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Arab Regimes In New Reactionary Lash-up

What Next For The Palestinians?

January 1—During the many months of savage civil war which devastated Lebanon the Arab nationalist regimes of Syria and Egypt often traded demagogic tirades, each denouncing the other for betraying the Palestinian cause. And usually they were as correct as they were hypocritical.

In the first several months of the reactionary sectarian conflict in Lebanon, when Damascus was backing the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), Syrian President Hafez al-Assad accused Egypt of sabotaging the Palestinian struggle by concluding the second Sinai disengagement agreement with Israel. Later, when Assad extended the U.N.-sponsored Syrian-Israeli disengagement agreement for six months to free up his troops along the Golan Heights for the invasion of Lebanon, Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat likewise charged Damascus with carrying out the Zionist aim of crushing the Palestinian commandos.

But in the aftermath of the inter-communal war in Lebanon, both Assad and Sadat are now maneuvering to exploit the severe setback suffered by the PLO in Lebanon. Last week Syria and Egypt announced the formation of a "united political leadership" to negotiate with Israel and to lay the basis for a future Syrian-Egyptian union, earlier this year Syria and Jordan announced their intention to move toward a Syrian-Jordanian confederation, closing the rift created in 1970 when King Hussein crushed the Palestinian movement and drove the commandos out of Jordan into Syria.

Some Syrian and Egyptian officials have even stated that the two countries might indeed merge, as they did in 1958 to form the United Arab Republic (UAR). But such a Syrian-Egyptian merger today would be no less reactionary in its motivation than the formation of the UAR. At that time the Trotskyist youth stated,

"The formation of the UAR was precipitated by the development of a working-class revolutionary movement in Syria—the threat of social revolution threw the Syrian bourgeoisie precipitously into the arms of Nasser.

"The immediate consequence of the union was, in fact, the crushing of the Syrian labor movement, the outlawing and persecution of the C.P. and other independent leftist groups. But at the same time the Syrian bourgeoisie found itself subjugated by Egyptian capitalism and suffering serious losses thereby, since the Syrian and Egyptian economies, both lacking oil, are not strongly complementary."

—International Youth Bulletin [Young Socialist Alliance], No. 1, 1960

Through its "united political leadership" maneuver Syria and Egypt (with Jordan standing in the

UPI

F. CERECEDOS



Sadat, Assad, Khalid and Arafat: adversaries during Lebanese inter-communal war rediscover "Arab Unity." Background photo shows devastated Beirut.

wings) have mounted a major diplomatic offensive aimed at forcing Israel to negotiate the return of at least some of the territories the Zionists grabbed in the 1967 war. At the conclusion of the Cairo unity palaver on December 21, Assad and Sadat issued a joint declaration calling for the reconvening of the Geneva conference no later than the end of March. (Co-sponsored by the U.S. and the USSR the Geneva conference was established after the 1967 war with the purpose of negotiating a Near East settlement within the framework of the two United Nations Security Council resolutions on the Arab-Israeli conflict.) On December 30 Sadat declared that the Geneva conference would be the Arab's "last battle" with Israel and should result in the "final settlement" of the Arab-Israeli

conflict (*New York Times*, 31 December 1976).

But the central obstacle to the "final settlement" of the Arab-Israeli conflict still remains the counterposed national claims of the Palestinian people and Hebrews. As part of their "final battle" the Arab nationalist regimes have been pressuring the PLO to lower its sights from an all-Palestine state comprising both Arabs and Jews to a Palestinian "mini-state" established on the West Bank and the Gaza strip (an area comprising less than 19 percent of their historic homeland).

Two years ago the PLO, seeking international recognition as the "sole representative of the Palestinian people," agreed to consider the Gaza and

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Editorial Notes:

Jim Crow Judge To Be Top Cop

It is indeed ironic that when Jimmy Carter appeared on the television program "What's My Line?" three years ago, the Georgia governor was unknown to the panel of professional celebrity watchers. During his campaign Carter managed to become known as the "outsider" untainted by Washington and its Watergates, but still nobody knew exactly what his line was.

After nearly losing the election to born loser Gerald Ford, Carter has demonstrated that his line isn't what it was made out to be by the pro-Democratic labor bureaucracy and the bourgeois black establishment, whose eleventh-hour vote hustling put Carter in office. During the past few weeks Carter has assembled a cabinet consisting largely of Pentagon patrons, Watergate veterans, Rockefeller loyalists and old Georgia cronies.

While offering a few nooks in his administration to black liberals like Georgia Congressman Andrew Young (who during the campaign apologized for Carter's "ethnic purity" gaffe), Carter gave the powerful post of Attorney General to Griffin B. Bell, his old pal who all along has been the favorite of ultra-conservative Mississippi Senator James Eastland, chairman of the influential Senate Judiciary Committee.

Having expected Carter to appoint a black Attorney General as a reward for their all-out support, the black Democratic establishment reacted to the Bell nomination with short-lived criticism. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People expressed its "great disappointment" with the Bell appointment, and Congressional Black Caucus chairman Parren Mitchel declared, "we want to work with him [Carter] to help him become the finest President this country has known, but there must be some serious manifestation

of his commitment to our constituency" (*New York Times*, 21 December 1976). Yet none of these black bourgeois leaders have opposed the other rogues in Carter's cabinet, nor have they even mounted serious opposition to Senate confirmation of Bell.

To be sure, Griffin Bell is a certified Southern racist. Contrary to Carter's claim that Bell has a "superb civil rights record," he had repeatedly obstructed even token integration measures during his 15 years as a federal judge in the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals. Commenting on his past civil-rights decisions Bell recently stated, "The Fifth Circuit never went too far. It has never ordered a racial balance in the schools" (*New York Times*, 21 December 1976). Bell even displays the Confederate Articles of Secession on his office wall.

In addition, Bell is known for his support of segregationist G. Harrold Carswell when he was nominated for the U.S. Supreme Court by Nixon in 1970. Four years earlier Bell voted to uphold the refusal of the Georgia House of Representatives to seat Julian Bond, the elected civil-rights activist who had endorsed an anti-war statement of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). As co-author of the ruling, Bell declared that "the SNCC statement is at war with the national policy of this country."

Furthermore, Bell is known to have reversed a lower court ruling that had ordered a private club in Miami to drop its discriminatory membership requirements excluding blacks and Jews. In fact, Bell himself has long been a member of two posh private clubs in Atlanta which do not admit blacks, Jews or women as members. Moreover, the rosters of these clubs also include Carter

appointees Bert Lance and Charles W. Duncan as well as top Carter confidant Charles Kirbo.

In nominating Griffin Bell as Attorney General Carter has signaled his commitment not only to accommodate the conservative Dixiecrats represented by Eastland but also to maintain the "strong executive" which he had opposed in his campaign. Most presidents since Ulysses Grant have installed a crony or satrap as their Attorney General. Eisenhower appointed his chief strategist Herbert Brownell; Kennedy gave the post to his brother Bobby; and Nixon nominated his law partner John Mitchell. Carter would rather be accused of returning to the old "buddy system" than risk appointing an Attorney General who might investigate his connections with campaign contributor

David Rabhan or alienate his Southern support by pressing for civil-rights enforcement.

Black people and the entire working class can expect nothing but racist reaction and capitalist austerity as they face 1977 and four years of a Democratic administration loaded with "ethnic-purity" segregationists, cold-war ideologues and Wall Street technocrats. Bell and the rest of the Carter camarilla owe their positions to the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy and the misleaders of the black community whose support clinched the election for Carter. No less now than during the election campaign the task confronting the working people of this country is the struggle for the building of a workers party based on the trade unions that will fight for a workers government. ■

Harvard Protest Confronts CIA Mouthpiece

YOUNG SPARTACUS



BOSTON—On December 13 a militant demonstration confronted former Director of Central Intelligence William Colby when he addressed the Law School Forum at Harvard University here.

Initiated by the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) with the slogan, "CIA Killer Spies Off Campus!," the protest at Harvard was joined by staff members of the *Harvard Crimson*, supporters of the New American Movement, politically unaffiliated students and campus employees. At the demonstration outside the Law School SYL supporters raised chants such as "Smith, Vorster, Pinochet—these are the friends of the CIA!," "Cops and killer spies off campus!" and "Down with the capitalist secret police—abolish the CIA!"

Inside, ex-CIA chief Colby lectured the assembled Harvard students on the need for a strong intelligence apparatus for "implementing American foreign policy." Recently Colby and his cronies in the upper echelons of the CIA have been ventilating their concern that the incoming Carter administration might introduce organizational shakeups and further personnel cutbacks in the imperialist spy agencies. During the presidential campaign Walter Mondale, who had been a member of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, voiced support for a proposed reorganization of the CIA to make it a more effective weapon of U.S. imperialism.

But while lame-duck Attorney General Levi now finds it politi-

cally expedient to refuse CIA requests for wiretaps in certain "counterintelligence" operations, President-elect Carter has clearly indicated that the new administration intends to leave the imperialist spy apparatus unscathed. According to one of his top aides quoted in the *New York Times* (13 December 1976), Carter even opposes the token reorganization proposals formerly advocated by Mondale. In addition, Carter is said to be "fascinated on covert action" as "a necessary part" of CIA operations.

Under Colby—and for years before—these "covert actions" included massive surveillance, harassment and frame-ups of the left and black movement in this country as well as counterrevolutionary operations abroad and assassination plots aimed at numerous foreign political leaders. Earlier, during the Vietnam war the "covert actions" of the CIA and National Security Agency (NSA)—such as the Phoenix program in Vietnam and the "secret war" in Laos—resulted in the deaths of tens of thousands of Indochinese workers and peasants.

At Harvard Colby's attempt to apologize for these crimes and other atrocities of the imperialist spy agencies did not go unanswered. At the close of his talk SYL supporters entered the Law School auditorium and vocally denounced Colby and the imperialist murder machine he served and now defends. Abolish the FBI/CIA/NSA—For workers revolution!

"Woeful Times" Beset Chinese Bureaucracy

"Lamentings heard i' the air; strange screams of death.

*And prophesying with accents terrible
Of dire combustion and confus'd events
New hatch'd to the woeful time.*

The obscure bird

*Clamour'd the live-long night:
some say the earth*

Was feverous and did shake."

—Macbeth

Such Shakespearean imagery of turmoil following death invites comparison with recent reports of the political earthquakes which have continued to shake the People's Republic of China since the death of Mao Tse-tung and the unexpected purge of the "gang of four."

From several Chinese provinces come accounts of violent political feuding apparently between rival forces within the Stalinist bureaucracy which rules the deformed workers state. Last month the Peking authorities announced that 12,000 troops of the People's Liberation Army were sent to occupy "cities, rural villages, factories, mines, government offices, schools and neighborhoods" in the eastern coastal province of Fukien, where in-fighting among local party cadres had escalated into pitched battles (see "Post-Mao Regime Faces Time of Troubles," *Young Spartacus*, December 1976). At the same time the Chinese press reported political unrest of an undisclosed character and

scale in other provinces, including Hupeh, Kiangsi, Kweichow and Shangtung.

Now intra-bureaucratic conflicts are reported to have erupted in the southern province of Szechwan and in the Paoting Prefecture south of Peking. According to a recent radio broadcast from Szechwan, "civil war and factionalism" have swept the province and "precious lives of many class brothers were sacrificed in all-round civil war" (cited in *New York Times*, 1 January 1977).

Meanwhile, radio broadcasts in Hopei described "great chaos" in the Paoting area, where allegedly "the masses had been hoodwinked into beating, smashing and looting" (cited in *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 26 December 1976). Other recent press dispatches recounted how long-smoldering political antagonisms in Paoting flared into violent confrontations, reportedly including raids on military arsenals, arson of factories, looting of graneries and shops, and even hostage-taking. On December 30 the ruling bureaucracy acknowledged that units of the People's Liberation Army had been sent to Paoting.

Just as when armed clashes threatened chaos in Fukien, the Peking regime has unloaded responsibility for the "civil war" and "factionalism"

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Interview With South African Student

Eyewitness Recounts White Protests

Supporting Anti-Apartheid Revolt



Cape Town riot police arrest white protestors (left) who had demonstrated in solidarity with heroic anti-apartheid upsurge in black townships (right).

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION: The following eyewitness account of recent protests by Cape Town white students in solidarity with black and Coloured anti-apartheid struggles has been excerpted from a lengthy interview with a South African student on November 29. The account centers on the University of Cape Town, a white university with a tradition of radical student activism against apartheid: during 1972, when student strikes closed several black and Coloured universities, white students at the University of Cape Town were attacked by the police for demonstrating in support of improvement in non-white education (see "Anti-Apartheid Rebellion Spreads in South Africa," *Young Spartacus*, October 1976).

Since the time of this interview anti-apartheid protests by black and Coloured South Africans have again flared, despite fierce repression by the white-supremacist regime of B. J. Vorster and his Nationalist Party. Militant demonstrations in Cape Town erupted anew on November 25, when black marchers demanding majority rule were viciously attacked by truncheon-swinging police. During the next week black protests swept Cape Town and the surrounding townships of Guguletu and Nyanda; scores were shot and more than 300 black people were arrested within two days alone. Since the anti-apartheid struggles began six months ago in Soweto, at least 350 black and Coloured people have been killed by the police, while an estimated 2,500 have been arrested or detained.

In addition to murderous police terror on the streets of South Africa, legal repression and cop "justice" within the prisons have continued unabated. On December 15 the "SASO 9"—black leaders of the illegalized South African Students Organization—were convicted of conspiracy to "endanger law and order" after a 17-month trial under the Terrorism Act; the following week they were given prison sentences ranging from five to ten years.

Moreover, several white supporters of the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) who had participated in the demonstration described below recently were placed under five-year banning orders. In addition, 22 trade-union activists were placed under 5-year bans this

month, including members of the NUSAS-initiated Wages Commission, which is described in the interview.

Meanwhile, anti-apartheid political prisoners continue to die in South African jails. On December 15 George Botha, a black teacher imprisoned for anti-apartheid protest, became the eleventh prisoner to die this year under suspicious circumstances. According to the official police account, Botha "accidentally" fell to his death from a sixth-floor landing of a stairwell. Other victims of apartheid repression who have recently died in jail are said to have "slipped" in the showers or "fallen out" of high windows during interrogation.

What emerges from the interview is a testimony to the lack of revolutionary leadership in South Africa. Despite the determined and often heroic struggles which have been waged by black and Coloured youth, both the amorphous "black-consciousness" movement and the petty-bourgeois nationalist African National Congress lack a class-struggle program and revolutionary perspective for breaking the chains of apartheid.

A Trotskyist party in South Africa would intervene in the anti-apartheid struggles to fight for a program of democratic and class demands, including an end to all police-state laws and immediate release of anti-apartheid political prisoners, the abolition of the pass laws, the establishment of racially integrated trade unions and the abolition of discriminatory wage rates, the elimination of the contract labor system, an end to all public and residential segregation, the right of blacks to form legal trade unions and political parties, independence for Namibia and an end to all the Bantustan schemes, and the convocation of a constituent assembly elected on the basis of universal direct suffrage.

Through resolute struggle against the caste-like oppression of black people in South Africa a Trotskyist party would fight to unlock the class struggle which is chained by apartheid. And in the fires of these anti-apartheid struggles the revolutionary party will forge bonds of proletarian solidarity uniting the masses in the fight for a workers and peasants government centered on the black proletariat.

WHAT WAS THE RESPONSE OF WHITE STUDENTS AT CAPE TOWN UNIVERSITY TO THE ANTI-APARTHEID UPEAVALS IN THE BLACK AND COLOURED TOWNSHIPS?

"Well, at the University of Cape Town there was a day of solidarity with Soweto, when the black demonstrations began again on August 4. A class boycott was called at the university, and students arranged for a teach-in on the situation in South Africa. It was pretty successful. During most of the day about 600 people attended the meetings and lectures. Later in the afternoon there was a protest demonstration.

"At that particular time the elections were being held for the Student Representative Council at the university. The elections became a forum for speeches and ideas about the black revolt in the townships and the police brutality.

"On August 12, after one of these meetings some students wanted to decide on some form of protest action. But it was a ridiculous situation, because under the Riotous Assemblies Act people aren't allowed to incite people to go out and protest. Three of the main student leaders at Cape Town University were already facing charges stemming from the first protest against the repression of the Soweto march on June 21. So you had students getting up and saying 'we've got to go out'—not 'go out'—but we've got to 'make our stand' and 'do something.' Then somebody said, 'Let's march to the Bantu Administration Office.' Even in saying that he was opening himself up to charges of incitement.

"So the students decided to go and have a protest march. They wanted to march to the Bantu Administration Office, which is in a white area."

HOW MANY WERE THERE AT THIS POINT?

"About 80. They started marching along one of the main roads of Cape Town. Then they turned off and went through the Coloured area, heading for a black neighborhood where a big protest was going on. The students were carrying banners, singing protest songs and giving black power salutes—a little incongruous for white

people in South Africa to be giving black power salutes, but that has become the symbol of liberation. Along the way, according to people on the march, they tried to persuade blacks and Coloureds to join them, and a few did."

YOU SAID THERE WERE BANNERS IN THIS DEMONSTRATION. WHAT WERE SOME OF THE SLOGANS?

"Soweto Bleeds"—that was the main slogan. Also, they were singing things like 'We Shall Overcome' and 'Nkosi Sikelel' I' Afrika' ["God Bless Africa"], which is the African National Congress anthem. There were chants such as 'Power to Soweto!' and 'Power to the People!' But the main chant, I think, was 'Hey, Hey, B. J., How Many Kids Did You Kill Today!' 'B.J.' of course, refers to Vorster. That was quite a good one."

THEN WHAT HAPPENED?

"Well, traffic was piled up behind them for about a mile. The students kept on marching toward the black area, but then six police vans came up and encircled them.

"About 30 or 40 policemen jumped out—they were dressed in full combat gear, carried machine guns, and had police dogs. One by one the demonstrators were carried off to the vans and packed 13 into a van that's supposed to hold six or seven people.

"One of the main activist leaders in Cape Town was dragged away from the scene of the arrests and taken off to the central police station, while four more students were singled out at the local station and taken later. All five were kept in solitary confinement for ten days to two weeks. I was told that the rest were crammed into cells for the night when a directive came down from Pretoria—from the Commission of Police, or else somebody pretty high up—not to release them.

"The next morning the students were questioned by the security police and were later taken to court and given bail. About a month later they were fined about \$60 each, except for those who were second offenders, who were fined about \$110."

WAS THIS DEMONSTRATION THE ONLY WHITE STUDENT ACTION IN
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Faculty Purge Sparks Student Strikes —

Protests Against Anti-Red Law Sweep West Germany

Last month student strikes in West Berlin swelled into the most dramatic campus upsurge in the Federal Republic of Germany since the late 1960's.

The protests were triggered by recent purges of teachers under the notorious *Berufsverbot* ("professional prohibition") law, which bars from government employment any member of an "extremist" organization or even suspected "enemies of the constitution."

In recent weeks tens of thousands of students across West Germany have staged strikes and other demonstrations against the *Berufsverbot*. For some time opposition has been mounting to the tightening restrictions on civil liberties imposed by the ruling Social Democratic Party (SPD)—the mass reformist workers party which since 1969 has administered the capitalist state in a lopsided coalition with the small liberal-bourgeois Free Democratic Party.

Demonstrating once again its commitment to capitalist "law and order," the SPD approved the *Berufsverbot* when the decree was framed in 1972. In an orgy of witchhunting the "Office for the Protection of the Constitution" since then has investigated over 500,000 suspected "subversives"; well over 400 leftists have been victimized, while neo-Nazis have not been touched under the *Berufsverbot* law.

Moreover, during the past year or so the SPD has whipped up a vicious "terrorist" scare (centering on the show trial of the so-called "Baader-Meinhof Gang" of anarchists) to justify its omnibus repressive laws. The SPD government has recently passed laws making illegal any call for the forcible overthrow of the state, sanctioning indefinite detention for "suspected terrorists" and making failure to provide information on terrorist organizations a crime punishable with a five-year jail term!

Student Protest Spreads

The recent demonstrations against the *Berufsverbot* began on November 10 at the Free University in West Berlin, where a student strike was called to protest the firing of several teachers in the *Fachbereich Germanistik* (institute of German literature and culture).

Intersecting student discontent over declining employment opportunities and deepening cutbacks in the educational system, the strike at Free University quickly spread to other schools in West Berlin and elsewhere in the Federal Republic, including Hamburg and Heidelberg. Even the traditionally apolitical medical schools and physics institutes in West Berlin joined the strike, revealing the widespread opposition to the *Berufsverbot*.

On November 24 over 4,000 students from campuses in West Berlin attended a mass meeting called to discuss strike strategy. A central strike council (*Streikrat*) was elected to direct picketing on campus and to organize actions in support of the strike.

street demonstrations in solidar-

ity with the victimized teachers and against the *Berufsverbot* were held almost daily in West Berlin, the largest of which attracted 22,000 students. On December 7 demonstrators marched to Moabit prison in West Berlin demanding the release of two students—Christoph and Peter—who had been attacked and arrested by plainclothes cops for attempting to prevent members of CARP (the virulently anti-communist sect following South Korean "savior" Sun Myung Moon) from distributing their "literature" near Free University. The police seized upon this incident as a pretext to legalize picketing on campus and then swarmed into the schools and attacked student strikers.

Trotskyists Intervene

In West Berlin the Trotskyist League of Germany (TLD), section of the international Spartacist tendency, has intervened at the Free University and in street demonstrations against the *Berufsverbot*. As in the protests against *Berufsverbote* earlier this year, the TLD has called for a "common defense front of all



Defying Anti-Red Ban," *Workers Vanguard*, 22 October 1976).

While calling upon students to join the picket lines and shut down the campuses, the TLD warned against campus-parochialism and "student-power" illusions. Given the present determination of the SPD tops to enforce the *Berufsverbot*, student protests which are limited to only a few defensive demands and isolated from the working-class movement can not be effective. The episodic character of student-centered protest was underscored by the fact that the strike in West Berlin was suspended over the holidays, when students dispersed to their homes for Christmas.

In meetings and demonstrations in West Berlin the TLD raised demands linking opposition to the *Berufsverbot* with the broader struggle against capitalism, including the following: "For trade-union support of the university strike against the reactionary *Berufsverbot*!," "Fight the repressive measures taken by the state against the university strike!," "Free imprisoned students Christoph and Peter now!," "Smash the reac-



Above and top right: Trotskyist League of Germany marches in 15,000-strong demonstration against anti-red law in West Berlin on December 1st.

components of the workers movement against the attacks of the bourgeoisie" (*Kommunistische Korrespondenz*, April 1976). In particular, the TLD has raised the demand for the repeal of the *Berufsverbot* and all anti-communist legislation, for the abolition of the mobile tactical squads and paramilitary "border" guards, and for the smashing of the police and the entire capitalist repressive apparatus through proletarian revolution.

In a leaflet distributed at the December 7 march the TLD emphasized the need for broadening the strike and enlisting the support of the trade unions. Although opposition to the *Berufsverbot* within the trade unions has been stifled by the SPD bureaucracy, the Berlin local of the national teachers union (GEW) recently defied the "incompatibility clause," which is the equivalent of *Berufsverbot* (see "W. Berlin Teachers Union Expelled for

tionary CARP sect!," "Cops out of the German Trade-Union Federation [*Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund*] and off campus!" and "For a workers government!")

Revisionists Hide

The intervention of the TLD stands in sharp contrast to the role of the other ostensibly Trotskyist organizations during the student protests in West Germany.

The International Marxist Group (GIM), section of the factionally polarized "United" Secretariat of the Fourth International (USec), has limited its intervention to uncritical enthusiasm over spontaneous student activism and failed to intervene in its own name at meetings and demonstrations. At the December 7 march, the GIM participated only as individual "progressive students" and refused to defend the TLD when the *Streikrat*—

aided by Maoist goons—attempted to exclude our comrades from the "solely student" action. At this demonstration the TLD was the only left organization to intervene as a *Block* ("contingent") and the only tendency to vocally oppose the anti-communist exclusion.

For its part the Spartacusbund, a dwindling centrist tendency originating from a split in the USec several years ago, simply did not intervene at all at the Free University. The Spartacusbund to date has failed to issue any propaganda on the strike, revealing its organizational disintegration and increasing political disorientation stemming from its workerist past.

Even more disgusting has been the role of the rather sizable West German Maoist organizations—the Communist Party of Germany (KPD), the Communist Party of Germany/Marxist-Leninist (KPD/M-L) and the West German Communist League (KBW). While each group espoused a different "mass line" in tailing the spontaneous protest, all the Maoists spoke as one about the need to oppose repression in so-called "capitalist," or "social-fascist," East Germany.

In Germany the Peking line that the USSR represents the "main danger" coincides with the revanchist appetites of the most reactionary elements. For example, not only Franz-Josef Strauss, leader of the reactionary Bavarian Christian Social Union, but even the neo-Nazi *National-Zeitung* hails the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy for its willingness to join their crusade against the USSR. Last year the KPD/M-L carried the Maoist pro-NATO line to its logical conclusion by initiating a court suit against the federal defense minister, charging him with "betraying" the military defense of West Germany against the "Soviet threat" (see the SYL pamphlet, *China's Alliance with U.S. Imperialism*).

As the TLD insisted in its leaflets, the Maoists cross the class line by refusing to defend the revolutionary gains still preserved in the USSR, East Germany and other deformed workers states. Unlike the Maoists the TLD stands for the unconditional defense of all the degenerated/deformed workers states, while simultaneously calling for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies which maintain a political stranglehold over the masses and betray the interests of the international revolution through their quest for "detente." The TLD fights for the revolutionary reunification of Germany through anti-capitalist social revolution in West Germany and anti-bureaucratic political revolution in East Germany and throughout the Soviet Bloc.

Militant agitation against the repressive legislation in West Germany is a crucial and urgent task for the communist vanguard. The TLD is determined to continue to protest the *Berufsverbot* and will vigorously intervene in the student strike actions which are almost certain to resume in January. ■

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Documentary Captures Nazi Depravity

The California Reich, which is currently showing in the Bay Area, is a documentary film that examines the embryonic nucleus of Hitlerism in the United States: the fascist National Socialist White People's Party. The hour-long film, nominated for the Academy Award for Best Documentary, is essentially a sociological study of Nazi "stormtroopers" in three of their four California units (San Francisco, Tracy and Los Angeles). As co-director Walter F. Parkes told a *Young Spartacus* reporter, *California Reich* was not intended to be "political" but rather "motivational" and "phenomenological."

But *The California Reich* is political. What emerges from the film is a graphic portrayal of the murderous slime who wait in the wings as extralegal paramilitary forces dedicated to preserving capitalism by destroying the organizations and democratic rights of the working class and oppressed racial, ethnic and religious minorities. Central to the film is the Nazi's attempt to speak at San Francisco State University in March 1975 and the successful demonstrations against their appearance organized by the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) and Progressive Labor Party (PL).

Yet on November 27 PL organized a picket-line demonstration at the San Francisco theater showing the movie, demanding that *The California Reich* be "banned and burned." Convinced

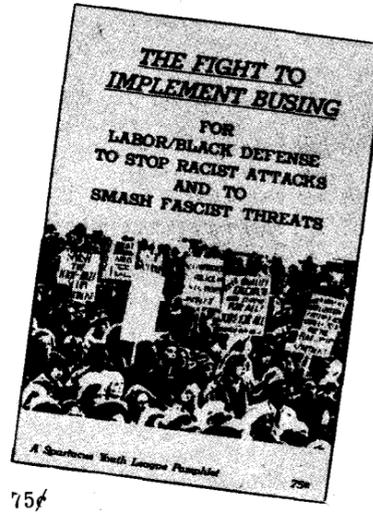
A REVIEW BY W. L. EATON

California Reich

A documentary film by Walter Parks and Keith Critchlow. Executive producers: Marshall C. and Karen J. Whitfield. Distributed by Yasny Productions, Los Angeles.

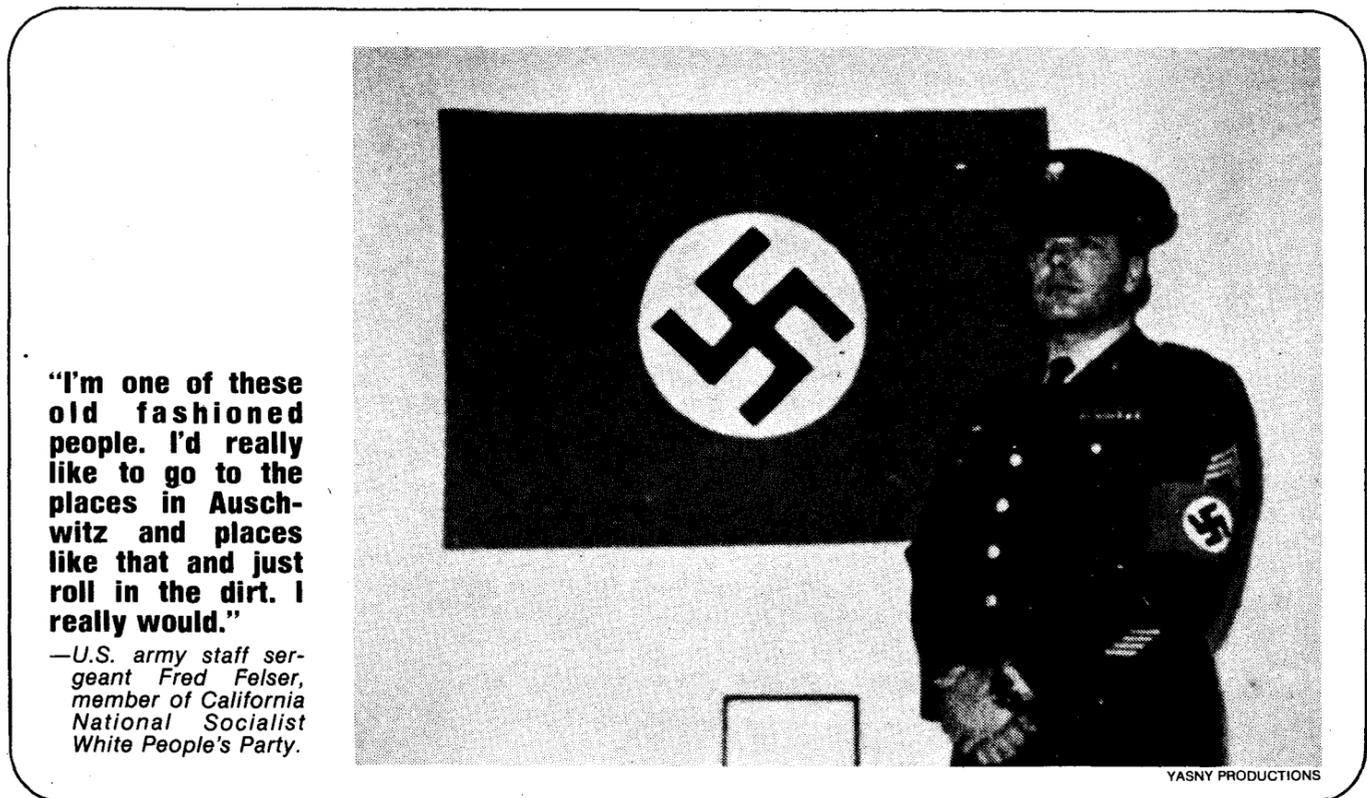
that the U.S. is already turning fascist, PL considers the film to be an insidious fascist propaganda tract promoted by the bourgeoisie: "they need masses of people here won to being racist" (*Challenge*, 16 December 1976).

The California Reich has nothing in common with pro-Nazi documentaries, such as Leni Riefenstahl's propaganda extravaganza, *Triumph of the Will*. Moreover, even in the case of fascist propaganda films we never call upon the *bourgeois state* to "ban"



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"I'm one of these old fashioned people. I'd really like to go to the places in Auschwitz and places like that and just roll in the dirt. I really would."

—U.S. army staff sergeant Fred Felser, member of California National Socialist White People's Party.

YASNY PRODUCTIONS

them, since the capitalist authorities always use "anti-extremist" laws far more frequently and severely against the left than against the ultra-right.

Nor does *The California Reich* attempt to prettify or satirize the Nazis, as did the disgusting television series, "Hogan's Heroes." There is no running narrative in *The California Reich*: the fascists are left to act their own roles and speak for themselves.

In fact, to the extent that *The California Reich* makes a political point, it is that the American Nazis are dangerous. *The California Reich* ends dramatically when the screen fades into darkness and there appears the following quote from the *New York Times* of November 1923 commenting on Hitler's abortive "Bürgerbräukeller (beerhall) putsch":

"The Federal officers estimate the strength of [Hitler's forces] at not over 1,000 and described them as boy scouts on an outing, playing at war.... Persons better fitted for the comic opera stage than for a serious effort to overthrow the Berlin Government."

The point is obvious.

The California Reich is a serious and technically superb documentary. It neither exaggerates the less-than-marginal influence of the American Nazis today nor conceals their potential for threatening black people, the left and labor movement.

In the documentary the Nazis are revealed to be a minuscule gang mainly comprised of psychological pariahs, deranged social misfits and criminal degenerates who are banded together by their "ideology" of all-consuming race hate. The film begins with a sampling of the megalomaniacal and racist filth which the Nazis use as a recruitment pitch in their dial-a-message telephone propaganda:

"White men! White women! The swastika is calling you, the ancient and sacred symbol of your race since the beginning of time. The swastika is just a piece of cloth, and yet there is a magic power within the swastika. The swastika makes our enemies into helpless putty. They know that the swastika stands for swift and ruthless justice.

"We believe in God's call to race, to do his work in history. The Jew is using the black as muscle against you and you don't have a chance. Well, what are you gonna do about it, whitey?"

In another scene we see two Nazis proudly showing off their five-year-

old child to San Francisco "führer," Allen Vincent. The child gives the "Heil Hitler" salute and then recites how he wants to become a cop when he grows up, so that he can kill "niggers and Jews." The assembled Nazis congratulate the parents for having such a "mature" child. In the most sickening scene, Fred Felser, who is a U.S. army staff sergeant at Fort Ord, admits,

"I'm one of these old fashioned people. I'd really like to go to the places in Auschwitz and places like that and just roll in the dirt. I really would."

The California Reich clearly reveals that in this country today the would-be Nazi stormtroopers — with their "Heil Hitlers," their worship of the swastika and their Pledge of Allegiance to Adolf Hitler—are too weak and isolated to pose an immediate danger to the organizations and civil liberties of the working class and oppressed minorities. A mass American fascist movement would more likely be based on the nativist Ku Klux Klan than on a cult of a rival German imperialism.

At the same time, *The California Reich* does not dismiss the American Nazis as just another bizarre California cult. Says one of the film makers, "We were interested in a psychological exploration of what makes those people tick and it was their frightening normalcy on a great many levels that intrigued us."

The film shows the Nazis to be a group with the genocidal "ideology" and militarist discipline to wage war against the working class and especially black people. For example, there is an interview with a gunrunner who freely admits supplying the Nazis with arms and adds that if "things ever come to a race war," he would supply them with all the weapons they would need free of charge.

The use of arms by paramilitary right-wing gangs such as the Nazis is not an idle threat. On December 10, Los Angeles County police discovered over eight tons of munitions and an armored half-track buried in the desert near Lancaster, California. Also found on the site was anti-Semitic and anti-communist propaganda. The county sheriff, Peter Pitchess, commented, "There was enough equipment and weapons to man a 200-member company of military personnel" (quoted in *San Francisco Chronicle*, 11 December 1976).

While the paramilitary right in the U.S. is small and isolated at this time, the history of Italy and Germany stand

as a grim warning that fascist forces can flourish in periods of acute social crisis—when the proletariat threatens bourgeois rule but lacks the revolutionary leadership to mount a decisive struggle for power; when the ruling class loses confidence in its ability to maintain capitalist order through the "democratic" regime and the "normal" repressive apparatus; and when the pauperized petty bourgeoisie come to view both "big labor" and "big business" as responsible for their economic insecurity. In such conditions the fascist gangs demonstrate their effectiveness and recruit through demagoguery backed up by bold attacks on the labor movement and persecuted minorities.

Already in festering situations of racial polarization, like Marquette Park in Chicago, the Nazis have been able to spearhead racist mobilizations, attracting crowds of lumpen white youth to their open-air meetings. During the first three months of work on *The California Reich*, the film makers found that the San Francisco Nazi group of eight or nine had grown to about thirty or forty. By the end of filming, San Francisco Nazi leader Vincent was hiring a larger meeting hall to accommodate his audience of ninety.

Unlike the reformist Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance—which lectures that the working people must never deny the fascist thugs their so-called "rights" of free speech and assembly—the SYL seeks to mobilize the forces capable of smashing racist and anti-labor provocations and turning the fascists "into putty." Our goal is the formation of a disciplined defense based on the strength and authority of the organizations of the labor movement and black masses. While cautioning against tactical adventurism and substitutionism, we seek to drive the fascist scum off the streets and into their ratholes whenever and wherever possible, depending on the all-sided relationship of forces.

The California Reich gives considerable coverage to the March 10, 1975, demonstration at San Francisco State University that drove Vincent and his supporters off campus, where they had been invited to speak by a left-liberal professor. The united-front demonstration, initiated by the SYL, raised the call "No Platform for Fascists."

The film shows the Nazis trapped inside an office in the classroom

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EDITOR'S NOTE: The first two sections of the three-part article, "The French Revolution of 1848," appeared in the November and December issues of Young Spartacus. The first part discussed the heterogeneous democratic opposition to the quasi-absolutist Orléanist regime represented by the newspapers, *Le National* and *La Réforme*; the mass insurrection of February 1848 that toppled the July monarchy of Louis Philippe and brought to power a Provisional Government headed by Alphonse Lamartine that also included two Socialist ministers; and the formation of make-work National Workshops as a bourgeois concession to the unemployed.

The second part considered the development of the French revolution between February and June of 1848 and, in particular, the possibility for a second and more radical revolution overthrowing the Provisional Government. The article dealt

with the growing polarization between the Central Republican Society led by Louis Auguste Blanqui and the clubs supporting the Provisional Government, or at least its left wing led by Alexandre Ledru-Rollin and Louis Blanc; the response of the left to the unexpected specter of a counterrevolutionary regime emerging from democratic elections of a constituent assembly and National Guard officers; the first *journée* (demonstration) of March 17 demanding postponement of the elections and implementation of the guaranteed right to work; and the government repression following the April 16 *journée*, when for the first time the left bourgeois democrats turned against their socialist allies.

As with the previous articles in the series, editorial alterations have been kept to a minimum to preserve the character of the original verbal presentation.

With this continuing series *Young Spartacus* makes available to its readers the presentations on the origins of Marxism that have been given by Joseph Seymour of the Spartacist League Central Committee at several SYL educational conferences on the east and west coasts and in the midwest during the last year.

"Marxism and the Jacobin Communist Tradition" seeks to demonstrate how Marx and Engels assimilated the experiences and political worldviews of the two generations of revolutionary militants who had attempted to achieve an egalitarian-collectivist social order through the triumph of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. Thus, the series debunks the academic/New Left interpretation of Marxism as simply a self-contained ideological derivation from Hegelian philosophy.

Preceding articles in the series have covered the Great French Revolution and the living continuity of Jacobin communism in the conspiratorial organizations and insurrectionary struggles of Babeuf and Buonarroti; the differentiation within the French democratic opposition from the Carbonari Conspiracy and the French Revolution of 1830 to the Blanqui/Barbès putsch of 1839; British Chartism and its revolutionary climax; the origins of the Communist League and its development through the factional struggle between the utopian millennialism of Weitling and the propagandism of Schapper; and the political development of Karl Marx before 1848.

The back issues of *Young Spartacus* featuring the first seven articles in this series are still available and may be obtained at 25 cents per issue from: Spartacus Youth Publishing Company, Box 825, Canal Street Station, New York, New York 10013.

Marxism and the Jacobin Communist Tradition/Part 8

By Joseph Seymour

The French Revolution of 1848

As the French left had predicted, the general elections [of 23 April 1848] were an unqualified disaster not only for the socialists, but even for the right wing of bourgeois democracy. The Party of Order gained a sweeping victory, and the Assembly was overwhelmingly drawn from the old Orléanist monarchists. The rather perceptive Alexis de Tocqueville, who was re-elected, commented that all the Conservatives and Notables who three months ago had been driven out of Paris by the revolutionary masses were now back again.

The French left was shaken and discouraged by the election of such a reactionary Assembly. Here is how Louis Blanc, the pacifistic socialist who was in the Provisional Government, described the elections:

"On the Fourth of May [when the Assembly was convened] it was only necessary to cast one's head upon the benches of the right to comprehend that the elections had transferred political power from Paris to the provinces, in other words, from that part of France which was the most enlightened to that part which was least so. The first effect of universal suffrage turned out to be nothing more than the victory of the rural districts, the abodes of ignorance, over a city, the brilliant focus of light. The privileged classes were about to subdue the working classes by means of the peasants, the people by means of the people."

—Louis Blanc, *Eighteen Forty-Eight: Historical Revelations*

Yet the Conservative majority at first proceeded quite cautiously. They as yet did not have the military force to directly confront the armed Parisian masses; they felt that they had to rule through the conservative bourgeois democrats.

So the monarchists began by purging only the socialists Blanc and Albert from the Provisional Government, establishing a more conser-

vative Executive Committee. However, there was considerable sentiment to also purge Minister of the Interior [Alexandre] Ledru-Rollin, the bourgeois radical who these monarchists considered to be a dangerous Jacobin agitator. But Lamartine, the former head of the Provisional Government, convinced them that purging Ledru-Rollin would only provoke the Parisian masses.

Realignment On the French Left

Although the *journée* of April 16 had pitted the communists and workers of the Luxembourg Commission against Ledru-Rollin and the moderate Republicans, the general elections later that month produced a reactionary Assembly which tended to drive them together again in opposition, to re-unify the "Republican party." But there were problems with this re-alignment. Since all the republicans—even Blanqui—were committed to representative government elected through universal suffrage, they could find no political basis for overthrowing the government, other than their disapproval with the way the people had voted.

The only other issue [which had been posed as a demand upon the Provisional Government] was the institutionalization of the right to work through a labor ministry. But raising this demand, which earlier had been defeated, would only tend to again open up the rift between the socialists and the non-socialists among the Republicans.

So the attempt to rally opposition to the monarchist-dominated Assem-

bly was made on a programmatic demand which appears to be at best secondary: support to the national liberation struggle being waged in Poland against the Austrian and Prussian monarchy. And indeed this was a popular issue in France. Poland was seen, quite correctly, as a bastion against Tsarist reaction; even many bourgeois liberals paid lip service to freeing the Polish people from reaction. Thus, the socialists and the bourgeois Republicans decided to launch their opposition to the new government on the basis of a secondary issue of foreign policy which was popular, but not at all directly related to the immediate concerns of the masses.

The Journée of May 15

A *journée* was called for May 15 around the demand for support to Poland. Without an organized and unified leadership a throng of 50,000-100,000 unarmed people—many of them workers from the National Workshops—took to the streets. With the memory of the April 16 *journée* still fresh in the minds of the masses, it was decided that they should take to arms if the National Guard was called out against the *journée*. But not calling an armed demonstration was a mistake; the masses would have to go home and get their weapons in the middle of a demonstration.

In any case, the march met with no resistance, since General Courtais would not order the National Guard to fire on the procession. Thus, the crowd was able to approach and enter the Assembly, where Blanqui and [Armand] Barbès spoke in favor of

a war to restore Poland. Then Barbès, who had been elected to the Assembly, called upon the demonstration to withdraw, but a secondary club leader named Huber suddenly cried, "The Assembly is dissolved!"

Having confronted the Conservatives the crowd surged to the Hôtel de Ville [the city hall], where for about an hour the existing government sat at one end of the building while the revolutionary masses milled around at the other as Barbès issued decrees. Unarmed, the demonstration was easily dispersed by the National Guard, and in less than an hour the principal leaders of the Parisian masses were arrested—Blanqui, Raspail, Albert and even Barbès. The Parisian left was beheaded, but not yet militarily defeated; the bloodletting at the base was to come a month later.

The June Days

After the May 15 *journée* the government began to consolidate and strengthen its available repressive apparatus. At the same time, the Parisian masses, having lost their top leaders, did not have the organizational capacity to again challenge the government. So the government sought to provoke a confrontation, through which the Conservatives could show Paris who was master.

In June a decree was promulgated by Count de Falloux declaring that all unmarried workers who refuse to enter the army be struck from the rolls of the "National Workshops" and that the unemployed be organized to build roads and clear the swamps in southern France, where at the time



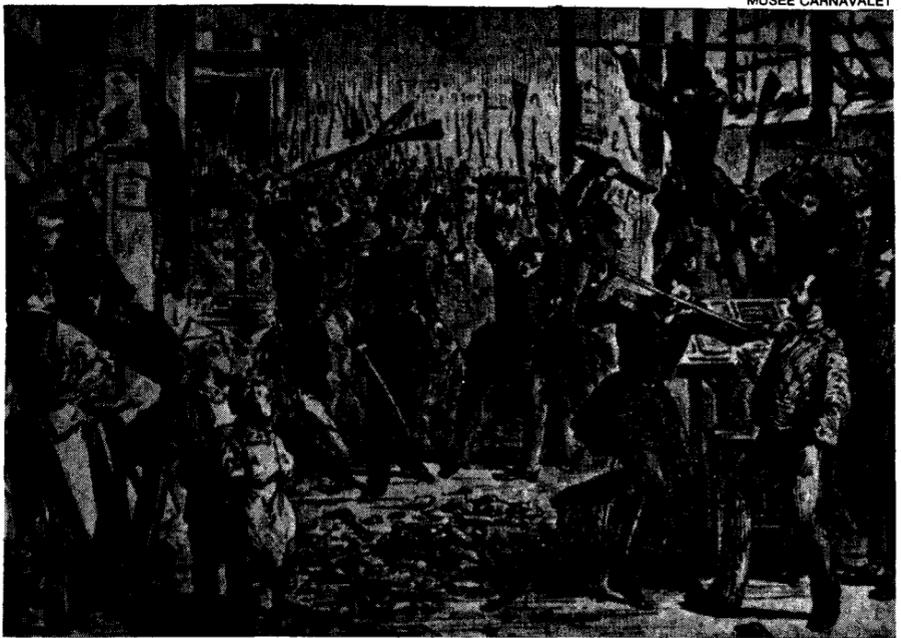
Plebian masses rally behind the red flag on the barricades during street fighting in June 1848.

BULLOZ



The revolutionary masses dissolve the reactionary Assembly on 15 May 1848.

MUSEE CARNAVALET



Bourgeois reaction raged against left-wing press and the Paris proletariat following "June Days" of 1849.

an epidemic was raging. And this indeed was a provocation. The "National Workshops," even though they had been established by Conservatives to deflect socialist demands for the implementation of the right to work, provided limited welfare relief and, more important, symbolized the only material gain which the proletariat had been able to wrest from the bourgeoisie as a result of the February revolution.

The reaction on the part of the Paris proletariat was predictable—a semi-spontaneous insurrection of a defensive character under an unfavorable military relationship of forces. About 50,000 people were involved in the disorganized four-day insurrection known as the June Days.

It failed. Minister of War Cavaignac suppressed the insurrection with savagery unprecedented in Paris. Tens of thousands were taken prisoner; about 20,000 were executed or deported to die in the tropics—they were the cream of the Paris proletariat. The government Executive shifted from the rather ineffectual leadership of Lamartine and Ledru-Rollin to the dictatorship of General Cavaignac. The problem of unemployment had been solved by the mass murder of the unemployed.

It is obvious today that the suppression of the June Days broke the back of the revolutionary proletariat in France for a generation. But this was by no means obvious to either Marx or Blanqui; in that period both regarded another revolutionary upheaval in France as an immediate possibility.

I believe that the most interesting and most important period of the French revolution [of 1848] is between February and June. Yet there are certain developments after the June Days which are rather important—not so much in themselves as for their impact on Marx, whose two main writings on the French revolution of 1848 concentrate on the period after June. This reflects—at least in part—circumstance: during most of the critical period of the French revolution [from February to June of 1848] Marx was in Germany, and he returned to France as an exile only in 1849.

The Rise of Bonapartism

What happened after June was the erosion of the basis for bourgeois democracy and a polarization between bonapartism on the one hand, and left republicanism on the other. The most significant development after the June Days was the totally unexpected and meteoric rise of Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte. In June Louis-Napoléon was a nothing; by December he was President of the Republic.

What accounts for the rise of bonapartism on the basis of popular sovereignty? As I explained in an earlier class, the Bonapartists had a certain advantage over the conservative bour-

geois democrats in that they were not politically committed to economic *laissez faire*. So the French peasantry associated good times with the Napoleonic Empire, when Napoleon freed the peasantry from the shackles of feudalism and established a booming military economy.

Louis-Napoléon inherited that tradition. Unlike the conservative bourgeois democrats, who were fundamentally committed to state non-interference in the economy, Louis-Napoléon was prepared to demagogically attack high finance and the usurers for exploiting the poor peasants.

At the same time, the Party of Order did not consider the existing government headed by Cavaignac to be sufficiently repressive and secure. Although he had proved his reliability by suppressing the proletariat, Cavaignac nevertheless was a so-called "pure Republican." For its part the French proletariat would never support Cavaignac, although

quence, Ledru-Rollin got about 370,000 votes, while Raspail received nearly 37,000.

The "Demo-soc" Opposition

The elections produced a far more conservative government—a coalition of Orléanists, Legitimists and one Republican that was headed by Odilon Barrot, who had been the last chief minister of King Louis Philippe. Thus, the victory of Louis-Napoléon tended to force together again the socialists and the radical Republicans, who at that time were called "democratic Socialists," or *démo-socs* for short.

However, in this period the programmatic emphasis of the French left shifted. The left recognized that under the conditions of universal suffrage the peasant—as Marx put it—"is the arbiter of France."

So the thrust of *démo-soc* propaganda became appeals to the economic interests of the peasantry; there's

ing polarization between the *démo-socs* and the increasing bonapartism of Louis-Napoléon, at the expense of the moderate Republicans. In the May 1849 elections, the left gained a significant victory; the *démo-soc* candidates received 2,357,000 votes (35 percent of the votes cast), while the moderate Republicans drew only 800,000. Both Benjamin Flotte, an imprisoned lieutenant of Blanqui, and Vidal, who had been a follower of Louis Blanc, were elected.

So the *grands Notables* of the Assembly decided that democracy was perhaps not the best means to maintain the rule of capital. A law was passed in May 1850 which effectively disenfranchised nearly three million workers by imposing a three-year residency requirement; the urban poor, being economically insecure, tended to move around a lot and so were disenfranchised by this new electoral law.

However, even this was not enough. As the presidential elections of 1852 approached, there was a general recognition that Louis-Napoléon would very likely be voted out by the peasantry, which had become increasingly discontented and receptive to the democratic-socialist party. Moreover, the tensions between Louis-Napoléon and the conservative politicians in the Assembly increased under the pressure of competing ambitions. Furthermore, the rivalry among the Conservatives—especially between Orléanists and Legitimists—left the political initiative to Louis-Napoléon. In December of 1851, Louis-Napoléon carried out his peaceful *coup d'état*. The Republic continued to exist only in name.

It is rather significant that there was no resistance to the coup on the part of the Paris proletariat. The working class was clearly defeated and demoralized by the repression of the June Days. But there was spontaneous resistance—even extensive armed resistance—in the countryside, where the peasantry and rural artisans had been looking forward to a new government which would implement the *démo-soc* reforms. (Incidentally, this is not a unique historical phenomenon; one is reminded of the Chinese revolution of 1925-27, when a defeat for the proletariat nevertheless had reverberations in the peasant upsurge that first brought Mao Tse-tung to prominence.)

Lessons of the Revolution

There are several important lessons to be drawn from the French revolution of 1848. The first is that the revolution of 1848 demonstrated a previously unknown phenomenon—the "democratic counterrevolution." When a popular revolution against a repressive regime creates embryonic organs of dual power, the

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Daumier cartoon satirizes Louis-Napoléon as dwarf adrift in his uncle's hat, and in tow behind withered French imperial eagle.

some workers in Paris and Lyon were prepared to support Louis-Napoléon on the basis of his demagogic promises of social welfare. Previously uninvolved in the politics of the Republic, Napoléon could present himself as all things to all people: as the force of order to the bourgeoisie, as the force of economic populism to the peasantry, and as the force of rudimentary social welfare to the proletariat.

The December presidential elections brought Louis-Napoléon five-and-a-half million votes; Cavaignac received almost a million-and-a-half. But the opposition to the rising tide of reaction was split. Despite the efforts of Ledru-Rollin to broker a pre-1848 alignment of "all us good democrats," the socialists had refused to support his candidacy; the memory of his support for the suppression of the May *journalé* and the June Days was too fresh.

So the socialists put up their own candidate, Francois Raspail, leader of the Friends of the People who at the time was in prison for his role in the May 15 *journalé*. For the first time in history socialists were calling for a protest vote against a radical bourgeois democrat. As a conse-

quence, Ledru-Rollin got about 370,000 votes, while Raspail received nearly 37,000.

Typical of the *démo-soc* propaganda is this appeal printed in *La Révolution* of 17 September 1851:

"Do not assume that the countryside will be dominated, as in the past, by what used until quite recently to be called the big landowners. The big landowners! And who are they, pray? There is hardly more than one owner left in France, and that is capital! And there is only one form of feudalism left: the foul, hateful, all-consuming feudalism of usury."

—in Roger Price, *1848 in France*

Within their own terms, the *démo-socs* were successful. They were able to appeal to the French peasantry, because Louis-Napoléon, despite his populist demagogy, was not carrying out policies in the economic interests of the rural toilers.

The Coup of 1851

Now, the period after the election of Louis-Napoléon saw the grow-

Student Bureaucrats Attempt Political Censorship —

SYL Defends Democratic Rights at CCNY

NEW YORK CITY—Over the past two months at the City College of New York (CCNY) the United Peoples (UP)—a black-nationalist clique which controls the Student Senate—has resorted to undemocratic measures against the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) as well as the campus press in a futile attempt to stifle political criticism of its role at CCNY.

In early November the UP voted to exclude the SYL at CCNY from all

UP-sponsored events. This blatantly anti-communist exclusion was first enforced on November 4, when SYL members (as well as supporters of the reformist Young Socialist Alliance) were physically prevented from entering a public meeting on campus featuring a film on the Tan-Zam Railway. Likewise, on November 18 SYL members were ejected from a meeting called to discuss strategy for fighting the budget cuts; the goon

responsible for the strong-arm exclusion, a sympathizer of the Maoist I Wor Kuen sect, claimed to be following UP policy.

Hiding behind the slander that the SYL "disrupts meetings," the UP has once again demonstrated its political cowardice and incapacity to defend its record at CCNY. We do not deny our sharp political differences with the UP, in particular its vicarious "Third World" nationalism which even glorifies the sadistic, deranged dictator Idi Amin.

No less have we denounced the dead-end stunts of the UP at CCNY, such as the stupidly substitutionist and isolated attempt to force the cancellation of student registration this fall (see "How to Roll Back Cutbacks at CUNY," *Young Spartacus*, October 1976). It is the revolutionary politics and activist interventions of the SYL—and not any "disruption" on our part—which have driven the UP and its Maoist hangers-on to escalate their anti-communist exclusionism.

In response the SYL at CCNY has launched a campaign to protest this attack on the SYL and to force the UP to repudiate its policy. Such exclusionism poses a threat to the democratic rights of campus organizations and political activists at CCNY. An open letter circulated by the SYL has already been endorsed by numerous CCNY faculty and student organizations representing a broad political spectrum (see box this page).

Not long after voting to exclude the SYL from its public meetings the UP lashed out at *The Campus*, one of several student newspapers at CCNY. Recently *The Campus* printed several articles critical of the Student Senate, implying various improprieties on the part of the UP.

In a pique over this petty criticism, the UP on November 17 voted to suspend *The Campus* and threatened to revoke its Student Senate charter. The UP defended its action by charging *The Campus* with failure to submit ads for liquor and birth control devices to the Senate for approval.

Moreover, the UP sought to bolster its flimsy charges against *The Campus* by turning to ultra-conservative CCNY professor Stanley Page, who had just issued a statement charging the campus newspaper with "news manipulation." Well known as a virulent anti-communist and opponent of open admissions, Page was irked that in its coverage of a recent faculty meeting, *The Campus* carried a photo prominently depicting liberal

professor Bernard Bellush instead of one of Page's conservative cronies.

The SYL certainly does not endorse the journalistic "integrity" or editorial policy of *The Campus*, which in the past has refused to print letters submitted by the SYL and other left groups at CCNY. Nor do we consider the campus-parochialist and careerist charges traded by the UP and *The Campus* to be the relevant issues in this dispute. But in this controversy the SYL opposes the suspension of *The Campus* as an arbitrary and blatantly vindictive attempt at political censorship by the UP clique. Especially since *The Campus* is formally a chartered student organization, the Student Senate action poses a threat to the democratic rights of organizations and individuals to function on campus. Such attempts at *de facto* censorship invite administrative interference into student affairs. As an SYL leaflet stated,

"We of the SYL believe our political exclusion must be reversed by CCNY's students, faculty and workers. We reject any calls on the administration for 'aid'; we seek to mobilize a struggle against the administration."

But the UP went from allying with Page against *The Campus* to calling for CCNY president Marshak to "resolve the question of due process or its own" (CCNY *Observation Post*, 24 November 1976). And, sure enough, Marshak intervened in the dispute over the campus press. On December 2 Marshak, posing as the champion of "due process," overturned the UP decision suspending *The Campus*.

Unlike the UP, the SYL opposes all administration intervention into disputes between campus organizations. Such interference will be used by the CCNY administration to justify future undemocratic and anti-communist attacks on campus groups and individuals. We deny that Marshak and the CCNY administration have any "right" to either open or close a campus newspaper, or to arbitrate any other student dispute, no matter how petty. To the intervention of Marshak the SYL counterposes the call for the abolition of the bourgeois administration and its replacement with worker/student/teacher control of CCNY and all universities.

At CCNY the SYL is determined to defeat the anti-communist exclusionism of the UP and to continue to expose its petty tyranny within the Student Senate. A vigorous campaign against the undemocratic dictates of the UP is part of our struggle to win students at CCNY to the revolutionary program of Trotskyism. ■

Recently the United Peoples voted to exclude the Spartacus Youth League (SYL), a socialist youth organization and recognized student group, from UP-sponsored public meetings. They implemented this decision by physically excluding the SYL from a November 18 meeting on budget cuts.

This act of political censorship is an attack on democratic rights, posing a threat to the right of all campus groups and individuals to participate in public functions.

We protest this exclusion of the SYL and insist that the UP publicly reverse this anti-democratic policy.

Boakye Adusah, student aide, Department of Black Studies
 Bernard Bellush, professor, Department of History
 Marshall Berman, associate professor, Department of Political Science
 Dale Brichta, editor, *The Campus*
 Carlease Burke, president, Black Pre-Law Society
 Tracy L. Carter, student
 Emmanuel Chill, professor, Department of History
 Allan Danzig, associate professor, Department of English
 Walter Daum, lecturer, Department of Mathematics
 Sarah D'Eloria, instructor, Department of English
 Dan Dorozynsky, WCCR
 Stanley Feingold, associate professor, Department of Political Science
 Byrne Fone, assistant professor, Department of English
 Antonia Gomez, secretary, Dominican Students Association
 Jack Gordon, treasurer, House Plan Association
 John H. Herz, professor, Department of Political Science
 Junius Huey, lecturer, Department of Black Studies
 Andre Jacques, laboratory aide, Department of Romance Languages
 Perez Kamunanwire, instructor, Department of Black Studies
 Frederick R. Karl, professor, Department of English
 Joan Kelly-Gadol, professor, Department of History
 Marc Lipitz, national news editor, *Observation Post*

Max Manigat, instructor, Department of Black Studies
 Gustavo Medina, Hispano-American Cultural Society
 Mary Lea Myersohn, lecturer, Department of English
 Radmila Milentijevic, assistant professor, Department of History
 Jose Monzón, Dominican Students Association
 Aaron Noland, professor, Department of History
 Edward Quinn, professor and chairman, Department of English
 Betty Rizzo, assistant professor, Department of English
 Steven Robles, Gay People at City College
 Peter Rondinone, *Observation Post*
 Charlotte Russell, professor, Department of Chemistry
 Fred Seaman, associate editor, *Observation Post*
 Darshan Shah, vice president, India Club
 Jack M. Shapiro, professor, Department of Music
 Harry Silverstein, associate professor and deputy chairman, Department of Sociology
 Harry Soodak, professor, Department of Physics
 Spartacus Youth League
 Robert C. Twombly, associate professor, Department of History
 Martin Waldman, assistant professor, Department of History
 Jim Watts, associate professor, Department of History
 Martha Weisman, associate professor, Department of Speech and Theater
 Samuel Wilen, professor, Department of Chemistry
 B. Winter, student

Partial listing—December 13, 1976. (Affiliations listed for identification purposes only.)

1848...

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counterrevolution often takes the form of a demand for a constituent assembly, which would allow the mass of the petty bourgeoisie to install a more conservative government.

Through that experience in 1848 Marx—and to a certain extent the Blanquists—arrived at the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Before the French revolution of 1848, however, the left never imagined that a democratically elected constituent assembly would be used as the vehicle for counterrevolution. Second, it was assumed before 1851 that the only form of counterrevolution available to the bourgeoisie was restoration of the monarchy. But the French revolution of 1848 demonstrated the possibility of a bonapartist regime initiating from a populist base and in successive stages eliminating bourgeois democracy.

Finally—and here I'm engaging in a certain amount of speculation—there is the question of the form of proletarian class rule. During 1848 in Paris it appeared at certain points to be the rule of the clubs. But the clubs were not united; in fact, there were unbridgeable political differences among them.

Likewise, the Luxembourg Com-

mission, which was based on the French trade unions and artisan associations, had some of the characteristics of a soviet. But the Commission was dominated by the class-collaborationist Louis Blanc until he resigned on May 8, after which the Commission floundered.

One of the reasons for the failure of a second revolution, therefore, was that there was no worked-out conception among the revolutionaries of establishing organs of proletarian rule apart from a constituent assembly elected on the basis of universal suffrage. What's a provisional government—"provisional" to what?

Now, history eventually provided the solution to that problem: the soviet. But I believe that Marx, searching for an alternative to the chaos which tended to arrest the revolution of 1848 in France, was developing his thought in the direction of the *all-class party*, that is, a disciplined political party embracing the entire working class and controlling the trade unions and other proletarian organizations. In contrast to Blanqui, Marx rejected a minority party dictatorship in perpetuity. I believe that the attempts of Marx, and even more so Engels, to think through the problem of the organs of proletarian rule shaped later Social Democracy, with its heavy emphasis on a single, all-embracing party. ■

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Detroit SYL Challenges Red Tide To Debate

EDITOR'S NOTE: Reprinted below is a debate challenge recently sent by the Detroit local of the Spartacus Youth League to the Red Tide, the youth group of the social-democratic International Socialists (IS). Before affiliating with the IS the Red Tide existed as a small high-school collective in Los Angeles (see "Red Tide in Swamp: International Socialists Comes By a Youth Group," Young Spartacus, March 1975). Today the Red Tide is active only in the Detroit area.

15 December 1976

Red Tide National Office
Detroit, Michigan

Comrades of the Red Tide:

At various public events in Detroit during the last several months members of the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) have found the opportunity to engage in informal political discussions with Red Tide supporters. As we have often stated, the SYL and the Spartacist League (SL) welcome such discussion and political struggle between opposing tendencies within the working-class movement.

Yet the International Socialists (IS) has long sought to quarantine the Red Tide from the politics of tendencies to its left, in particular, the SL/SYL. Well over a year ago the IS adopted a policy of "excluding known Sparts" from its so-called "public" meetings ("IS National Report," May 1975); the unsubstantiated claim that SL/SYL supporters in Detroit are "disruptors" is only the latest slander by the IS to cover its sectarian exclusionism.

Unlike the reformists of the IS, we have no fear that our program and political record cannot stand the test of open political struggle. Thus, the SYL in Detroit challenges the Red Tide to a public debate. Since the occasional discussions between supporters of our respective organizations have centered most often on the fight against racial oppression, we propose that the topic for debate be "Racial Oppression and Working Class Politics."

Undoubtedly many Red Tide members have been attracted to the IS

by its claim that the IS struggles for a revolutionary program and perspective to combat racial oppression. But the entire political history of the IS testifies to its opportunism and willingness to even trample over its "principles" for get-rich-quick popularity.

Many Red Tide members may not know that a decade ago the IS (then more appropriately called the Independent Socialist Clubs—ISC) tailed the pacifist-gradualist civil-rights movement led by Martin Luther King, that preacher of black "non-violence" who had staunchly defended the brutal suppression of the Watts ghetto uprising in 1965. In 1967 the IS(C) even called upon King to launch a presidential campaign with pacifist Benjamin Spock as his running mate. The IS(C) quietly withdrew its endorsement of King only after he was scathingly denounced by Black Power militants for his despicable support to the military occupation of the Detroit ghetto in 1967.

Although soon espousing the vicious black-nationalist rhetoric of the New Left the IS(C) never abandoned its reformist politics and appetite to adapt to the petty-bourgeois radicalism *de jour*. Thus, the IS(C) in California used the appeal of the Black Panther Party to promote its wretched liberal Peace and Freedom Party (which soon collapsed).

With the demise of the New Left and the decline of the Panthers, the IS(C) "discovered" the working class, tailoring its tailist politics to the existing level of consciousness within the proletariat. Refusing to struggle for a class-struggle program against racial discrimination within the unions, the IS enthused over such reformist "opposition" caucuses as the Teamsters for a Decent Contract (now the Teamsters for a Democratic Union), which not only refused to fight for demands against the special oppression of minorities but also failed to oppose the Teamster bureaucracy for its scabbing on the Farmworkers.

Capitulating to racist attitudes within the working class, the IS also came out in opposition to busing, arguing that busing for desegregation "involves sending white students (mostly working class) to worse schools" (*Workers Power*, 10 Novem-

ber 1972). The IS flip-flopped over to support for busing only when it "fused" with the Socialist Collective, a small grouping of black socialists who supported busing in Boston. But the Socialist Collective grouping within weeks split from the IS in disgust. Since that time the IS political chameleons have simultaneously supported busing and "community control" schemes, depending upon which is most popular in any given situation!

In contrast, the SL/SYL has consistently supported busing as a democratic demand and a step toward the social integration of black people. At the same time we have called for the extension of busing and the formation of labor/black defense to protect black people from segregationist backlash. We can proudly point to our intervention into struggles for black equality during the past decade, including our polemics against the IS(C) for its support to King and its backing for the Peace and Freedom Party.

No less opportunist has been the IS position on Southern Africa. When Angola was plunged into civil war more than a year ago, the IS attempted to become the most vociferous supporter of the petty-bourgeois nationalist MPLA. At that time the SL/SYL maintained that in the intra-nationalist conflict over which rival force would monopolize state power in the soon-to-be-independent bourgeois Angola, the interests of the proletariat would not be advanced by the victory of any one nationalist formation over the others.

Moreover, when the Angolan civil war became decisively internationalized with the South African invasion and the reciprocal massive introduction of Cuban troops on the side of the MPLA, the IS still uncritically supported the MPLA. But this line flatly contradicted the IS position on the Russian question! According to the IS' anti-Marxist "theory" of "bureaucratic collectivism," the MPLA had become dominated by so-called "Russian imperialism" no less than the FNLA/UNITA forces were dominated by U.S./South African imperialism. Yet the IS has been more than eager to shelve its "anti-totalitarian" principles as long as pro-Russian forces (such as the MPLA and the Vietnamese NLF) are

popular within petty-bourgeois radical and militant black milieus. Nevertheless, the IS line on Eastern Europe, for example, demonstrates that wherever and whenever Stalinism is regarded with massive hostility by left liberals, the IS champions an anti-communist position no different than the stalinophobic politics which led its Shachtmanite predecessors to liquidate into the "State Department socialism" of the Socialist Party in 1958.

In contrast to the IS, the SL/SYL maintains that the USSR, Cuba and all other "Communist" countries are *degenerated/deformed workers states*—collectivist states which are based on proletarian property forms that must be defended unconditionally, but which are saddled by counter-revolutionary Stalinist bureaucracies that must be overthrown by workers political revolution. When the limited intra-nationalist conflict in Angola became internationalized, the SL/SYL at that time called for *military* support to the Russian-backed/Cuban-spearheaded MPLA against the imperialist-led forces, while continuing our *political* opposition to all the petty-bourgeois nationalist Angolan formations.

It is these and any other question of proletarian revolutionary politics which we challenge the Red Tide to debate. We are prepared to counterpose our long and principled history of struggle for black equality with the abject opportunism of the IS. Are you prepared to do likewise?

We await your response and look forward to arranging the debate.

Spartacus Youth League,
Detroit local

*Young Communist
Bulletin No. 2—*

**International
Socialists:
Left Wing of
Social Democracy**

75¢

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Chicago and Stockholm Demos Rap Junta Advisor

Friedman's Nobel 'Achievement'— Starvation In Chile!

CHICAGO—On December 3 Milton Friedman, the well-known University of Chicago professor responsible for braintrusting the Chilean junta's planned-starvation "shock-treatment," was honored at the Conrad Hilton hotel here for recently being named a Nobel laureate in economics.

But as the bourgeois "dignitaries" and prominent "personalities" arrived and stepped from their limousines, they were faced with demonstrators chanting, "Friedman, Vorster, Pinochet—the working class will not forget!"

The Chicago protest had been organized by the Spartacus Youth League (SYL), which over a year ago launched a campaign to protest and expose Milton Friedman and other so-called "Chicago Boys" who have actively collaborated with the Pinochet regime (see "Braintruster of Chilean 'Shock Treatment' Gets Imperialist Prize,"

Young Spartacus, December 1976)

Participating in the SYL contingent were leftists associated with the Red Rose Bookstore and supporters of the Labor Struggle Caucus of United Auto Workers Local 6. However, the Chicago Committee to Save Lives in Chile, which is dominated by the reformist Communist Party, refused to merge its contingent with the SYL-initiated demonstration, objecting to our "awful" slogans, such as "For Workers Revolution to Crush the Chilean Junta!" Burying even their own reformist slogans in an opportunist appeal to liberalism the Stalinists limited their politics to the classless and ultra-"respectable" protest that Friedman had "dishonored" the University of Chicago (founded and controlled by the Rockefeller dynasty) and the Nobel Prize (annually bestowed by the doddering Swedish monarchy).

One week later, when Friedman arrived in Sweden to receive his Nobel

award, a massive crowd of 5,000 demonstrated in the snow outside the Stockholm Concert Hall, chanting "Friedman—murderer!" and carrying banners reading "No to Friedman—the Economist of Oppression!" (*Chicago Tribune*, 11 December 1976). Inside the auditorium, when Friedman rose to accept the imperialist prize from King Karl Gustaf, a demonstrator reportedly shouted, "Friedman go home!" and "Long live the Chilean people!"

As part of our commitment to

mobilize international solidarity with the Chilean workers and peasants we are determined to continue protesting Milton Friedman and all other collaborators with Pinochet. We are confident that the struggle to reforge the Fourth International hastens the day when the Chilean proletariat will rise again. And with the triumph of the Chilean revolution the barbaric junta and its Friedman-trained "Chicago Boys" in Santiago will be dealt true proletarian justice for all their crimes. ■

YOUNG SPARTACUS



S. African Student Interview...

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SUPPORT OF THE ANTI-APARTHEID REBELLION IN THE BLACK AND COLOURED TOWNSHIPS?

"There have been only two significant white actions during the anti-apartheid uprising. The other was a student protest on June 17 at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg. About 500 students there also went on a protest march and were joined by a lot of blacks. But the cops attacked the demonstration and let loose a lot of plainclothes thugs with clubs."

IT WAS REPORTED IN THE PRESS HERE THAT THOSE WERE WHITE RAILWAY WORKERS.

"Yes, that's what the press said, but I'm pretty certain that they were policemen. They attacked the demonstration as it passed across a bridge, closing in on both ends and trapping people. A lot of demonstrators were badly injured.

"These two demonstrations were the extent of the white protest. There were about three demonstrations near the University of Cape Town, but they weren't very large."

COULD YOU DESCRIBE THE ROLE OF THE NATIONAL UNION OF SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS?

"Yes, NUSAS originally was composed of both white and black students. But the blacks split about ten years ago, when they felt that couldn't express their political ideas and articulate their aims within a mixed organization.

"They then formed the South African Students Organization, which is very effective, despite the repression which has hit the leaders. SASO has taken a leading hand in organizing what has been going on in South Africa in the past few months.

"Until about two years ago NUSAS was the most radical legal white organization in South Africa. At that time NUSAS was running various commissions. I know that one of them, the Wages Commission, attempted to organize black workers.

"In Cape Town it achieved a fair amount of success. NUSAS established the Western Province Workers Advice Bureau, which helped workers to organize committees within the factories or otherwise obtain redress from management. The Wages Commission published a newspaper in Xhosa, which is the language spoken by most of the black workers in the Cape Town area. Its activities also included doing research into British firms in South Africa, into wage levels, poverty, and the like.

"But the government now has all

but crushed the NUSAS commissions. In June of this year the government banned the workers newspaper. Another one was started, which was also banned. In parliament one of the ministers—I think it was Minister of Justice Kruger—specifically named NUSAS as a subversive organization.

"At the same time, there was a big fight within NUSAS between liberal students and the radicals. The liberals at Cape Town University claimed that NUSAS had become a political organization which no longer represented student interests. I believe NUSAS now has been declared an illegal organization, which means that it can't receive funds from overseas student organizations, which is how NUSAS used to be financed.

"So NUSAS now exists as an empty shell. It has no vitality anymore. All the radical students have abandoned NUSAS and formed new organizations."

WHAT ARE THESE NEW RADICAL ORGANIZATIONS?

"At the University of Cape Town the ex-NUSAS people formed an organization called SSD—Students for Social Democracy. They organized all the protests at Cape Town University during the anti-apartheid upheaval. And before the Transkei became nominally independent, the SSD people organized a week of activities on the Transkei. Just the other day I saw a copy of a publication which they have brought out.

"The SSD people have been elected to the Student Representative Council, which plays a leading role in the political life of South African campuses. Well, at Cape Town last year the liberals managed to gain control of the Council and reduced the level of its political activity. But now the activists have gained influence and there's much more politics in the Council, although the government is determined to crush white radical student activity."

LET'S GO BACK TO SOME OF THE ACTIVITIES WHICH NUSAS WAS INVOLVED IN DURING THE LAST FEW YEARS, SUCH AS THE WAGES COMMISSIONS.

"The students who established the Wages Commission were pretty left wing. They attempted to educate black workers in Marxism and published a few pamphlets explaining how they could organize and win some rights. In Johannesburg the Wages Commission also had a fair amount of success in organizing trade-union movements.

"But in South Africa black trade unions have no legal bargaining power. So it's an uphill battle with constant police infiltration, surveillance and harassment. Yet the black workers really did welcome the literature which was distributed in the townships."

WERE THE WAGES COMMISSIONS ACTUALLY ABLE TO LEAD ANY STRIKES OR OTHER BLACK WORKING-CLASS ACTIONS?

"No. You see, it's very difficult for white students in South Africa to actively organize a trade union among black workers. The repressive laws make it dangerous and difficult for whites and blacks even to get together to discuss anything. Any meetings must be held very discreetly, very quietly.

"Nevertheless, there have been struggles by black workers after they had sought out the help of the Wages Commission. For example, about a year ago there was a strike at a bakery in Cape Town which was the direct result of the people at the Advice Bureau helping the bakery workers. Later the leaders of that strike all were fired, which is one of the main problems of working-class or-

ganizing in South Africa. Once fired, the black worker in South Africa is usually forced to return to the homelands as a result of the pass system. I'm sure you've heard about that."

WHAT ABOUT OTHER ORGANIZATIONS — SUCH AS THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS?

"Both the African National Congress and the Pan-African Congress

leaders are quite courageous in their opposition to the government and are very well respected among the South African whites. For example, the leaders of the Christian Institute were called to testify against NUSAS and three other organizations charged by the government as being subversive. They refused to testify, were tried and fined. But instead of paying the fine they are going to go to jail. And a fair number of Christian Institute people have left



SYL contingent marches in Detroit anti-apartheid demonstration on December 4th.

are banned in South Africa, so it is difficult to know exactly what their role has been in the anti-apartheid uprisings in the townships. Yet I do know that they do a fair amount of propaganda work and recruiting."

IS THERE MUCH GUERRILLA ACTIVITY WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA?

"You don't hear anything about it. I wouldn't like to say that there is guerrilla activity, because I've never heard of anything actually happening inside the borders of South Africa.

"There probably is a fair amount of sabotage. But the urban guerilla warfare that went on about 15 years ago has been crushed. Since June, however, hundreds of young blacks have left Soweto, many of them going out of South Africa for guerrilla training."

DOES ANY LEFT-WING ORGANIZATION IN SOUTH AFRICA TODAY HAVE ANY SIGNIFICANT SUPPORT AMONG THE WHITE POPULATION?

"Not significant support. But there is an organization called the Christian Institute of Southern Africa, whose

the country or have been placed under banning orders."

WHAT ABOUT THE LIBERAL OPPOSITION — PEOPLE LIKE HELEN SUZMAN OF THE PROGRESSIVE-REFORM PARTY. WHERE DO THEY STAND ON UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE, OR AN END TO THE APARTHEID SYSTEM?

"What they say is that they want an end to discrimination, but would extend the franchise only to those who meet certain property or educational requirements. And that excludes a large proportion of the blacks in South Africa. The liberals basically want to liberalize apartheid to a certain extent—eliminating some of the more visible pieces of legislation, like the Suppression of Communism Act and the Immorality Act.

"But the liberals still want to maintain capitalism in South Africa. And that means maintaining the exploitation of black labor and their own privileged position. Most politically active university students completely reject the program of the liberals—and reject parliamentary reform and all the parliamentary reformists—as being a farce. Their programs are in no way revolutionary."■

Radical Black Sociologist Target For Political Firing

BERKELEY—Ever since radical black sociologist Harry Edwards began teaching here at the University of California six years ago, demands for his dismissal have been raised from time to time by indignant racist public officials. Now Edwards has become the target of the Berkeley administration, which recently rejected a Sociology Department recommendation that he be granted tenure. Within the University of California system failure to receive tenure within seven years results in dismissal.

A former member of the Black Panther Party, Harry Edwards first gained national prominence in 1968 as the organizer of an attempted black boycott of the Summer Olympic Games in Mexico City. Two years later he participated in the occupation of the Cornell University student union by armed black students. Soon after Edwards received his position at Berkeley in 1970 his classes on American race relations and the sociology of sports became some of the most widely attended on campus.

The Berkeley administration

has a long history of political victimization of left-wing faculty. Last year, for example, the administration refused to rehire three prominent radical professors. The refusal of tenure for Harry Edwards, who is one of the only two black professors in the entire Sociology Department, has now aroused controversy and student opposition on campus; supporters of Edwards already have announced their intention to organize protest action demanding tenure for Edwards.

In the past the Spartacus Youth League at Berkeley has expressed considerable political differences with Harry Edwards, in particular, with his support for union-busting government "affirmative action" schemes (see "New Left Antiques at Berkeley Bazaar," *Young Spartacus*, November 1975). But at the same time we solidarized with the just outrage of his student supporters over this *de facto* political firing and demand that Harry Edwards be granted tenure.

Stop all faculty firings and campus layoffs! For student/teacher/campus-worker control of the universities!

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RCP...

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of the political and organizational disintegration of PLP; the last two issues of *Revolution* for the first time contain prominent references to the "Trotskyite" PLP. But seeking to discredit Trotskyism by falsely labeling PL "Trotskyite" will not resolve any of the contradictions which the RCP today faces.
The RCP is headed for political trouble. Yet the current power struggles in China may serve to sow some seeds of doubt which cause subjectively revolutionary elements in the RCP/RSB to break with Maoism. Confronting the RCP is the revolutionary program and practice of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League. Those who aspire to make a proletarian revolution in this country must break with Stalinist reformism and embrace Trotskyism—the continuation of Leninism. ■

California Reich...

continued from page 5
building where they were to appear, while the SYL, PL, trade-union militants and unaffiliated students demonstrate outside. Visibly scared, the fascists attempt to bolster their courage by murmuring among themselves about "dying for a just cause" and about how the early Christians were fed to the lions. The film also records how the cops protected the fascists from the protesting students, although as the "stormtroopers" are escorted to their waiting van, several get a taste of the students' anger. After their defeat at San Francisco State the Nazis are seen as shaken.
The California Reich's account of the demonstration and its aftermath confirms the SYL's strategy to defeat the fascist thugs. It shows that the cops can not be relied upon to protect the left and labor movement, much less to defeat the fascist thugs. It shows that the fascists do not fear "exposure," but rather welcome every opportunity to spew inflammatory rhetoric and foment racial hatred. It shows that the fascists cringe in the face of militant, decisive action.
In an interview after the S.F. State demonstration, Vincent says,
"I've got myself a room now. It's a very confined room. There is no way out. There is only one door and a window, and the window is about a five-story drop. It's a long way down. I'd hate to have to die, in a little crummy room, at the mercy of communist assassins. Sometimes when I'm in the shower—of course, I put it out of my mind, immediately—but I often wonder if when I pull the shower curtain back, they're not going to be standing there, waiting for me."

The SYL will continue to organize militant anti-fascist protest and struggle for labor/black defense to ensure that these Nazi vermin never dare crawl out of their little crummy rooms. ■

China...

continued from page 2
in Szechwan and Paoting on the purged "gang of four"—Chiang Ching, Chang Chun-chiao, Yao Wen-yuan and Wang Hung-wen. Ever since the Chiang clique was jailed three months ago, the Stalinist bureaucrats in power in Peking have sought to make the "gang of four" the scapegoats for seemingly every crisis and unpopular policy of the past regime.
However, the ruling Stalinist bureaucracy also must attempt to reconcile the current tempest in the officialdom and the admitted past bureaucratic abuses with the Maoist myth that it is the workers and peasants who rule "socialist" China through "proletarian democracy." This the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy attempts to do by claiming that the "gang of four" managed to create "all-round civil war" entirely through sabotage, conspiracy and "hoodwinking" the masses!

Thus, the Peking regime must vilify the purged Politburo members through an obscurantist campaign revolving around sensationalist accusations and far-fetched accounts of their alleged monstrous personal criminality and promiscuous abuse of power. For example, recent wall posters and media diatribes against the "gang of four" endlessly charge Chiang Ching—the widow of Mao—with so-called moral degeneracy (for viewing such "dirty foreign films" as *The Sound of Music*) and aristocratic commandism (for ordering special "anti-earthquake beds" to be made for herself and her entourage).

Nevertheless, the current internecine squabbling and bitter feuding within the Chinese bureaucracy are by no means unrelated to the purge of the "gang of four." The Chiang clique consisted of the most prominent leaders associated with that layer of bureaucrats who came to power or were promoted on the basis of their support for Mao during the Cultural Revolution, when he was seeking to regain complete control over the central apparatus after having been "kicked upstairs" for his Great Leap fiasco. Although the sharp antagonisms within the bureaucratic apparatus at present remain obscured, the conflicts which recently have erupted in China at least to some extent seem to involve struggles between these bureaucrats and the veteran cadres who had been purged, demoted or otherwise humiliated by the Red Guards and office-seeking Mao sycophants during the Cultural Revolution.

The death of Mao and the ensuing power struggle in China undoubtedly have enflamed resentments and antagonisms long simmering in the party and state apparatus, leading to factionalizing and bureaucratic vendettas to settle old scores. (It is a telling sign of the times that in China today the customary phrase used to request the bill in a restaurant—"Settle the account"—has become indecorous.) Thus, the conflicts which have erupted in the provinces are mainly careerist and not ideological; the widespread unrest is not linked to any specific program of the purged "Shanghai radicals," who proved to be a relatively isolated clique without a popular base of support.

So acute has the "civil war" and "factionalism" become in China that Peking now has threatened a major purge. In late December Chairman Hua Kuo-feng announced that "The Central Committee is going to launch a movement of consolidation and rectification" that allegedly "will bring about order across the land" (*New York Times*, 29 December 1976).

Already a number of prominent figures said to be associated with the Chiang clique have come under

attack. For example, Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua has recently been bounced, and Chang Tieh-sheng—the "radical" hero who initiated the "anti-Confucius campaign" in 1973—has just been denounced as a "counterrevolutionary clown" and an "opportunist and thug."

Meanwhile, several ranking bureaucrats known to have supported twice-purged Teng Hsiao-ping in the past have become more prominent. Moreover, the noisy "anti-rightist campaign" against Teng has been criticized in the Chinese media and has been halted; the bureaucracy even permits the foreign trade department in Canton to publically display wall posters which declare, "Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping is a warrior who opposed the gang of four" (cited in *New York Times*, 28 November 1976).

Although Peking now promises a new "hundred-flowers campaign" of Stalinist "liberalization" and material concessions to the masses, the Chinese workers and peasants will continue to be saddled by the usurping bureaucratic caste hostile to any expression of workers democracy. Despite its revolving-door purges and internal instability the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy which stands as an obstacle to the development of the collectivist system can not be removed through reform. While defending the gains of the Chinese revolution the working class must be mobilized in a political revolution to smash the bureaucracy and to transform China into a bastion of soviet democracy and revolutionary internationalism. ■

Near East...

continued from page 1
West Bank "mini-state" as an acceptable "first step" to the goal of the "democratic secular Palestine." But on December 14 the Palestine Central Council issued a declaration which for the first time simply called for a "Palestinian state" without mentioning the "democratic secular Palestine."

Moreover, Arafat no longer feels the same pressure of opposition from the Palestinian organizations within the umbrella PLO which form the so-called "rejection front" (rejecting any negotiated settlements with Zionist Israel). The "rejectionists," headed by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), emerged from the Lebanese civil war badly mauled, many of their cadres fleeing to Iraq for refuge. Moreover, since the imposition of the cease fire by Syria, the PFLP and other "rejection front" commando organizations in Lebanon have been attacked by units of the Syrian-controlled As Saiqa. Recently in Beirut two leaders of the PFLP—Abdel Wahab al-Sayed and Khaldiyah Khalid—were assassinated.
In response to opposition within

the PLO, Arafat has insisted that the PLO would not settle for any "mini-state" which was not "totally independent" from the surrounding regimes. But, any Palestinian "mini-state" under PLO leadership would soon become a "bantustan" for the nearly two million Palestinian refugees and client state of one of the surrounding regimes. Israel would agree to a Palestinian state on its borders only if the Zionists were convinced that the "mini-state" would be firmly controlled by one of the "moderate" and "responsible" Arab regimes—in particular, the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. Thus, when Sadat recently reiterated his stand that any Palestinian "mini-state" should be closely linked to Jordan, Israeli Foreign Minister Yigal Allon declared that "this is a positive development in Egypt's stance" (quoted in *New York Times*, 31 December 1976).

At best, a Palestinian "mini-state" would represent only a very partial and deformed realization of the right of the Palestinians to self-determination. In fact, the proposed Gaza/West Bank "mini-state" represents far less than what the Palestinians were promised under the 1947 partition plan. It would not restore national rights to the 300,000 Palestinian Arabs living within the pre-1967 borders of Israel and would serve to legitimize the imperialist partition of Palestine and the Zionist conquests of 1947-48.

While counseling against the "mini-state," we nevertheless defend the right of the Palestinians to establish a West Bank/Gaza state and demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all the occupied territories. At the same time we recognize the national rights not only of the Palestinian Arabs but also the Hebrew-speaking people. Although today the Hebrews are an oppressor nation in relation to the Palestinian Arabs, a genuinely democratic solution to the counterposed national claims of such geographically interpenetrated peoples is not one which simply reverses the terms of national oppression. Moreover, we deny that a "democratic secular Palestine" can be achieved through military conquest by any of the Arab nationalist regimes; indeed, the Palestinian Arabs would fare no better under an Egyptian or Syrian military occupation of Israel than they have in Lebanon or elsewhere in their Near East diaspora.

A genuinely democratic solution to the conflicting national claims of both the Palestinian Arabs and the Hebrew-speaking people can be realized only through the formation of a bi-national Arab/Hebrew workers state, born of the common class struggle of the Arab and Hebrew workers against the Zionist state, the bloody Hashemite throne and the other bonapartist Arab regimes. And the key to unlock that struggle is the forging of a Trotskyist party to link the strikes in Israel and Egypt today with the protests by Arab youth on the West Bank against their national oppression. ■

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Young Spartacus

At the height of the "anti-rightist campaign" against deposed Chinese Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-ping this year, the reformist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) stated in the first issue of its theoretical journal,

"As the recent political campaigns to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat in China graphically reveal, the key to understanding the class struggle under socialism is to grasp that this is fundamentally a political struggle aimed at suppressing the bourgeoisie."

—The Communist, October 1976

At that time the RCP and its youth group, the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB), certainly could not be reproached for failure to recite Maoist rote.

But no sooner had the RCP penned the above words than the so-called "radical" leaders behind the "anti-rightist campaign" in China were unexpectedly purged, as their "political struggle aimed at suppressing the bourgeoisie" boomeranged. The so-called "gang of four"—Chiang Ching, Yao Wen-yuan, Wang Hung-wen and Chang Chun-chiao—were viciously denounced as "capitalist roaders," and the Peking regime launched a "political campaign" to mobilize popular support for the purge.

The jailing of the four top-ranking "radical" leaders stunned Maoist groups around the world. While the ever-servile American October League (OL) hailed the purge the moment Peking made it official, the RCP/RSB has maintained a stonewalling silence on the "political struggle" in China which allegedly is "key to understanding the class struggle under socialism." *Revolution*, the "monthly" press of the RCP, simply failed to appear in November. Comes the December and now the January issues of *Revolution* and the RCP has still failed to even mention the power struggle which has raged in China for more than ten weeks!

As long as it maintains an agnostic position on the post-Mao regime ruling in the Heavenly Palace, the RCP/RSB places itself in an untenable political limbo outside the realm of Maoist legitimacy. After following the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy for a decade through all its counterrevolutionary betrayals, the RCP leaders—at least for the moment—have *de facto* placed a question mark over their loyalty to the Peking regime. Their hesitation to publically solidarize with the purge of the "gang of four" poses the question—Where is the RCP going?

Nativism and NATO

From its origins in New Left factory collectives in the Bay Area the RCP (formally the Revolutionary Union) has been singularly characterized by its elevation of "macho" workerism and reformist "fight-back" militancy to the level of dogma (see "Maoist Fusion Fizzles," *Young Spartacus*, December 1974). Its workerist appetites and strongly nativist orientation has decisively shaped its relationship with the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy. In contrast, the OL has set its political sights above all on winning the Chinese "franchise" as the recognized pro-Peking organization in this country.

Thus, as the Chinese alliance with U.S. imperialism against so-called "Soviet social-imperialism" has become ever more naked over the past several years the RCP, while fundamentally identifying with the Chinese bureaucracy, has tended to be less vociferous and shameless than the OL in championing the counter-revolutionary foreign policy of the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy. For

example, when China sealed its "detente" with the Shah of Iran by renouncing aid to the guerrilla insurgency in Oman, the OL at once fell in step with Peking policy, attacking the slogan "No Arms to the Shah" and denouncing the Omani guerrillas as "Soviet puppets." Yet the RCP, unwilling to sacrifice its recruitment opportunities in the large Iranian student milieu, continued to oppose the Shah and cynically attempted to obfuscate the Mao-Shah "detente" with "two-line" double talk.

Likewise, the OL has shamelessly parroted the most criminal pro-NATO exhortations of *Peking Review*, at one time last year warning against any revolutionary upsurge in Portugal which might remove the country

line in this country that is no less reformist and cravenly opportunist than the politics of the OL. In its domestic work the OL pursues "soft" liberal-populist politics no different than the class-collaborationist "anti-monopoly coalitionism" of the pro-Moscow Communist Party (U.S.A.). Unlike the RCP, which recruits with a "hard" workerist appeal and empty r-r-revolutionary rhetoric, the OL, which contains a layer of former pro-Moscow Stalinists, consciously competes for the same political niche and periphery as the American Communist Party. For example, after displacing the Communist Party from the leadership of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, the OL simply took over the entire organization and con-

oppose the no-strike ENA (Experimental Negotiating Agreement) and who now says that there should be fewer jobs in the steel industry!

Although workerist Maoism has led it to take numerous reactionary positions, especially regarding the struggle against the special oppression of black people and women, the RCP nevertheless has demonstrated a political capacity at times to swim against mainstream petty-bourgeois radical opinion. In contrast to the "critical Maoist" *Guardian*, which seeks simply to be the voice of mainstream "Third World" radicalism, the RCP has been willing to adopt positions which may be unpopular (such as its line on Cuba). In this sense the RCP has more political integrity than the *Guardian*.

Where To Now?

Insofar as it still aspires to orthodox Maoism the RCP has dem-

Where Is The RCP



Going?

from the imperialist military alliance. Recognizing that the reactionary pro-NATO line of Peking would be disastrous especially in its student work, the RCP flatly denied the fact that China supports European militarism against the USSR and continued to abstractly oppose NATO.

But the most telling recent test for Maoists came during the Angolan civil war last year, when China actively allied with American and South African imperialism against the USSR-backed/Cuban-led Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola forces. While the OL line followed *Peking Review* to the letter, warning that so-called "Soviet social-imperialism" was the "main danger" in Southern Africa, the RCP attempted to be "more Maoist" than the Maoist OL; it rationalized this counterrevolutionary policy of the Chinese bureaucracy by announcing that not only was the USSR "social-imperialist" but the Cuban troops in Angola were a so-called "imperialist" expeditionary force from a country which allegedly has always been "capitalist." Since China has never claimed that capitalism has been restored in Cuba, this RCP position represented a first step in the direction of Maoist heterodoxy.

What "Unites" Mao Tse-tung and Louise Day Hicks?

Although correctly accusing the OL of "flunkeyism" toward China, the RCP at the same time has a political

continued to run it with the same liberal politics.

Especially given the relative quiescence within the American labor movement and the rightward drift in the national political climate over the past several years, the consistent workerism of the RCP has produced only the most rank economism and philistine opportunism. Most scandalous has been the RCP/RSB's opposition to busing, which is a means—however limited—to enforce the democratic right of equal access to public educational facilities. Accommodating to racist opposition to integration among white workers, the RCP has called for the "smashing" of busing in Boston and hailed the so-called "progressive aspects" of the white racist mobilizations in Boston and Louisville.

Likewise, the RCP has pandered to the most backward male workers in its refusal to fight the special oppression of women and its opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment. Similarly, the "macho"-Maoist RCP has revealed in swinish anti-homosexual bigotry, ranting about the "deviant sexual behavior" of homosexuals (and other sexual non-conformists) and refusing to defend their democratic rights.

Basing its trade-union work on a lowest-common-denominator "mass line," the RCP has vacillated between "jamming the unions" and capitulating to out-bureaucrat fake-oppositionists. Recently the RCP has come out in support of "insurgent" Ed Sadlowski in the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), who supports the Democratic Party, who calls upon the capitalist courts and Labor Department to "democratize" the USWA, who refuses to

onstrated that it can not compete with the OL for the Chinese "franchise." At its "Conference on the International Situation" held in New York City on November 20 the RCP could rebuff the OL speakers and panelist William Hinton only by claiming that they do not understand the "errors" made by the Stalinists in allying with imperialism against fascist Germany and Italy during the Popular Front period and that they can't claim to really speak for the Chinese leadership anyway (see "Alliance With U.S. Imperialism Bedevils Maoist Conference," *Workers Vanguard*, 26 November 1976). Its political instincts and appetites may well keep the RCP from sinking into State Department Maoism.

At the same time, however, the RCP is well aware of the consequences of embarking upon a course of "Stalinism without a country." About eight years ago the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) broke with China, but attempted to substitute optimistic workerism and mindless militancy for a coherent reevaluation of Stalinism.

But Stalinist reformism without a guiding bureaucracy led PLP to ever greater political disorientation and demoralization. Today PLP raves about "rising fascism" in America and openly expresses profound historical pessimism. A recent issue of *Challenge* (25 November) admits:

"Many *Challenge* readers, PL members, and friends do not believe in the possibility of revolution in our lifetime. Since state power resides in the claws of the bosses today, many of us believe that is how it will always remain."

Today the RCP is very conscious
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