the "choice" of LBJ or Goldwater was one of "peace or war, civil rights or racism, socio-economic progress or retrogression to the last century." Again: "the President [Johnson] listened to the people and gave them the reassurance they wanted on this overriding issue—Peace" (*The Worker*, 25 October 1964). When *Spartacist* insisted at the time that Johnson would only give the American working people more militarism and racist reaction, the CP indignantly denounced "the latest Trotskyite splinter, the *Spartacist* group."

Four years before, when it was John F. Kennedy running for the Democrats, the CP hailed him, solemnly declaring, "the people will express themselves mainly through the Democratic Party." Kennedy gave "the people" the Cuban missile crisis and imperialist aggression against the Cuban deformed workers state.

This year the CP is supporting "military spending cuts," that is, *trimming* the imperialist military budget by 80 percent (thereby offering the Pentagon a "mere" \$24 billion). In contrast, Trotskyists raise the Bolshevik slogan, "Not one man, not one penny for the capitalist military," and in addition call for confiscation of all military profits and expropriation of

the war industries without compensation.

During WWII the CP supported increasing the military budget for U.S. imperialism, as part of its all-out support for the "people's war." Trotskyists, in contrast, applied the Leninist slogan of revolutionary defeatism to the imperialists, warning that a U.S. victory in the inter-imperialist war would only strengthen U.S. imperialism in its struggle to wipe out the gains of the October Revolution. During WWII the Trotskyists gave unconditional military defense to the USSR, while insisting that the best defense of the working-class property relations was the ousting of the parasitic bureaucratic caste through a political revolution which restored political power to the working class.

In his pamphlet *The Trade Unions and the War* (1942) William Z. Foster of the CP wrote:

"It is, therefore, a vital necessity for the anti-Hitler forces, especially the trade unions, to transform the elections into a broad popular demonstration for war, for national unity, for the Roosevelt Administration... Loyal support of the Roosevelt Government's war program should be the rule to judge candidates by... Organized labor, while it cannot ignore labor records in the election of the various candidates, must, in the final analysis, make support of the war its decisive yardstick in supporting candidates for regular nomination and election."

Today the CP and its youth group, the Young Workers Liberation League, sloganize that "Youth Have a Right to Earn, Learn and Live." During WWII, however, the only right of youth recognized by the CP was the "right" to fight and die for the U.S. imperialists. The New York State CP in its 1942 election platform (entitled

"Not an Idle Man! Not an Idle Machine! Not an Idle Acre! Program for Victory") demanded, "Victory requires, and the youth seek, every opportunity for the fullest participation in the nation's service. To this end, the draft age should be immediately lowered to 18 years."

Today Hall and Co. boast that "we are the most consistent, uncompromising, and effective fighters against racism." Yet during WWII the CP supported government measures to lock up Japanese-Americans. When FDR inaugurated the "New Deal" for Japanese-Americans in 1942, which resulted in herding 110,000 people inde-

sert concentration camps in the west, the CP refused to protest, allowed its Japanese members to be arrested without protest and even expelled Japanese party members.

Today the CP attempts to duck criticism of its nauseating jingoism during the Second World War by scapegoating its then-leader, Earl Browder. Browder was purged from the leadership of the CP in July 1945. Yet nothing changed. Indeed, the CP was put to the test when the U.S. dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The response of the CP? It appears below, as a "cartoon."



CARTOON FROM THE DAILY WORKER, 10 JUNE 1945.