

Young Spartacus

NUMBER 121

25 CENTS

X-523

OCTOBER 1984

U.S./South Africa Axis: "Free World" Racism

Peters/New York Times

Smash Apartheid Slavery!



Mine workers in Welkom, South Africa during a speech by Teboho Noka, an organizer for the National Union of Mineworkers, March 1983.

Black Workers Must Take the Lead!

OCTOBER 3—Continuing mass rebellions including the strategic black working class and embracing student youth and all sectors of the oppressed non-white population are challenging the foundations of the U.S.-backed white supremacist South African government and its racist apartheid system. Earlier this month unarmed black masses defied cops, trashed symbols of apartheid rule, and in some cases hacked to death local black officials appointed by the government as front men for racist rule. Then in mid-September class war exploded in the gold mines—the focal point of black South African power—when 40,000 black miners struck for higher wages; the next day 10,000 miners struck for union recognition. At this writing the struggle continues as a massive student boycott has shut down schools in the townships; black youth are reportedly stoning and setting fire to government vehicles and buses in the wake of tear gas attacks and mass arrests by police against funeral demonstrations for youths murdered by the cops. As we go to press, news of the deaths of three black youth, each 17 years old, in the Kwathema township east of Johannesburg has been reported in the *New York Times* (3 October).

Police claim that the three were killed "when a delivery van that was being stoned by 300 youths went out of control and careened into the crowd. Six people were seriously injured." The report also says that in Soweto, the police "used birdshot to disperse a crowd that stoned a home and battered its black owner to death."

"Officially," some 60 people were killed as cops rampaged through the townships to suppress the rebellions against the rent increases; an independent group of lawyers, doctors and political activists have labeled this figure a "gross underestimate." The striking black miners were met with shotguns, rubber bullets, attack dogs and tear gas. At least seven were killed, and hundreds suffered ruptured spleens, fractured skulls and other serious injuries. Reportedly, the miners forced the Anglo-American Corporation to increase wages. National Union of Mineworkers head Cyril Ramaphosa pointed to "serious doubt about the value of legal strikes" in the aftermath of the police violence. "We kept telling our members that it was necessary to have a legal strike.... That way the police were not going to move in and start shooting...." (*New York Times*, 30 September).

"Legality" means very little to South Africa's racist bosses. For international labor action in solidarity with black unionists!

Well over 600 blacks have been arrested in connection with the latest protests in the townships. The government's frenzied display of armed force shows not only the brutality of the U.S.-backed racist regime but above all its social and political weakness.

The latest black upsurge was preceded by militant demonstrations by "coloured" (people of mixed race) and Indian people against the government's new "constitutional reform," which was designed to play them off against the black majority by giving them elected "parliaments" with no authority at all while the black majority was denied even this token franchise. Participation by coloureds and Indians in the "elections" hoax was less than 20 percent. Also significant in this racist country is the minority of white South Africans who oppose the Nazi-like ideology of the regime and fight for equal rights for blacks; on September 27, three whites "reputed to be members or supporters of a black guerrilla group fighting white rule" were jailed (*New York Times*, 28 September).

Trade-union militants supported by the Spartacist League in the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union and the National Maritime Union (NMU) have called for a total boycott of all ships and cargo to and from South Africa. At a September 24 meeting of the NMU in New York City, 15 union members, mainly black, submitted a resolution which stated in part:

"Resolved, by NMU members at this port meeting that the National Maritime Union take action to support our black brothers and sisters struggling against the racist apartheid regime in South Africa by stopping all ships and cargo to and from South Africa and calling on all other unions particularly longshoremen and seamen in the U.S. and around the world to join this job action!!"

Earlier this month Australian maritime workers began to put such solidarity into action, boycotting the South African ship *Sasocan Nederburg* for three days.

Against liberal moralist pleas for multinational corporations to divest themselves of their (highly profitable) South African holdings, the SYL looks to the black South African workers—backed by their class brothers and sisters throughout the world—to "divest" i.e., expropriate) the mines, mills and

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Lessons of the Class Struggle, 1919-1933

Germany: Revolution and Counterrevolution see page 6

Student Protests Say: "Bury Apartheid!"

Solidarity with Black South African Revolt!

Boston

"Bury Apartheid!" was the chant heard through Harvard Yard on September 20, as over 50 demonstrators rallied to protest the racist apartheid regime in South Africa. Placards waved, carrying the slogans "Avenge Victims of Apartheid Terror!" "Smash Reagan/Botha Racist Anti-Soviet War Drive!" and "Army/Cops Out of the Townships!" Initiated by the Spartacus Youth League at Harvard, the protest began with SYLer Andre Weltman welcoming the crowd: "We are here because we hate that system that oppresses—that savagely oppresses—the black majority of South Africa.... They are prisoners in their own country."

Sentiment for an anti-apartheid protest on the campus was evident when earlier in the week a planning meeting called by the SYL attracted various students, including representatives of the Black Student Association (BSA) and Black Law Student Association (BLSA). While unaffiliated radicals were eager to make the demonstration a success and leafleted dining halls and classes to build for it, the BSA and BLSA representatives only committed themselves to "report back" on plans for

the protest to their respective organizations. Meanwhile, announcements made in the dining halls the evening of the protest received applause from sympathetic students.

Militant displays of solidarity with the black revolt sweeping South Africa, which includes a large student component, are particularly important here "in the belly of the beast." As SYL spokesman Jerry Anzio explained:

"There isn't all that great a distance between South Africa and this country. It's the racial oppression that is part and parcel of capitalism.... and South Africa is a mirror image, a magnified mirror image of the racism, the racist attacks, the terror, the misery and oppression here in the U.S. Reagan loves South Africa!... The U.S. imperialists have a big stake in the survival of apartheid. South Africa routinely engages in terror raids, sabotage and economic warfare to turn neighboring black states into vassals of imperialism. Fortunately, the Soviet-backed Cuban military forces in Angola are giving South Africa and its Big Brothers in Washington a bloody nose. We hail the Cuban troops in Angola!"

To their credit, several new members of the BSA joined the demonstration, but the BSA leadership and the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) who refused to participate in the anti-apartheid united-front protest proved in action whose side they are on. Fearful of



Young Spartacus Photo

Harvard students at SYL-initiated united-front protest in solidarity with South African black revolt.

sharing a platform with communists, the campus reformists came up with a plethora of excuses for not participating: we would criticize Democratic Party machine politicians like Harold Washington and Jesse Jackson, we oppose the liberal "divestment" scheme. But, as we made clear, the BSA was perfectly welcome to laud the Democrats to their heart's desire—as long as the BSA supported the central demand, "Bury Apartheid!", which supposedly

they do. As far as we're concerned, it's their contradiction and problem that they support a party which supports white-ruled South Africa. Likewise, the DSA could have talked about divestment all it wanted, and we would have been pleased to counter their liberal moralism with our proletarian strategy for international labor solidarity. We would also have been ready to explain that these Mondale-lovers will-nilly support the same Israeli Zionist butchers which, along with the U.S., arm the apartheid regime to the teeth.

Much of the campus reformist milieu, rather than joining the anti-apartheid protest, attended a public talk by Moral Majority ayatollah Jerry Falwell, where they politely sought to embarrass this reactionary demagogue. One wonders if they're proud that the "good behavior" at this event prompted the administration to publicly congratulate students on their gentlemanly and ladylike behavior!

Black South Africa is exploding and those who wish to smash apartheid and its U.S. senior partners in racist brutality made their statement loud and clear at Harvard. Those who put their parochial, sectarian concerns—and their political cowardice—first, made their statement. We're sure it will earn for them a brownie point or two from Dean Epps. ■

Washington, D.C.

When news of the revolt by black and other oppressed sectors against the racist South African regime hit the Howard University campus here, the effect was electric. Large numbers of students snatched up the latest issues of *Workers Vanguard* and *Young Spartacus* containing coverage of the events. A representative of the South African Students Committee (SASCO) approached the Howard Spartacus Youth League with a letter proposing a united-front demonstration at the South African embassy to protest the brutal apartheid repression then underway. It read in part:

"The South African Students Committee based at Howard, is inviting the Spartacus Youth League to demonstrate with us.... You stopped the Klan! You tore down the flag of slavery! To us then you demonstrate the interest of the oppressed and exploited black working class. Join us in stopping apartheid."

Fifty anti-apartheid militants turned out on September 7 for the protest. In addition to SASCO and the SYL, representatives from the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCM) turned out as well as a supporter or two from the All-African People's Revolutionary Party (AAPRP) and one representative from the Howard University Student Association (HUSA).

An SYL spokesman at the rally stressed the need for class struggle at home and abroad, pointing out that "It's black workers who must take the lead because it's black workers who have the power to...crack open the apartheid regime and pave the way for workers revolution!" At the conclusion of the rally, a SASCO spokesman thanked the various organizations present for "not

only showing their solidarity with us, the South African students, but also showing their solidarity with the students at home that are waging an internal battle inside South Africa."

An SYL forum held at Howard on September 21 attracted many of those who had joined the demonstration, as well as interested students and some AAPRP members who had not participated. A lively debate on the strategy to smash apartheid slavery took place during the discussion session, especially with members of the PAC. We look forward to continuing this debate with other opponents of apartheid, a necessary task in the struggle to win the best militants to the program of revolutionary Marxism, i.e., Trotskyism. ■

Howard University papers cover anti-apartheid protest. Hilltop quotes demonstrator: "I am pleased to see all of these people from different races and ideological backgrounds come together in unity for this cause."

Locals denounce South African killings

By MIREILLE LAVENTURE

Chanting "we're fired up, we won't take no more," five local political organizations gathered in front of the South African Embassy in Washington Friday to protest widespread killing of blacks in White minority-controlled South Africa.

The South African government endorsed a new constitution last November which excluded Blacks and Indians from government representation. The result—a riot leaving more than 30 dead during the past week in a city near Johannesburg.

so-called presidential council," according to Twigg Xiphu, a representative of SASCO. The presidential council is a recently established parliament which purports to give representation to South Africa's White, Coloured and Asian populations, although it excludes the Black majority. Xiphu added that some demonstrators wore hoods.

Ray Bishop, a representative of the Spartacus Youth League, explained that the reason for wearing the hoods, made of paper and trash bags, was to hide the protesters' identities as a precautionary measure.

The Community News

13 September 1984

Congress of Azania and the Universal Negro Improvement Association. Protesters marched in "hope of exposing the fraudulence of the

and economic boycott of South Africa," said Xiphu. Bishop said there will be similar protests every week until Oct. 1, 1984.

The Hilltop

14 September 1984



Demonstrators protest outside South African embassy here in Washington last Friday.

Protesters call for end to racism in S. Africa

By Ghana O. Wilson

"One Azania, one nation Africa must be free," were the chants of about 35 people outside of the South African embassy on Friday.

The Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania, the Black-consciousness movement of Azania, the Spartacus Youth League, the South African Students Committee and the Universal Negro Nkrumah Association formed a coalition to voice their outrage at the racist apartheid system of South Africa.

The demonstrators, who protested approximately 500 feet from the embassy, stated their purpose as highlighting and denouncing the South African regime. Jay Durrah, a Howard University Alumnus, said, "I felt that we should do something and show some solidarity with the brothers and sisters in South Africa."

There were several protesters who wore bags over their heads. One of these protesters said, "The reason that I am wearing the bag is so that I am not recognized. If I am recognized, when and if I return to South Africa I will be arrested."

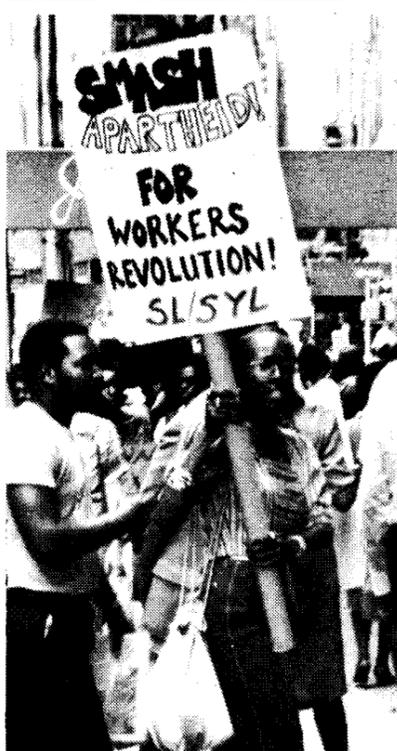
Among the demonstrators there were also representatives from the United Negro Improvement Association, and the All African Peoples Revolutionary Party. One protester who asked not to be identified said, "I am pleased to see all of these people from different races and ideological backgrounds come together in unity for this cause."

However, a representative from the United Negro Nkrumah Association was not as pleased. "I am tired of these white communist organizations always coming into our demonstrations and protests and trying to take the credit for whatever good transpires," he said. They come to our demonstrations and try to indoctrinate us into their ideologies," he added.

Brian Mendes, a representative of the Spartacus Youth League (a communist, intergrationist organization) said, "The accusation is totally false. We were approached by the South African Students Committee to help them bring students out to the demonstration and to help them to organize the demonstration. We were very happy to participate in the demonstration, because we feel that this is a very important issue."

The demonstrators carried signs which read, "Labor and Blacks must lead the way smash apartheid and the KKK." Malefe Mafole, a representative of the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania said the demonstration was also in commemoration of the death of Steven Biko a South African who was a victim of the South African brutality. The South African embassy was unavailable for comment when questioned about the demonstrations in front of the embassy and the continuing demonstrations in South Africa.

New York City



Workers Vanguard Photos

New York City, 21 September: African National Congress-sponsored demonstration drew hundreds; Spartacist contingent found enthusiastic reception to class-struggle signs and chants.

Bay Area

San Francisco, 19 September: 60 anti-apartheid militants rallied here, urging labor action in solidarity with the black workers of South Africa.

Madison



Young Spartacus Photo

Madison, September 23: Anti-ROTC protest at the University of Wisconsin joined by SYL and other militant students.

CIA: Murder, Inc. from Central America to Southern Africa

Oberlin Protest Demands: "CIA Off Campus!"

Over 50 demonstrators chanting "CIA: No way! You will not recruit today!" marched to Oberlin's Peters Hall on October 25 for a rally aimed at driving the cloak and dagger CIA assassins off campus. This united-front protest was initiated by the Spartacus Youth League and endorsed by Socialist Voices-LRP (SV-LRP), Abusua, La Unión de Estudiantes Latinos, the Lesbian and Gay Union, the Student Organization Against Racism and Willie Ludlow, a politically active campus minister fired by Oberlin's czar Fred Starr last year. SYL placards proclaimed: "Down with CIA Terror in Central America!" "Smash Apartheid! For Workers Revolution!" and "Labor: Boycott All Cargo To and From South Africa!"

Virtually the only campus group that refused to join the united front to drive the CIA's hitmen from Oberlin was the anti-communist Democratic Socialists of America (DSA). Instead, the DSA rolled up its sleeves to do the administration's dirty work, attempting to channel student outrage at the CIA into a tame, diversionary "teach-in" while violence-baiting the opponents of U.S. imperialism's Murder, Inc.

At the rally, SYL spokesman Michelle Lewis explained: "Wherever there's bloody reaction going on, whether it's Central America, Chile, Afghanistan, Poland, or the KAL 007 provocation against the Soviet Union, the CIA has their hand in it. The CIA was created specifically to get the Soviet Union after WWII under the Democrats because standing in the way of all the genocidal plans of U.S. imperialism is the Soviet Union."

America's anti-Soviet war drive means propping up every kind of hideous backwardness and oppression in every corner of the globe. The terror and destruction by which U.S. imperialism and its killer spies have become known worldwide—from the CIA mercenaries and *contra* scum in Nicaragua, to propping up the racist apartheid regime in South Africa, to arming the reactionary mullahs in Afghanistan—has as its ultimate aim, the thermonuclear destruction of the Soviet Union.

Since October 1917, when the Russian working class under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party broke the power of the capitalists and established workers rule, the decadent and irrational capitalist system has been on a collision course with the liberating gains of that great revolution and its extensions from Vietnam to Cuba. Despite the rise of a parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy, which must be ousted through workers political revolution, the social gains of 1917—a planned economy and collectivized property—remain and must be defended!

Outfits like the Socialist Voices-LRP flunk the acid test for Marxists here in the "belly of the beast": to forthrightly defend the USSR from the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive. The SV-LRP bow to anti-communist "public opinion" (i.e., bourgeois ideology), posture as leftists but end up objectively in a bloc with the bourgeoisie as fellow opponents of the Soviet "evil empire." These "leftists" who deny the fundamental class difference between the deformed workers states and U.S. imperialism don't understand the world, much less have a hope of changing it.

Caught in a vise of contradictions, SV-LRPers engaged in their own "point-counterpoint" at the Oberlin

rally. One spokesman for SV-LRP correctly denounced the CIA in Afghanistan: "They [the CIA] support the so-called 'freedom fighters' who are for the enslavement of women in a very backward society." But according to the fictions of the next SV-LRP speaker, it's not the CIA but the Soviets (!) who stand opposed to elementary democratic rights for Afghan women. Like a two-bit cold warrior he blustered: "There was a small, democratic revolution that went on in Afghanistan. It was for women's rights.... The Soviets came in ... to crush those gains."

In reality, in the Afghan cities controlled by the Soviet Army women do not have to wear the veil and young girls are taught to read and write. A journalist's account in *India Today* (31 July) reports: "In the village of Bagrami outside of Kabul, a chadri-clad woman at the water tap rushed off when I tried to talk to her. But five 15-year-old girls, carrying rifles and claiming to be members of 'the civilian brigade to defend the revolution,' talked to me at length. They spoke fervently and passionately about their revolution and what it meant for young women in Afghanistan: it meant 'an education, freedom from the veil, freedom from

feudalists who want to keep us down,' said Khalida. 'We do not want to become the fourth wife of a 60-year-old man, existing solely for his whim and pleasure.'"

SYL spokesman Barry Kallio explained at the Oberlin rally: "Now the LRP would have you believe that there is some mythical third force. They don't support the Red Army smashing these mullahs. Just the other day I read in the paper, 25,000 counterrevolutionary CIA-funded reactionaries have been wiped out. That's a good thing." An extension of the gains of the Russian Revolution to Afghanistan, even if bureaucratically deformed, would be immensely liberating and for Afghan women in particular means the difference between life and death.

At bottom, the issue of defense of the Soviet Union is the question of workers revolution. We're for it and SV-LRP is against it. Nowhere is this clearer than El Salvador where the SV-LRP straddles the civil war: "We militarily support insurgents in Central America," says the SV-LRP. "However, we know that if they come to power they're going to institute the same kind of Stalinist states that are in Cuba and Eastern Europe,

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Young Spartacus

Young Spartacus (ISSN 0162-2692) is the newspaper of the Spartacus Youth League. The Spartacus Youth League, youth section of the Spartacist League, is a socialist youth organization which intervenes in social struggles armed with a working-class program, based on the politics of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky.

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Nine issues yearly; published monthly except December/January and June/July/August, by the Spartacus Youth Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: 732-7867 (Editorial, Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 3118, Church Street Station, New York, NY 10008. Domestic subscriptions: \$2.00 per year. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Young Spartacus*, Box 3118, Church Street Station, New York, NY 10008.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.



Oberlin, 25 September: Students rally against the bloody CIA; SYL-initiated united-front action brought out 50 demonstrators.

Smash Apartheid...

(continued from page 1)

factories of South Africa and so lead the whole of the exploited and oppressed South African masses in smashing apartheid and opening the road to the establishment of a workers and peasants government.

The KKK-endorsed American president Reagan loves apartheid South Africa because the white supremacist regime is a bastion of the "free world," a staunch anti-Soviet ally and a bulwark against revolution in black Africa. We strive for a black-centered workers and peasants government in South Africa, which would be the industrial powerhouse for the socialist transformation of black Africa and a beacon of struggle for the oppressed and exploited the world over. A soviet South Africa would inspire especially the black workers in the U.S., who are situated in strategic sectors of basic industry and constitute the most militant section of the multiracial American proletariat.

The Spartacus Youth League stands in fullest solidarity with the black revolt against apartheid. The SYL has organized and participated in demonstrations from coast to coast, calling for "Black Workers Take the Lead: Bury Apartheid!" (see articles, pages 2-3). It is important for revolutionaries to understand the nature and strategy for the struggle against apartheid, particularly its national and democratic aspects. The New York City branch of the SL/SYL invited comrade Reuben Samuels of the Spartacist League Central Committee to make a presentation on the South African struggle at its branch meeting September 16. Below we print an edited transcript of comrade Samuels' presentation.

As South Africa has once again become a focus of our public work a number of fundamental questions have arisen. Does the permanent revolution apply in South Africa? Is there a national question in South Africa? Is there a land question? One problem in addressing these questions is that while South Africa is unique, one of the things that makes it unique is that it is a *mirror* of colonial oppression in which every form of colonial oppression is magnified, institutionalized, made more acute and drawn to its logical conclusion. One reason that the struggles in South Africa have had such a profound effect on oppressed peoples in the rest of the world, especially American blacks, is that they see there the mirror of their *own* oppression. American blacks ask: What is Reagan trying to do, introduce apartheid? What are we going to have next, a pass system? Analogies are always made with South Africa as the *standard* for oppression and degradation.

Now, what is permanent revolution? It is based on the experience of the three Russian Revolutions (1905, February

and October 1917) and the extension of that experience to the rest of the colonial and semi-colonial world. Permanent revolution is the recognition that in the countries of *belated* capitalist development—whose development has been held down and suppressed first by the West European imperialist powers and then by the United States and Japan—the solution of the social and national questions requires the mobilization of the agrarian masses. But the agrarian masses are themselves too diffuse, too differentiated, too atomized to be a contender for power. Therefore it is only the bourgeoisie or the proletariat—the two principal urban classes—which can place themselves at the head of the oppressed nation, of the agrarian masses. Only the proletariat leading the oppressed nation can overcome imperialist domination, the legacy of feudalism, the suppression of democratic rights, the bondage of women. To deny that the proletariat must lead the oppressed nation is really a variant of economism, which also has ultraleft expressions. It is popular frontist by default, because it hands over to the bourgeoisie a responsibility which it cannot fulfill: to be the liberator of the oppressed nation, of the peasant masses, of the women held in bondage.

Workers Revolution Through Smashing Apartheid!

Now, how does the permanent revolution apply to the specific conditions of South Africa? After the 1976 Soweto uprising we had a discussion of the slogan, "Smash Apartheid Through Workers Revolution!" What was wrong with this slogan? It implicitly assumed that the workers could come to power within the framework of apartheid, that on the road to the dictatorship of the proletariat the apartheid system would not have to be shattered. Instead we put forward the slogan, "Workers Revolution Through Smashing Apartheid!", that is, smashing apartheid would open the road to workers revolution. Someone might argue, doesn't this imply a two-stage revolution? First we complete the democratic revolution by destroying apartheid, then we fight for proletarian power? No, that is formalistic. On the *road* to power the proletariat must lead the oppressed black masses in the struggle against apartheid; it must address *all* of the social questions associated with apartheid.

Let us take the question of the disenfranchisement of the black people, who account for almost 75 percent of South Africa's population. Some years ago we had a discussion of the slogan, "Not Majority Rule, But Workers Revolution!" Now, we do *not* counterpose majority rule to proletarian rule. To be sure, most of the people who were calling for "majority rule" were full of all kinds of reformist and liberal utopian schemes, including schemes which *denied* majority rule such as the so-called federal approach. In South Africa the federal approach means that each race is represented equally in the government setup and has veto power over every other race. Such an approach is common among South African

liberals and is incorporated in the African National Congress' Freedom Charter of 1955. Instead, a genuinely bourgeois-democratic program would call for universal suffrage based on one man, one vote.

We don't simply put a minus wherever the liberals, reformists and nationalists put a plus. Behind the demand for majority rule in South Africa is a powerful felt urge, the enfranchisement of a people who have lost their birthright. Consider by analogy the slogan of "black power," which was raised by American black militants in the 1960s. When this slogan was first raised we wrote a basically negative article, counterposing black power to workers power. This was leftist formalism. The question in real life was to link up the demand of "black power," which expressed the felt urge of blacks for independent political action, to the class question, that is, to workers power. To *link* the demands. Likewise, in South Africa we want to link the demand for majority rule to workers rule. Hence our demand for a revolutionary constituent

able. Hence the problems in applying categories developed in more "normal" societies. In South Africa blacks have been relegated to 13 percent of the land. These are the bantustans. The "white homeland" is the other 87 percent. This 13 percent is the poorest land: it is really brush and desert. Outside of this 13 percent, blacks must carry a passport. They are *foreigners* in their own country. Every day 2,000 blacks are arrested for violation of the pass law. Every day! That's what? 700,000 a year! A big industry in South Africa is prison labor. The prisoners are overwhelmingly blacks who have violated the pass laws, who don't have adequate documentation to prove their right to be in the "white homeland," where all the industry is, where all the cities are, where all the ports are, where all the economically viable land is.

So there is a profound national question. These people have been deprived in the most fundamental sense of their birthright, turned into foreigners *not* in Europe but in their own country. All the harsh laws of apartheid



Defiant black South Africans burn the hated "pass books," symbol of enslavement in their own land.

Eli Weinberg



Peter Magubane

"Separate development" in apartheid South Africa: view of the Pimville slum, now part of Soweto; many homes have no water or electricity.

assembly based on one man, one vote as a step toward a black-centered workers and peasants government.

Let me call to your attention a very similar kind of discussion Trotsky had with his South African comrades in "On the South African Theses" (*Writings* [1934-35]). In their theses the South African comrades had *equated* the demand for a "black republic" with the demand of "South Africa for the whites," which was the demand of the so-called Labour Party in South Africa at the time. This was a period when there was a substantial unskilled, poor white proletariat in South Africa. Nevertheless, the race question and the class question were and are intertwined. As Trotsky wrote:

"When the theses say that the slogan of a 'black republic' is *equally* harmful for the revolutionary cause as is the slogan of a 'South Africa for the whites,' then we cannot agree with the form of the statement. Whereas in the latter there is the case of supporting complete oppression, in the former there is the case of taking the first steps toward liberation." [emphasis in original]

The demand for a black republic is a demand for supremacy not simply of a race but of the oppressed toilers of the region. Their struggle against their exploiters also takes on a racial and national component.

The National Question in South Africa

Is there a national question in South Africa? Here is a country where blacks have been disenfranchised in a way that is so profound it is perhaps inconceiv-

basically exist to create a migratory, cheap labor force that can be used at will in industries highly subject to trade cycles, mainly mining. Also keep in mind that 28 percent of the black population are agricultural laborers on white-owned farms. So the black population is closely linked to the land. True, you have a very urbanized black proletariat. But apartheid has driven down their wages by taking the cost of social insurance, of unemployment, the cost of raising the next generation of wage slaves and relegated these costs to the bantustans. When a worker is too old to work, he is thrown back on the land. When there is no work, he is thrown back on the bantustans to scrub out subsistence existence in the brush lands. There his children are raised and there he is buried at no cost to the white employer.

Apartheid creates a twofold national question. It deprives a whole people or peoples of their birthright, of their land. But it creates another one, too, because the nature of the newly emergent imperialist powers or would-be imperialist powers in this epoch is to run the film of the bourgeois revolution backwards. Israel today, governed by the Talmudic law of the Middle Ages, is indicative. Likewise South Africa, where blacks have been forced to *retribalize*. Not just feudal autarky but tribal autarky has been reimposed on blacks. That is what the "self-development" schemes of the bantustans are all about.

So the white South African ruling class has a program of "national self-

determination," just as Hitler did. But just because Botha talks about "national self-determination" (as did Hitler) doesn't mean that we can't use the language. To use the term "national" with regard to South African blacks is not to capitulate to nationalism, either to black nationalism or to Afrikaner nationalism. We have a responsibility as the vanguard of the proletariat to champion the national rights of oppressed peoples.

In "On the South African Theses" Trotsky observed that the situation was so politically backward that, like the most oppressed nations in tsarist Russia, the yoke must be lifted from the black people in order to develop a national future. What their national future is, is really an open question—whether there will be one black nation, or few, or many nations. What is undeniable is that the yoke of colonial oppression, of white supremacy, will prevent an answer to that question. It took the Bolshevik Revolution to give tongue to the many languages of Russia and to put these languages, in many cases for the first time, in written form. We do not know what the Bolshevik revolution of South Africa will mean specifically in terms of the national destiny of the blacks. It will mean they will have a national destiny.

These questions are intimately linked to the woman question, which we have addressed in *Women and Revolution* No. 16, Winter 1977-78 ["On Black Women in South Africa—Smash Apartheid Terror!"]. What do we mean by running the film of the bourgeois revolution backwards? In the bantustans every black woman is subject to Bantu Laws created by whites and administered by white judges and officials. For example, the bride price has been reimposed, either in cattle or cash, on the black women of South Africa. If there's a dispute about the bride price, you go to a Bantu court administered by whites to tell you what your tribal law is! Your local tribal witch doctor happens to have a white face. Take tenancy. Women have no right to housing anywhere in South Africa, including the bantustans. They have no secure tenancy. If they are able to move in with their husbands (which is rare) and the husband dies, they're evicted from the house. And, of course, women have no rights of contract, no rights to control their wages. Wages for women are much below that of black men, even that of prison labor.

Women are a real reservoir—a terribly underestimated reservoir—of opposition to the apartheid regime. This was demonstrated in the 1950s by the mass mobilization of courageous black women against the pass laws. In the great demonstration of August 9, 1956 in Pretoria, 20,000 women from all over the country sang the famous freedom song, "Now you have touched the women, you have struck a rock, you have dislodged a boulder, you will be crushed."

So if you take these questions together—the woman question, the national question, the agrarian ques-



Meeting of South African black women brutally attacked by apartheid police, Cato Manor, 1959.

tion, the question of enfranchisement—you have a profound reflection and encapsulation of the colonial and semi-colonial condition of the oppressed peoples throughout the world, whether it be Kurdistan or El Salvador. South Africa is a mirror, an intense magnification, of social oppression and degradation.

The Anti-Apartheid Struggle and International Solidarity

Much of our debate externally around South Africa takes place with liberals or reformists who push divestment, with supporters of the Black Consciousness movement on the campuses, and so on. The divestment crowd basically believes that the imperialist powers of the world and the imperialists within South Africa can be pressured to reform apartheid. Divestment is an appeal for progressive portfolio management on the part of various capitalist institutions in America. Ultimately it's protectionist chauvinism paving the road for trade war and imperialist war. It is the same language as the trade-union bureaucrat who denounces sweatshops in Taiwan and South Korea when he negotiates a contract in the garment district for five dollars and change an hour. He throws up his hands and rails against the export of jobs. There's very little difference in all this divestment claptrap.

The main point we want to make is that the wealth of South Africa belongs to the producers of that wealth, the black toilers. And the only real divestment is when they divest the white imperialists in South Africa and the multinational concerns. Our whole strategy is linked to that. International labor solidarity—labor boycotts of military goods, and at particular moments of crisis boycotts of South African goods *in toto*. This is what we are calling for during the present revolt in the townships and the strikes, especially in the gold mines. We want to see labor boycotts, not imperialist boycotts. And also strikes and struggles against the multinationals to force them to recognize black unions and to grant equal rights to black labor in South Africa.

On the Black Consciousness movement, some years ago we wrote a major article, "Behind South Africa's Black Consciousness Movement" [*Young Spartacus* No. 74, Summer 1979]. This movement originated as a split from the liberal National Union of South African Students, the big student movement of the late 1960s. It was predominantly English-speaking and white, but it had a black component. They would hold a conference in a room much like this, and

everybody would rub shoulders together and say, "Aren't we all one and equal?" Then they would go home, the whites to their plush hotel rooms, the blacks bused miles and miles back to the townships where they would try to find room in the barracks. And pervasively this was accepted within the white liberal-dominated student movement. So when Steve Biko and the other Black Consciousness people railed against the hypocrisy of guilt-ridden liberals with their white skin privilege, there is a reality there. You should read Biko.

Their whole strategy, insofar as they had a strategy, was a denial of class struggle. It was based on a new

liberation theology, because the Black Consciousness people mainly came out of religious schools, in many cases the only schooling available to them. Their background made them very much like the younger Martin Luther Kings of South Africa. They project a strategy which essentially appeals to the conscience of the imperialist master. Of late the Black Consciousness movement has tried to incorporate the reality of the extremely significant union movement of the black proletariat, so they talk about "black consciousness" and "politicizing" the black workers as their principal task. But this is all part and parcel of pressure tactics to make the imperialists do the right thing.

In considering South Africa today the Russian question is of major importance. The basis for the Washington/Pretoria axis is not simply economic in the narrow sense (e.g., the importance of gold production) but a question of class survival in the larger sense. This means, above all, the imperialist drive to overturn the gains of the Russian October Revolution of 1917. That is why Angola has become such an important battleground internationally and an acid test for the left in this country. Thus the question of freedom from apartheid-imperialist domination turns on your position on the Russian Question, that is, military defense of the Soviet Union against the forces of world capitalism.

We are struggling through our propaganda to build a Trotskyist party in South Africa. The founding cadres for that party may well be recruited in exile, for example among South African student militants in England or perhaps even the United States. However, the importance of black struggle in South Africa extends beyond the boundaries of that country and the surrounding region. South Africa is seen universally and especially among American blacks as a mirror of colonial and racist

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Lessons of the Class Struggle, 1919-1933

Germany: Revolution and Counterrevolution

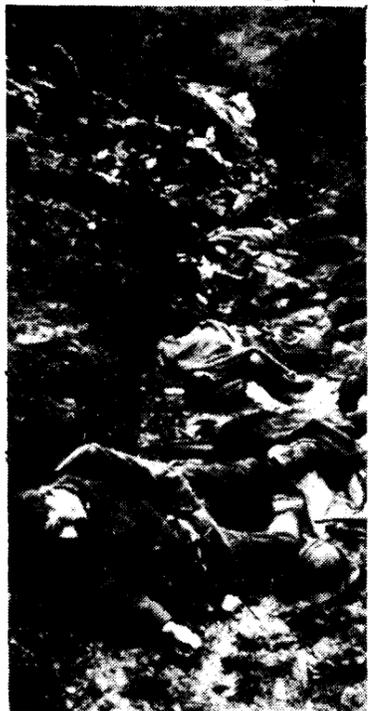
The article printed below, the first of two parts, is based on presentations by Spartacist League Central Committee member George Foster at Spartacist educational gatherings held in late April and early May in New York, Chicago and San Francisco. Entitled "Germany 1919-1933: Revolution and Counterrevolution," comrade Foster's talk was one of three presentations devoted to the question of "Wars and Revolutions." An edited transcript of SL Central Committee member Joseph Seymour's presentation "From the Great French Revolution to the Paris Commune" appeared in Young Spartacus Nos. 118 and 119, May and Summer 1984.

Part One of Two

I want to talk about Germany from 1918 through 1933 and to look at three periods of particular importance for proletarian revolutionists: 1918-19 when the rule of the proletariat was posed but what was lacking above all was a formed Bolshevik party; 1923 when the German proletariat had successfully forged such a party only to find the leadership of that party unable to take advantage of the revolutionary crises that wracked Germany during that year; and the period from 1929 to 1933 when the German Communist Party (KPD), politically disarmed by Stalinism, proved incapable of leading the proletariat to power and instead by its policies helped pave the way for the victory of Hitler and fascism.

In order to discuss these questions from a Marxist standpoint some knowledge of German history is necessary. Until 1871 there was no unified German nation. Indeed in the period from the reactionary 1815 Congress of Vienna up to 1871 Germany was divided into some forty small princely statelets. Reaction

Dietz photos



BBC Hulton

Revolutionary soldiers and sailors in Berlin, 1919.

triumphed in Germany in 1815 and again in 1848 when the German bourgeoisie made its ignominious appearance on the historic stage at the same time as the proletariat. Fearing the proletariat, especially the insurrectionary French proletariat, the German bourgeoisie struck a deal with feudal-bureaucratic reaction thereby saddling themselves with the burden of trying to carry out manufacture and commerce in a political system divided into some forty states with separate customs,

coinages and commercial regulations.

As German capitalism began to grow it battered against these self-imposed prison walls. German unification became a burning economic necessity. But the German bourgeoisie once again abdicated its historic role. Germany was united in 1871 from above by Prussian absolutism. Parallels can be drawn between Bismarck, chancellor to the Prussian Kaiser Wilhelm, and Louis Napoleon in France. Louis Napoleon's regime, by destroying the political



World War I trench warfare: wholesale imperialist slaughter of European working class (left). Above: Red flag on Russian front greets news of the Russian Revolution. Fall of the German monarchy was not far behind.

dominance of the bourgeoisie secured its social dominance. Bismarck similarly carried out the economic and national program of the bourgeoisie in return for which the bourgeoisie contented itself with a parliament with no power and a state dominated by Prussian absolutism. The German Reichstag was, as Wilhelm Liebknecht termed, "a fig leaf for absolutism."

Unification and the large reparations that flowed into the country following the defeat of France in the Franco-Prussian War gave enormous impetus to German capitalism. Prior to unification Germany had been a predominantly rural country. By the beginning of World War I it was the industrial powerhouse of Europe, with a correspondingly large proletariat.

The passing from the scene in 1890-91 of Wilhelm I and Bismarck was noteworthy for two things. A feeble stirring of bourgeois liberal forces was nipped in the bud by yet another junker-bourgeois compromise, this time settling in on a policy of colonial expansion and a naval armaments race with Britain. And the anti-Socialist laws imposed by Bismarck were lifted. This led to an enormous growth of the Social Democratic Party (SPD).

This legalization and growth was accompanied by electoral successes which locked the party eventually and historically onto the road of parliamentary reformism. Yesterday comrade Samuels spoke about various warning signs which marked the slide of the SPD into reformism. Some of these signs came quite early. In fact the first publications issued by the newly legal SPD were the collected works of Lassalle, something Engels did not very much appreciate.

In 1895 Engels wrote a preface to Marx's *The Class Struggles in France* in which while hailing the parliamentary success of German Social Democracy he also expressed serious misgivings about the party's growing estrangement from its revolutionary tradition. Fearing Engels' preface would provide the government with a pretext for new anti-Socialist laws, the SPD leaders excised from this introduction all references to the role of force in determining which class will ultimately rule.

Engels in this work also expressed grave concern over the military disadvantages confronting the proletarian revolution in the face of modern standing armies, rapid fire weapons and artillery. He thought this disadvantageous situation could be overcome only if it were compensated by other factors. Most importantly, since the Prussian army was the main pillar of the Prussian aristocracy in Germany, he sought to politically explode that army from within. Since the Prussian army consisted mainly of peasants he insisted upon the importance of the SPD raising the agrarian question. Thus in 1886 he urged the SPD parliamentarists to introduce a resolution demanding that Crown lands be released to cooperatives

and rural laborers for common cultivation.

The SPD failed to comprehend Engels' line of thought. Bebel thought it would be a waste of time to put forward such a policy, to which the present government could not agree. But Engels explained:

"This proposal will not be carried out by any Junker or bourgeois government. To show the rural proletariat of the Eastern provinces the way to end Junker and tenant exploitation, to put the same means to do this into their hands, to set in motion the very people whose enslavement and stultification produces the regiments which are the foundation of Prussia, in short to destroy Prussia from within at the roots—they certainly wouldn't do that. It is a proposal which we must take up under all circumstances as long as the large estates exist. With this alone can we destroy Prussia and the sooner we popularize this proposal the better."

—Engels to A. Bebel, 20-23 January 1886

Unfortunately the SPD in fact never actively pursued such a policy. Their failure was an ominous indication of their eventual anti-revolutionary course.

Social-Chauvinism vs. Proletarian Internationalism

When August 4, 1914 occurred, when the entire German Social Democracy voted credits for imperialist war, at that point German Social Democracy became in the words of Rosa Luxemburg a rotten stinking corpse. But the SPD went beyond a vote for war credits and

against tsarism, the historic bastion of European reaction. Similarly the social-imperialist French, British, Belgian and Italian Social Democrats supported their own "democratic" imperialists against the German and Austro-Hungarian autocracies. The flavor of this rampant social-chauvinism is well expressed by the following statement issued by a German trade-union publication, the *Courier*, on 25 October 1914:

"The villainous plans of the dishonorable, bloody and faithless Tsar and his allies, the cunning Japs, the perfidious Britons, the boastful French, the lying Belgians, the thankless Boers, the swaggering Canadians, and the enslaved kidnapped Indians, Zouaves, Niggers and the remaining scum of the earth have broken against the strong wall set up by the implacable heroism of the German and Austrian troops."

This was propaganda in the service of the war aims of German imperialism. And these aims were not sugar-coated for reasons of bourgeois-democratic hypocrisy. For example, on 14 August 1914 King Ludwig III of Bavaria informed the Prussian chargé d'affaires in Munich that Bavaria was interested in the partition of Alsace-Lorraine and a part of Belgium. Ludwig explained his plans for a new Bavarian territory which would include Dutch as well as Belgian territory and control of the mouth of the Rhine. Ludwig wanted the throne of Poland, also coveted by his relatives in the House of the Duke of Württemberg. The King of Saxony got into the act too,

Mutiny of Kiel sailors in November 1918 sparked German revolution. SPD leader Noske (shown here addressing sailors) was sent to suppress uprising.



Below: Karl Liebknecht in Berlin, 5 January 1919. He told German workers, "The Main Enemy Is at Home!" Right: Rosa Luxemburg, revolutionary heroine. They were murdered by Social Democrats.



man General Staff's plan to hold the Russians in the East while striking a mortal blow at Paris and the French armies via Belgium failed. The fronts stabilized and the opposing armies locked into the trench war holocaust of World War I, a war which expressed the complete military/technical and political bankruptcy of the ruling classes of Europe.

The social-chauvinist wing of the SPD supported the war and attempted to use that support to jockey with the bourgeoisie to get some reforms. Scheidemann defended this policy in 1915 saying "We are defending the fatherland in order to possess it." These ignominious words should be compared to the heroic act of Karl Liebknecht who on 2 December 1914 publicly broke with the entire SPD Reichstag fraction and voted against further war credits.

Under the impact of the imperialist war German Social Democracy was rapidly polarizing into two wings, one proletarian revolutionary and anti-imperialist and the other social-chauvinist and reformist. Between these two main wings lay a social pacifist center, recruited from the social-chauvinists in ever increasing numbers as effects of the war touched all of German society.

By December 1915 the number of deputies voting against war credits rose to twenty. One month later a conference of those grouped around Luxemburg and Liebknecht, including Leo Jogiches, Klara Zetkin, Franz Mehring, Eugen Leviné and Wilhelm Pieck met and began to publish the Spartacus letters. On May 1, 1916 Liebknecht and the *Spartakusbund* or Spartacist League organized the first demonstration against the war. The demonstration was illegal and Liebknecht was promptly arrested, but not before he shouted "Down with the government! Down with the war!" For this heroic act

Liebknecht was imprisoned and not released until October 1918. Soon afterward his comrades Luxemburg, Mehring and Zetkin were also imprisoned as the government cracked down on its revolutionary opposition. But prison could not silence Liebknecht's stirring words: "The main enemy is at home!"

In 1916 the quartermaster general of the German General Staff, Ludendorff, became virtual dictator of the country, placing it in a state of siege. The kaiser was reduced to a mere figurehead. Germany was blockaded by the Entente powers and starvation rations became the rule. The average caloric intake per capita before the war was 3,300 calories. By 1918 this average had dropped to 1,100. And that's an average, which means the working masses in the cities had far less.

Under the twin hammer blows of slow starvation and multimillion casualties the *Burgfrieden* began to crumble, collapsing completely under the impact of the Russian Revolutions of February and October 1917. The revolutionary wave sweeping Russia struck a sympathetic chord in the long-suffering German workers. The fall of the tsar and the rise of the Soviets electrified them. The similarities between tsarist Russia and the kaiser's imperial Germany were not lost on the German proletariat.

In April 1917 a quarter of a million Berlin workers struck, demanding the release of political prisoners, freedom of press and assembly and the election of factory councils. The October Revolution of 1917 was greeted in January 1918 by a 400,000-strong strike of Berlin workers led by the Revolutionary Shop Stewards group. A million workers struck nationwide. It was again a political strike for peace and food, against martial law and the autocracy. The SPD leaders, lackeys of the bosses, felt the ground trembling beneath their feet.

continued on page 8

entered upon an agreement with the kaiser for civil peace, the infamous *Burgfrieden*. "I know no party, only Germans!" intoned the kaiser following the declaration of war. And the SPD marched to the kaiser's tune.

Across Europe social-chauvinism ran amok in the labor movement. German and Austrian Social Democrats excused their support for their bourgeoisies on the grounds that the war was a war of defense of the German proletariat

wanting a piece of Alsace-Lorraine and land in Poland, Lithuania and Estonia.

It had been the expectation of all the imperialist combatants that World War I would be a short war lasting a matter of weeks or at worst several months. In fact it became a long war of bloody attrition and grim blockade. Profits rose, proletarians fell, casualties quickly mounted into the millions.

The initial war plans of the German bourgeoisie did not succeed. The Ger-



Spartacists on the barricades after seizing office of SPD newspaper, *Vorwärts*; papers put to good use as sand bags. *Spartacus*: voice of proletarian internationalism (right).



Berlin, January 1919: Protest against counterrevolutionary provocation. Communist placard reads, "Down with the Bloodhounds Ebert-Scheidemann—Butchers of the Russian freedom fighters."



Ebert reviews German shock troops. Right-wing placard reads, "Murder Liebknecht!"

Germany...

(continued from page 7)

They tried to ride the strike wave in order to sell it out.

The October Revolution shattered the feeble arguments of the right-wing Social Democrats that they were supporting the war in order to defend the "Fatherland" against tsarism. The robber's peace Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, imposed upon the new Russian workers state by the rapacious German and Austrian bourgeoisies, had enormous impact on the German workers. It starkly revealed the predatory war aims of the ruling class.

For the German General Staff Brest-Litovsk was an opportunity to annex vast and rich territories of the young and embattled Soviet republic. It also enabled them to transfer troops from the East permitting one last desperate offensive on the Western Front. The plan was to crack the Entente armies before significant American forces could enter the war. In the spring of 1918 the German Supreme Command unleashed this offensive. It failed at a cost of some 600,000 casualties on the German side alone.

By the beginning of autumn the war was clearly lost. German defenses in the west were breached. The Hapsburg monarchy, in fact shattered by the battles of the first weeks of World War I, collapsed. Entente troops occupied southern Europe and there were no troops between them and the crumbling German lines in the west. The war was over, and the German bourgeoisie, which had glibly swallowed General Staff lies that the war was going well, was now stunned by Hindenburg and Ludendorff's announcement that the game was up.

A revolutionary wave swept Germany. It was sparked by a revolt of the sailors of the high-sea fleet, who rebelled against the plans of their officers to sail out of the North German port of Kiel and confront the powerful British fleet that had blockaded them for most of the war. The sailors wanted no part of this suicide mission to save the "honor" of their aristocratic officers. They refused to sail and set up a soviet. Across Germany the example was followed. Soviets spread like wildfire from the North to Berlin to Central Germany to the South.

Social Democracy: Agent of Counterrevolution

At this point the German General Staff, in collusion with the SPD tops and on behalf of the as usual politically prostrate German bourgeoisie, made its move. Ludendorff did not want the German General Staff to preside over the surrender to the Entente and get the blame for losing the war. He also did not think it was possible to negotiate a favorable surrender, particularly with U.S. president Wilson, while Germany remained an autocratic monarchy. And he hoped to divert the revolutionary wave sweeping the German workers and

soldiers. In short he proposed to create a "democratic" constitutional monarchy.

Ludendorff got in touch with the SPD leader Ebert and together they began to run their political race to head off social revolution. Prince Max of Baden was made chancellor. Max was a representative of the "left wing" of the German princely houses—an exponent of what he called "ethical imperialism." Under the auspices of the Supreme Command a coalition government was set up consisting of the SPD, the Catholic Center Party and the Progressives. The Social Democrat Scheidemann became a minister without portfolio and his comrade Bauer was made minister of labor.

Alas Ludendorff's constitutional monarchy was not to be. On 8 November 1918 the Berlin proletariat went out in a massive strike against the war and the autocracy. Ebert informed his colleague Max that the monarchy had to go if there was to be any hope of derailing the class struggle. And Prince Max then put forward the following plan:

"I said to myself that the revolution was on the point of winning, that it could not be beaten down, but might perhaps be stifled out. Now is the time to come out with the Abdication, with Ebert's Chancellorship, with the appeal to the people to determine its own Constitution in a Constituent National Assembly. If Ebert is presented to me as Tribune of the People by the mob, we shall have the Republic, if Liebknecht is, we shall have Bolshevism as well. But should Ebert be appointed Imperial Chancellor by the Kaiser at the moment of abdication, then there would still be a slender hope for the Monarchy left. Perhaps we then should succeed in diverting the revolutionary energy into lawful channels of an election campaign."

—The Memoirs of Prince Max of Baden, Volume II, translated by W.M. Calden and C.P.H. Sutton (1928)

Max's efforts to get his cousin the kaiser to abdicate were not successful. So Max issued a statement that the kaiser had abdicated. In fact several hours later the kaiser did abdicate, but only after he discovered that his elite imperial guard troops said they would no longer defend him! On November 9 Prince Max resigned as chancellor in favor of Ebert. But his plans to save the monarchy came to zero. In the face of a massive demonstration of Berlin workers SPD leader and State Secretary Scheidemann from his office window proclaimed the republic, fearful that if he didn't Liebknecht would proclaim the socialist revolution.

On the same day that Ebert became chancellor the Berlin workers held a massive meeting and formed a soviet. The executive committee of the Berlin Soviet, the Council of Peoples' Commissars, consisted of three representatives of the SPD and three from the recently formed Independent Social Democratic Party (USPD). On behalf of the SPD Ebert was one of the members of the Council of Peoples' Commissars. He was to use this position to dismantle the Berlin Soviet and every other soviet in Germany as soon as possible.



Contemporary drawing of murder of revolutionary sailors, 1919.

When he set out on his counterrevolutionary task Ebert was far from certain that he would succeed. The recently formed USPD was winning the allegiance of ever wider circles of workers disgusted with the social-imperialist SPD. The USPD was formed in April 1917. It consisted of representatives of the social-pacifist center à la Kautsky and Hilferding and the Spartacists. Both wings were expelled from the SPD for holding a joint conference earlier in 1917. It is one of the tragedies of German communism and a source of later weakness that the left did not act upon Luxemburg's realization that August 4, 1914 had rendered the SPD a rotten stinking corpse. Instead of making a clean split and beginning anew Luxemburg, Liebknecht and their comrades chose to remain inside the SPD and then in the USPD.

Spurred by the threat of revolution and aware of the course of events of the Russian Revolution, Ebert worked hard to ensure a solid SPD majority at the German-wide soviet convened in Berlin in December. There Ebert pushed through his plans to schedule an early election for a nationwide constituent assembly. The aim was to arrange an early and orderly transfer of power to the bourgeoisie.

Ebert's victory in December finally brought the Spartacists to realize that their membership in the USPD was a millstone around their necks. Luxemburg, Liebknecht, Leviné and Jogiches finally decided to break with the USPD and proclaim the Communist Party of Germany. With the birth of the KPD Lenin declared the Third International had come into being. For him the launching of the KPD was a world historic event. This attitude is to be contrasted with that of the founders of the KPD who were skeptical about the possibility of forming a new international. In fact the KPD delegate to the First

Congress of the Communist International, Eberleine, was sent with instructions to oppose the formation of a new revolutionary international party!! This was a sure sign that the necessity of the belated split with the USPD was not clearly understood.

For his part Ebert, as well as his General Staff bosses, were not going to put their trust in elections to a constituent assembly. The soviets were to be crushed through bloody repression. In late December the Social Democracy and military, working hand in hand made their first move against the workers. Their target was the People's Naval Division, sailors from North Germany who came to Berlin to protect the Berlin Soviet. Ebert's government attempted to demobilize this unit and send the sailors "home for Christmas" without pay. The armed sailors didn't take kindly to this and occupied a number of buildings, frightening the SPD and bourgeoisie. Ebert's efforts to bring "reliable" troops into the city to suppress the sailors failed. The troops proved unreliable.

Ebert's antic confirmed in the minds of the masses that there was collaboration between Ebert and the officer corps. For Ebert and his General Staff pals the People's Naval Division fiasco spurred them to bring in counterrevolutionary units—special military formations recruited from the officers corps, funded and armed by the Entente, and used to fight "Bolshevism" in East Prussia and Lithuania.

The political temperature in Berlin was raised to a fever heat by the attempt to suppress the People's Naval Division. This suited Ebert's plans. With reliable troops in place he launched yet another deliberate provocation. He moved to dismiss the Berlin chief of police, Emil Eichhorn. Eichhorn was also a member of the USPD, as were many of his cops. Here was a ready source of arms for the workers and an obstacle to liquidating the Berlin Soviet.

Ebert's game was clear and Eichhorn's dismissal provoked an enormous outburst of anger and militancy. Meeting together, representatives of the Revolutionary Shop Stewards and Liebknecht and Pieck from the KPD issued a call for the workers to assume power in Berlin. This was done without the knowledge of Luxemburg or the rest of the KPD leadership.

The next day hundreds of thousands of workers milled about the city in vast demonstrations. But they were neither organized nor armed. At the end of the day, cold, tired and confused, they went home leaderless. The small bands of insurgent workers occupying key positions were now isolated and Ebert marched his murderous thugs into the city. Ten divisions of heavily armed troops drowned the city's working-class districts in blood. Luxemburg and Liebknecht were arrested and then

Eugen Leviné

Dietz Photos



German Communists in Munich, Bavaria demonstration, 22 April 1919.



brutally murdered.

This pattern of counterrevolution was carried across Germany. Throughout the winter and spring of 1919 troops would mobilize in overwhelming force outside a city or town, the workers would be provoked and troops would enter the town to crush the soviet in blood. Philistines, liberals and social democrats, all worshippers of the accomplished fact, will tell you that in Germany in 1918-19 there was no revolutionary situation. They assert that the natural outcome of the upheavals was the Weimar Republic, that in fact this was all that the vast majority of the workers ever wanted. They accuse Luxemburg and Liebknecht and the KPD of provoking bloodshed by trying to carry out a hopelessly utopian program.

They lie! The German proletariat and its revolutionary aspirations were suppressed through the butchery of tens of thousands of workers. The tragedy was that the infant German Communist Party was too weak to provide leadership in this acutely revolutionary situation. Had the Mensheviks and bourgeoisie during the July Days in Petrograd achieved their counterrevolutionary aims these selfsame pundits would be clucking their tongues about the "unfortunate utopianism" of Lenin and Trotsky. Instead they earn their bread through anti-Soviet calumnies.

I would like to read a quote from *Freikorps* commander General Maercker, the so-called "conqueror of cities," leader of the 1918-19 expeditions against the German working class. Early in 1919 he wrote:

"Almost every time we entered a town I had to ask myself the question: Would our intervention have been necessary if everyone had been at his post? Where was the German bourgeoisie? Where were the pro-government workers? Where were our students, our ex-

officers, n.c.o.s and soldiers? I have acquired in the five months of my activity in central Germany [which mainly consisted of dismantling the soviets and butchering the best leaders of the workers] little respect for the constructive ability of the German bourgeoisie, but a high opinion of the organized workers... The workers, well organized, disciplined and ready to make sacrifices, are faced almost everywhere by a bourgeoisie which is completely unorganized, split up into four or five mutually hostile parties, little inclined to make any sacrifices. While the anti-government workers dispose of a large number of determined leaders... in twenty towns of central Germany I have found hardly one really outstanding leader of the pro-government population."

—A.J. Ryder, *The German Revolution of 1918* (1967)

The last major revolutionary center suppressed in 1919 was Munich, the capital of Bavaria. A soviet sprang up here at the end of the war led by USPDer Kurt Eisner—a committed Lassallean! This soviet had a comic opera quality which matched the comic opera quality of Bavaria, a provincial backwater populated by a devout Catholic peasantry and presided over for generations by a feeble-minded monarchy. (An analogy in American terms would be an Ann Arbor Soviet run by the likes of RWLer Peter Sollenberger and a few resident campus bohemians.)

Eisner was assassinated in February by an ultrarightist. However, a month later inspired by the proclamation of the Hungarian Soviet Republic the diletantes, reformists and confused centrists leading the Munich Soviet moved to proclaim a Bavarian Soviet Republic. The KPD leader assigned to Munich, Leviné, opposed this adventure of a Soviet government without real soviets.

But the hands of Leviné and the KPD were forced when the workers seized power in the face of rightist provocation



Moscow, March 1919: Lenin with representatives of German Communist Party at founding of Communist International, March 1919.

and imminent military intervention. Power was thrust into the hands of the KPD and it was not possible to disengage. Retreat would not save the KPD or the workers from the repression being prepared for them by the Social Democrat Hoffmann and his military commander, the future Nazi Franz Epp.

So Leviné shouldered the political responsibility thrust upon the KPD and tried to give the workers an example of what could and should be done. He paid for this heroism with his life. But he defended his revolutionary outpost to the last and left an inspiring example, important for the KPD and the workers movement internationally.

On the second and final day of his trial by Munich's Martial Law court, Leviné ended his defense of the Bavarian uprising with the following words. Two days later, on 5 June 1919, he was shot before a firing squad, proclaiming with his last breath "Long Live the

World Revolution."

"The Prosecuting Counsel believes that the leaders incited the masses. But just as leaders could not prevent the mistakes of the masses under the pseudo-Soviet Republic, so the disappearance of one or other of the leaders will under no circumstances hold up the movement.

"And yet I know, sooner or later other judges will sit in this hall and then those will be punished for high treason who have transgressed against the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"Pronounce your verdict if you deem it proper. I have only striven to foil your attempt to stain my political activity, the name of the Soviet Republic with which I feel myself so closely bound up, and the good name of the workers of Munich. They—and I together with them—we have all of us tried to the best of our knowledge and conscience to do our duty towards the International, the Communist World Revolution."

—Rosa Leviné-Meyer, *Leviné—The Life of a Revolutionary* (1973)

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Smash Apartheid...

(continued from page 5)

oppression. It is therefore important that we strive for clarity in understanding the permanent revolution in South Africa.

Today the *New York Times* reported a meeting in a black church in Sharpeville to commemorate the dead killed by police in the recent revolt. The black mourners cried, *Amandla*, which means power, followed by *Awetu*—"It shall be ours." The *Times* reporter commented: "The police trucks outside the church, and the air force helicopter hovering above, seemed to suggest a different prophecy from their adversaries." The black proletariat of South Africa will make the demand for power their own. But they must have a party to link their isolated struggles with the struggle in the townships, among the students, the unemployed, the so-called "illegals," with the struggles in the bantustans, among the women and the peasants. And if such a party is built, it shall be ours.

* * * * *

Summary: South Africa is a police state but a police state that is in profound crisis. Some comrades referred to the impending gold strike and to the fact that we're seeing a new rising across the country which this regime cannot handle. Throughout the entire 1976 Soweto uprising, which spread to other townships and embraced literally millions of black people in struggle, not once did South Africa's apartheid regime call upon their army. Local police were used to suppress those uprisings.

The recent situation began with unarmed demonstrations against a rent increase. Given that the entire black population lives on the margin of subsistence, a rent increase translates into starvation. But these demonstrations were peaceful and unarmed,

necessarily unarmed because blacks in South Africa have little access to arms. Immediately the police were brought in, the army was brought in. There was massive repression—of what? Of unarmed, peaceful demonstrations. It was a panic reaction by the regime. Then you got the revolts. Then you got the burnings and lootings and so on. The panic reaction is integral to the nature of this weak colonial bourgeois regime. You must see the weakness as well as the strengths of the apartheid regime, the crisis as well as the fact that it is armed to the teeth.

Here is the basic contradiction for South Africa. Backward countries like Brazil or Indonesia grow crops and dig things out of their soil and pump out their resources for their imperialist masters to turn into manufactured goods. To go from that situation to being an industrial power, with the capacity to process into finished manufactured goods your own raw materials, requires a revolution. It requires the development not only of technology but of a stable, skilled workforce. But to develop from among the black workers of South Africa a stable, skilled workforce, *the whole apartheid system will begin to crumble*. The migratory labor system crumbles. You cannot have workers in continual flux, commuting thousands of miles many months out of the year, if you are to develop a modern petrochemical industry. You cannot have a grievance procedure where the workers' only resort is sabotage, if you are going to have a modern petrochemical industry. You will not have it for very long.

There can be no further economic development within the apartheid system. There's an aspiration on the part of South Africa's rulers to be a mighty imperialist power, to process their own raw materials, but they're up against the constraints of the system which has brought them to power. In addition there has been a severe drought throughout all of sub-Saharan Africa. The South African economy is in profound crisis now, it is stagnating, it is

going nowhere. And this is compounded by the deep social crisis.

So the apartheid regime has tried to make little reforms. We'll have a little bit of a legal black trade-union movement. But then they turn around and try to crush these black unions, because you see the system of control begins to unravel. Likewise, in the case of the franchise. We'll have these advisory bodies of the "coloureds" [people of mixed race] and the Indians. No blacks, please, they can find "self-determination" on the bantustans. But this constitutional "reform" was seen by the entire population as simply reinforcing apartheid and the color bar. Thus the new constitution provided an opportunity for the mass mobilization not only of blacks but of other sections of South African society in solidarity with the disenfranchised blacks. The coloureds and the Indians have not always acted in solidarity with the mass of black African toilers. And there is still enormous tension between these groups. Nonetheless, the coloureds and Indians engaged in a massive boycott of the new apartheid constitution.

You must understand that the apartheid regime, which zig-zags between making a concession here and massive repression there, is a regime in crisis. The police-state measures are a reflection of its weaknesses not of its strengths. It is here that we say, on the road to proletarian revolution apartheid must be shattered. Already you can see more than fissures. This is not to say that the regime is not still dangerous, still capable of massive police repression. But you must see the other side. The police repression, like in tsarist Russia, is not a sign of the strength of the ruling class but of the fact that its twilight has come.

On the land question, take any Third World colonial or semi-colonial country. Take Mexico, for example. Forty percent of the population that is unemployed or underemployed lives in shantytowns around the cities, but their links to the countryside have *not* disappeared. If you say that the urban

population is 60 or 70 percent, this gives a false picture of social reality. The reality is that these people are one or two generations removed from the land and in periods of acute economic crisis are thrown back on the land. In many cases their families and extended families stay on the land while the male providers seek work in the cities. If they make it in the cities they then send for their families. But every time there's a downturn in the economy it's back to the land, first for the families, then for the providers. In South Africa this pattern of migratory labor, typical of the entire colonial world, has been *institutionalized*. That's what we mean when we say that South Africa is a mirror of colonial oppression.

In "On the South African Theses" Trotsky spoke of "the influence that a soviet South Africa will exercise over the whole of the black continent." This contains a profound truth. All you have to do is look at Mozambique where there was a heroic struggle for national independence, which also helped lead to the downfall of the fascist regime in Portugal. But this independence struggle was limited to a poor, backward piece of land on a very poor continent. Given the overwhelming economic and military weight of South Africa, independence meant that Mozambican blacks instead of the Portuguese would be labor contractors for apartheid. The major source of foreign exchange and surplus for Mozambique continues to be selling its sons to the gold mines of South Africa.

When you're talking about permanent revolution in South Africa, you're dealing with not just revolution in that one country but the genuine independence of the entire African continent. The strength of South Africa enables it to strangle countries like Mozambique and only the presence of Cuban troops has forced the apartheid state to keep its hand off Angola temporarily. Thus the final reckoning for apartheid is intimately linked to the whole question of the national destiny and independence of black Africa. ■

San Francisco Elections...

(continued from page 12)

Bradley for tearing down the Confederate flag, the jury deadlocked eight-to-four for acquittal. Over Bradley's objection and demand for a new trial, the D.A. dropped all charges. When the city tried to sneak up yet another Confederate flag in late June, the entire flagpole was toppled by militant workers with an acetylene torch. "Dixie Dianne" finally surrendered—in place of the hated Confederate flag now flies the "California Hundred" flag, banner of the first 100 California volunteers who paid their own way back East to join the fight against the slaveowners.

Bradley grew up in the South during the civil rights movement and participated in demonstrations in Orangeburg, South Carolina to desegregate public facilities, amid racist attacks and National Guard shooting. In 1967 he was among the first embattled black students who integrated the University of South Carolina.

Later Bradley worked for ten years on the assembly line at Ford Motor Co. in

Mahwah, New Jersey. At first a sympathizer of the Communist Party, he soon became disgusted with the CP's reformist work as a left "pressure" group on pro-Democratic Party out-bureaucrats. Ritchie became a leader of the Militant Solidarity Caucus in the union, which sought to build a new, class-struggle leadership in the UAW. That struggle won him to the revolutionary views of the Spartacist League. In 1980, he and his caucus took the lead in fighting for factory seizures and industry-wide strikes against the closure of the Mahwah plant and mass layoffs.

Bradley covered the infamous Greensboro, North Carolina trial as part of the *Workers Vanguard* news team which publicized government involvement in the Klan/Nazi murder of five leftist union and black activists in 1979. He has been an organizer of Spartacist-initiated mass mobilizations against the Klan/Nazi race-terrorists, including the militant demonstration of 3,000 which confronted a Nazi provocation against Gay Pride Day in Chicago in June 1982 and, later that year, the 5,000-strong mobilization of mainly black workers that ran the KKK out of Washington, D.C. In 1982, Bradley was a Spartacist candidate, along with Diana Coleman, for the SF Board of Supervisors.

DIANA COLEMAN, 38, was born in San Francisco. Her experience as an activist in the civil rights, antiwar and women's movement and as a trade unionist brought her to the revolutionary socialist perspectives of the Trotskyist Spartacist League.

At an early age she took part in demonstrations at City Hall which rode the witchhunting McCarthyite HUAC (House Un-American Activities Committee) out of San Francisco in 1960. In 1965 she went to Gulfport, Mississippi to work with the militant civil rights organization SNCC. She came back to the Bay Area to become active in the Vietnam antiwar movement.

Coleman was a leader of Oakland Women's Liberation and an active union militant for ten years, six of them at the phone company as a member of the Militant Action Caucus of CWA. She was active in the militant phone workers' suit which wrested an apology and settlement from the U.S. Secret Service for its illegal seizure of CWA delegate Jane Margolis at her union's 1979 convention.

In 1980 Diana was an organizer of the Spartacist-initiated united-front demonstration of 1,200 that stopped the Nazis from celebrating Hitler's birthday in SF Civic Center. That same year, she was the Spartacist candidate for Board

of Supervisors and in 1982 ran again, along with Richard Bradley.

Coleman was active in the 1981 defense campaign that won a retraction from then-attorney general of California George Deukmejian for his office's lying characterization of the Spartacist League as "terrorist" in a report sent to cop agencies—a characterization which aimed to set up the Marxists of the SL for murder by the cops.

In 1983, Coleman was a founding member, along with Richard Bradley, of the Labor Black League for Social Defense. Initiated by and fraternally allied with the Spartacist League, the LBL stands for "mobilizing the masses of black working people for militant integrated struggle against the brutal system of racist oppression that is capitalist America." Coleman and Bradley were both active in the successful campaign to defend militant phone workers Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero, an interracial couple, against a racist anti-labor frame-up engineered by Ma Bell and the police following last year's national phone strike.

Coleman was the principal speaker at the rallies held when Richard Bradley twice climbed the 50-foot flagpole in Civic Center to tear down the racist Confederate flag. ■

"Fritz Fever"...

(continued from page 12)

Marxists, it provides an opportunity to present the program of independent class-struggle politics. But for the U.S. fake-left, 1984 is the year of the wholesale sellout to the Democrats as they set themselves the task of "patiently explaining to the masses" to get out the vote for Mondale. The common apology for this treachery is that four more years of Reagan is worse than four years of anything. But, as the rad-lib journalist Alexander Cockburn notes:

"They keep saying that the best reason to vote for Mondale is Ronald Reagan. But since Mondale filed to change his name and political identity to Reagan halfway through September, this argument doesn't carry quite the weight that it once did."

—The Nation, 29 September

Reagan reaction *cannot* be fought with the Democrats who paved the way for Reagan in the first place, and who pledge to continue his fundamental program. It is not simply Marxist "orthodoxy," but the evident fact, that the differences between the imperialists in the Republican Party and those in the Democratic Party are merely *tactical*. In 1984, the Democrats do not bother to claim otherwise; their left camp followers must manufacture out of thin air a "progressive" façade for Fritz Mondale.

This is no small task. Cockburn doesn't pretend to be a Marxist—in fact he writes "we must pray that the Democratic ticket does as well as possible"—but he does at least tell the

simple truth about Mondale. (Including that he'll "be lucky to carry Freedom House and maybe the District of Columbia.")

"Reagan claims that Nicaragua is exporting revolution to the rest of Central America, and so does Mondale. Reagan says Nicaragua should be 'pressured' until it mends its ways, and so does Mondale. Reagan says he will invade Nicaragua if it buys twenty-eight-year-old Soviet MIG-21s to protect itself, and so does Mondale. Reagan says that he supports the policies of Salvadoran president José Napoleón Duarte, and so does Mondale. Reagan justifies the invasion of Grenada by claiming falsely that its purpose was to save endangered Americans, and so does Mondale. Reagan blames the missile crisis in Europe on the Russians, and so does Mondale. Reagan is for increases in military spending, and so is Mondale. Reagan is bad on the Middle East, and Mondale is worse. And finally, Mondale promises to raise taxes and cut social spending."

The petty-bourgeois radical nationalist Nicaraguan Sandinistas, under the gun of the U.S. anti-Soviet war drive and besieged by CIA-backed *contra* invaders have also drawn the conclusion that Mondale is no "lesser evil." Mondale's sabre-rattling call to "quarantine" Nicaragua "apparently shook the Sandinistas from any hope they might have had that they could expect a change in American policy after November. 'Reagan, Mondale, It's the Same Thing,' read the headline over one pro-Government editorial" (*New York Times*, 23 September).

If the reformists had a shred of honesty (they don't) they would now be denouncing the Sandinistas as unfor-

givable "ultraleftists," splitters of the unity of the "anti-Reagan peoples front," etc. But the fake-left is occupied with publishing reams of advice to Mondale (presumably the Democrats, all evidence to the contrary notwithstanding, can still be pressured "to the left") and mobilizing what forces they have to pump some life into his campaign. The invisibility of the reformists became quite marked when the Democratic Party campaigning started in earnest last spring. Even the mining of the Nicaraguan harbors evoked no mass protests from these "best builders." Indicative of their treacherous abandonment of *any* protest—no matter how tame—against U.S. policy in Central America, a recent "Emergency National Conference Against U.S. Military Intervention in Central America/The Caribbean" held in Cleveland September 14-16 could not bring itself to call even for a rally in April, 1985! This is "solidarity" with the struggle in Central America, Yankee-style.

The Quest for a "Fighting Fritz"

In their July statement of support to Mondale—as "Americans and democratic socialists and Democrats"—the rabidly anti-communist DSA lauds the Democratic candidates for their "potential to create a liberal and humane administration infinitely superior to Ronald Reagan's on every count" (*Democratic Left*, July-August 1984). Behind the flowery accolades, the DSA supports Mondale as a more effective Cold Warrior, akin to the mass murderer Harry S. Truman.

Michael Harrington, DSA head,

invokes the memory of Truman's 1948 upset victory and advises Mondale: "Let the Democratic candidate say, 'We are the ones who represent the genuine national security of the United States. We do not sleep better because there are Pershing missiles in Europe capable of hitting the Soviet Union in six to nine minutes.'" Is this because Reagan's idea of a "joke" is to announce that the bombing begins in "five minutes"? No; "Should we trust in the Soviet air defense which took two hours to misidentify, and tragically shoot down, a Korean 747?" Even "respectable" bourgeois journals now believe the KAL 007 Cold War provocation has "U.S. intelligence" written all over it. But, Harrington is from the school of "socialism" which makes common cause with the State Department and CIA against the "threat of Communism." Thus Harrington extols the example of Truman, who dropped the atomic bomb on defenseless civilian populations in Hiroshima and Nagasaki and launched the first Cold War. While he's at it—why not echo Reagan's lie about KAL 007? "And we can win in 1984," Harrington concludes, "but only if we are at least as much of a bunch of hell raisers as he [Truman] and his friends."

Old hands at the Democratic Party hustle, the Communist Party and its youth group, the Young Communist League (CP/YCL) have transformed their newspapers into virtual Mondale campaign brochures. The CP was in the forefront of those reformists who lauded Jesse Jackson's campaign as nothing short of the revolution in embryo, an endeavor which would push the Democrats leftward and keep them "honest." We observed at the time that the "Jackson campaign is the reformists' back door into the Democratic Party." We said that Jackson was a shill in Walter Mondale's game: "The way the scenario goes: Mondale gets the presidency, Jackson gets to strut around the Democratic convention talking in rhyme and soaking up the media, and the black masses get more of the same... shit" (*Workers Vanguard* No. 344, 16 December 1983). And that's the way it was.

Now, it is clear that the only profound effect of Jackson's "Rainbow Coalition" is a lot of justified bitterness, particularly among blacks, that they were lied to and that it had no effect on Mondale's campaign at all. Joseph Lowery of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference—no wild-eyed radical, to be sure—complained that "Even after all that Jesse did to show what Black voters can do, it's the same old thing—Blacks

Spartacus Youth League Class Series

BOSTON

Basic Marxism
Alternate Wednesdays, 7:00 p.m.
October 10, 24, November 7
Burr Hall (Quincy St.,
next to Freshman Union)
Harvard University
For more information: (617) 492-3928

MADISON

For International Workers Revolution!
Saturdays, 2:00 p.m.
October 13, 20, November 3
(See "Today in the Union" for room)
UW-Madison
For more information: (608) 257-8625

NEW YORK CITY

Trotskyism:
Revolutionary Marxism Today
Alternate Mondays, 7:30 p.m.
October 15, 29, November 12
Room to be announced
Columbia University
For more information: (212) 267-1025

BERLIN

Marxism and World Revolution
EXCO class series
Thursdays, 7:30 p.m.
October 11, November 1, 15
Wilder, Room 211, Oberlin College
For more information: (216) 775-6067
or 621-5138

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Trotskyism:
Revolutionary Marxism Today
Alternate Wednesdays, 7:30 p.m.
October 17, 31, November 14
Blackburn Center, Room 142
(except Oct. 17—Undergraduate
Library Lecture Room)
Howard University
For more information: (202) 636-3537
Sponsored by the Friends of the
Spartacus Youth League

Trotskyist League of Canada Class Series

TORONTO

Only One Solution—Workers Revolution!
Alternate Thursdays, 7:30 p.m.
October 18, November 1, 15
Sid Smith, Room 2116
University of Toronto
For more information: (416) 593-4138

SL/SYL Sue FBI

Fight the New McCarthyism!

Reagan's anti-Soviet war preparations include the retooling of a deadly machinery for domestic witchhunting. The government "anti-terrorism" campaign seeks to coerce the population into the requisite conformity for war. Central to this attempt at regimentation through fear is the FBI's new Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines which recast Marxist advocacy—formerly deemed "subversive"—as "criminal terrorism." The Guidelines make speech the basis for increased surveillance, harassment, disruption and government violence; they are the basis for legal murder and the wholesale destruction of the left. To fight this deadly threat, the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League have initiated a lawsuit against the FBI and its application of these Guidelines to our organizations.

The SL/SYL lawsuit challenges the lying foundation of the Guidelines and entire witchhunt apparatus: the equation of Marxism with "terrorism." We have exposed this lie previously; for

instance our successful suit against George Deukmejian (then California attorney general, now governor) who was forced to remove the SL from a list of left-wing "terrorists" "with which law enforcement would have to deal." Similarly, when the sinister Moonie *Washington Times* falsely charged us with seeking to provoke violence against the police at the historic 27 November 1982 anti-Klan victory in Washington, D.C., our libel suit forced a retraction of these lies.

We have undertaken this legal battle not only in self-defense, but on behalf of the existing democratic rights of the entire working-class movement. You don't have to be a Marxist (although it helps) to be in the cross hairs of Reagan's "anti-terror" campaign. The FBI has targeted the liberal, pro-Democratic Party Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) as "terrorists" as well as interrogating members of church-related groups aiding refugees from Central American death-squad "de-

mocracy." Even tame demonstrators seeking to influence the recent Democratic National Convention in San Francisco were victimized by a massive police mobilization ostensibly with the purpose of preventing "terrorism." If you sign a petition against U.S. policy in Central America, participate in a demonstration against South African apartheid, or join with those who heckle Madame Kirkpatrick off college campuses—you could get your very own file with the secret police.

The recent Supreme Court decisions enhance the government's denial of the right to criticize or oppose its policies under the pretext of defending "national security." The implementation of the new Guidelines has been endorsed by a federal Court of Appeals which held that a 1981 agreement in Chicago between the FBI and the ACLU and Alliance to End Repression did not bar investigations on the basis of "advocacy" (i.e., speech) even where the individuals or groups do not commit violent or criminal acts. The

court adopted the "terrorist" scare as good coin, and cited the FBI's "obligation" to investigate "embryonic terrorist organizations."

Ask the Black Panthers what it means to be labeled a "terrorist" by the state. For our part, we will use all the legal resources we can muster to fight this "McCarthyism with a drawn gun." The workers party has a right to organize! We do not intend to be blown away—faceless, nameless victims in the dead of night.

Initial endorsers of the SL/SYL suit include Haywood Burns, Co-chairman, National Conference of Black Lawyers; Alexander Cockburn; Florynce Kennedy, Co-founder, Black Women United for Political Action; William Kunstler, Center for Constitutional Rights; Conrad Lynn, Civil Rights Attorney; Dorothy Healy, Democratic Socialists of America; Carl Marzani, Veteran, Abraham Lincoln Brigade; and Marshal Perlin, National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case (organizations are listed for identification purposes only).

Send your contribution to this suit against the FBI (earmarked if you wish) to: Partisan Defense Committee, Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, New York 10013.

getting taken for granted by their own party" (*Guardian*, 8 August).

The CP/YCL bristles at such "divisive" talk. For them "especially disturbing is the fact that much of the talk about boycotting or being 'less than enthusiastic' in supporting Walter Mondale is focused on the Afro-American community," (*Dynamic*, August 1984). Probably a "sinister" plot, they opine, emanating from "left" circles. But disaffection with the Democrats—particularly among the black population—is a fact which the CP tacitly acknowledges by running their own "independent" presidential slate while unequivocally supporting Mondale.

One of the most nauseating expressions of the reformists' rightward flight into the arms of the Democrats is their eager willingness to build illusions among students, workers, blacks and other oppressed minorities in the prospect of "pressuring" the Democrats. This task was undertaken with alacrity around the Jackson campaign. Now that there is "lack of enthusiasm," these shameless PR men for the Democrats turn around and denounce the disillusioned! While taking the CP to task for its "diversionary enterprise" in running Gus Hall and Angela Davis, the fellow travelers in Line of March echo the CP's concern about "an abstentionist tendency which seems to have developed a measure of currency among some Jackson supporters so angered and frustrated by the treatment accorded Jackson and the Rainbow forces at the Democratic National Convention"

(*Frontline*, 20 August). Not everyone has learned to crawl as well as the housebroken reformist "left."

The CP likes to make much of the fact that even Reagan's pitiful bourgeois opposition is victimized by Reagan's administration. From this, it tries to somehow prove that Mondale offers a real "challenge." The trumped-up "terror-scare" and accompanying massive show of police force at the Democratic National Convention in San Francisco indeed intimidated the convention delegates, while brutally suppressing their rad-lib fringe demonstrating outside. As Marxists directly in the cross hairs of Reagan's "anti-terror" campaign, we have every interest in defending even the capitalist party of war and racism against police provocation and government repression. Thus, the Spartacist League offered to provide a number of our trade-union supporters to defend the convention and urged the rest of the labor movement to do as well. Today, the public appearances of particularly Geraldine Ferraro are targeted by Moral Majority disruptions—including placards that read: "Dead Democrats Don't Vote." Clearly the interests of the left are impinged upon by this attempt to intimidate even the Democratic opponents of the current administration. Having said all that, none of this has anything whatsoever to do with political support to the Democrats—but quite the contrary. Only the independent working class, organized for its own interests against those of the sick capitalist system, can

defend the democratic rights of all against growing state bonapartism.

In this obscene contest for which so-called socialist groups can claim to be the most loyal Mondale supporters, the Communist Workers Party deserves special mention. In November 1979, while Carter/Mondale were in office, five CWP members were brutally murdered by Klan/Nazi hit men in Greensboro, North Carolina. The massacre was planned and executed with the connivance of government agents. With Carter/Mondale still in office, the fascists were acquitted by an all-white jury. Having followed the Rainbow straight into the Democratic Party, the CWP simultaneously announced in its July 4-17 issue of *Workers Viewpoint* that it was indefinitely suspending publication of its press and endorsing Walter Mondale.

Now How Much Would You Pay?

Like the TV commercial says—don't answer yet; there's more. A revealing quotation from the rad-lib paper of the whole swamp, the *Guardian*, which calls for a vote to Mondale, contains the following advice: granted that the Democrats may be "unable to offer the broad and costly New Deal/Great Society-type programs" (!) the *Guardian* suggests that "instead of proposing a watered-down Reaganism, they [the Democrats] would do better to run on a straightforward platform that would address the interests of Blacks and other minorities and the working class and mobilize them" (*Guardian*, 8 August). But the task of mobilizing the working class, of addressing the interests of blacks and other minorities, lies with those who *champion socialist revolution*. If Mondale "mobilizes" the workers—it will be for another Grenada or the "quarantine" of Nicaragua. We seek to mobilize the proletariat for the exact opposite aims: to bring imperialism down at home and abroad once and for all through victorious workers revolution. The bankruptcy of the capitalist order—evident in the "choice" of warmakers in November—makes it all the more urgent that the multiracial working class build its *own* party.

We in the SL/SYL are fighting to build a party. When Reagan began his anti-Communist "rollback" in Central America, we said that students and workers had to take a side in the civil war in El Salvador and demand the military victory of the insurgent leftist forces against the U.S.-backed butchers. While the reformists wailed "No More Vietnams" we countered that Vietnam was a *victory*—two, three, many defeats

for U.S. imperialism! The reformists built platforms for Democratic Party "doves" and we warned that the Democrats are no less imperialist swine than the Republicans. Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive at home means the growth of racist terrorists, the Klan/Nazi scum who feed off the Cold War climate. The SL/SYL has initiated a number of successful mass labor/black actions which drove these race-hate killers from the streets—and in every instance this was done against the staunch opposition of the Democrats, their black front men and, often, their reformist tails. Above all, on the key question of defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism, we have stood firmly. Over Poland—while the fake-left shamelessly joined Reagan's chorus—we told the truth: Solidarność counterrevolution must be spiked. And we told the truth about the U.S. KAL 007 Cold War provocation from the beginning: Reagan's story stinks! Our reformist opponents have abandoned defense of the first and only successful workers revolution and therefore any perspective of proletarian struggle at home. They have made their peace with the Cold Warrior, Mondale. ■

Oberlin Protest...

(continued from page 3)

and *no, we do not call for their military victory!* Some "support"! So will the LRP withdraw this "support" as the insurgents take San Salvador? The LRP's position on the civil war is some version of neutrality ("third campism").

The SYL knows that *winning* for our class, the international proletariat is what it's all about. As SYLer Michelle Lewis said: "It's important to take a side... A military victory of the leftist insurgents in El Salvador would mean a defeat for U.S. imperialism, their bloody spies, and their butchers from Duarte to Major 'Blowtorch' D'Aubuisson. A leftist military victory would stop the slaughter and *open the road to workers revolution!* It would be a blow to the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive that threatens to destroy the entire planet!"

Anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home! As she concluded, "If you hate U.S. imperialism and want to defend the unions, black rights and want to fight alongside the working class for a socialist future, join us. JOIN THE SYL! ■"

Spartacus Youth League Directory

SYL National Office: Box 3118, Church Street Station, New York, NY 10008

Ann Arbor: SYL, P.O. Box 8364, Ann Arbor, MI 48107, or call (313) 961-1680

Atlanta: SYL, Box 4012, Atlanta, GA 30302

Boston: SYL, Box 188, M.I.T. Station, Cambridge, MA 02139, or call (617) 492-3928

Chicago: SYL, Box 4667, Main P.O., Chicago, IL 60680, or call (312) 663-0719

Cleveland: SYL, Box 6642, Cleveland, OH 44101, or call (216) 621-5138

Detroit: SYL, Box 32028, Detroit, MI 48232, or call (313) 961-1680

Los Angeles: SYL, Box 29115, Los Feliz Station, Los Angeles, CA 90029, or call (213) 384-9716

Madison: SYL, Box 2074, Madison, WI 53701, or call (608) 257-8625

New York: SYL, Box 444, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013, or call (212) 267-1025

Norfolk: SYL, c/o SL, P.O. Box 1972, Main P.O., Norfolk, VA 23501

Oakland: SYL, Box 273, Civic Center Station, Oakland, CA 94604, or call (415) 835-1535

Oberlin: SYL, Box 58, Oberlin College, Oberlin, OH 44074, or call (216) 775-6067

San Francisco: SYL, Box 11685, San Francisco, CA 94101, or call (415) 863-6963

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Trotskyist League of Canada

Toronto: Box 7198, Station A, Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X6, or call (416) 593-4138

Young Spartacus

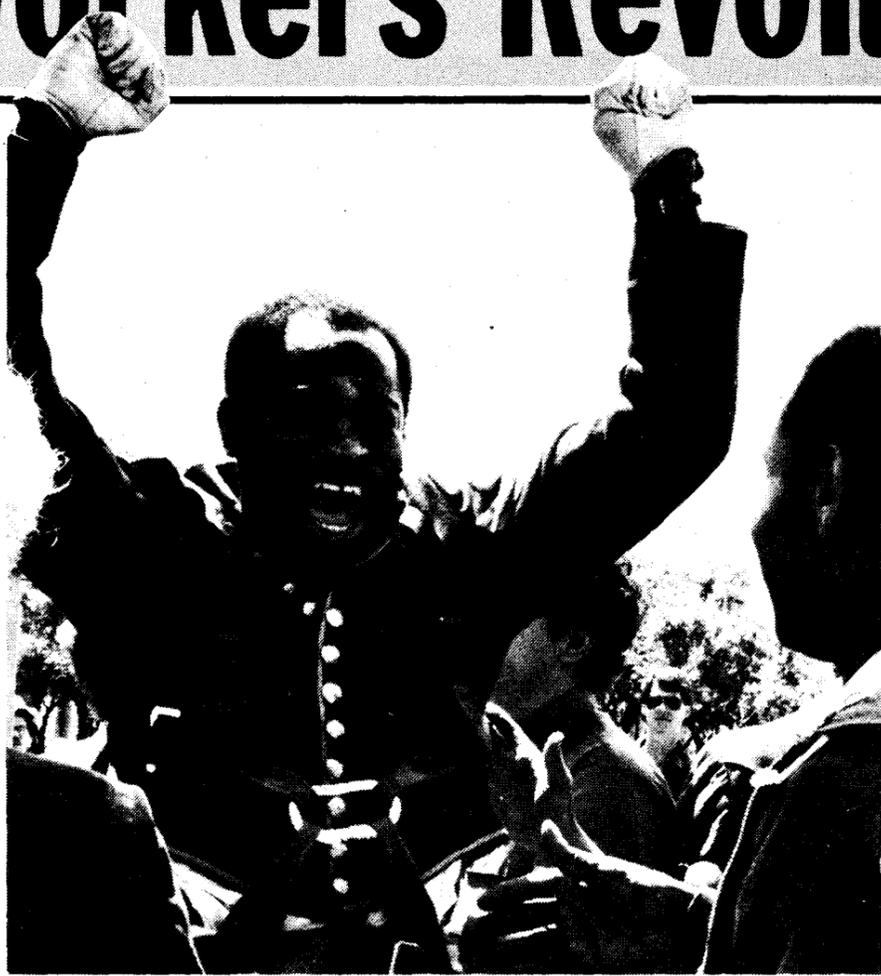
S.F. Elections: Vote Bradley/Coleman! Vote Spartacist!

Finish the Civil War! For Workers Revolution!

Spartacist spokesmen Richard Bradley and Diana Coleman are running as candidates for the San Francisco Board of Supervisors in this fall's election, on the program of socialist revolution. The Bradley/Coleman campaign follows the hard-fought and victorious struggle of the SL to rid the city of the Confederate flag which Democratic mayor "Dixie Dianne" Feinstein had hoisted in Civic Center. Bradley's action in twice ripping down this vile banner of slavery is a testament to the SL's 20-year-long fight for *revolutionary integrationism* and united working-class struggle. Finish the Civil War!

Bradley and Coleman fight for mass labor/black action to smash Klan/Nazi terror! Bradley was among the organizers of the 5,000-strong Labor/Black Mobilization which stopped the KKK from marching in Washington, D.C. on November 27, 1982 (see biographies below). Against the poison of protectionism and national chauvinism, Coleman and Bradley say labor must fight for *full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers!*

The Spartacist candidates unflinchingly defend the Soviet Union against imperialism and raise the call: From Afghanistan to Poland to El Salvador—Down with Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive! Military victory to Salvadoran leftist insurgents! No negotiated sell-out! Defend, complete, extend the Nicaraguan revolution! From South



Spartacist Richard Bradley celebrating with supporters after he tore down the Confederate flag from San Francisco Civic Center last April.

Africa to the Philippines, down with America's butchers!

U.S. imperialism's drive toward anti-Soviet World War III is *hipartisan*. The

Spartacists say that anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home—For labor action against imperialist intervention in Central America! Politi-

cal independence of the working class is central to the campaign. To the working people and oppressed minorities of this heavily unionized city, Bradley and Coleman say: "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!" Whereas all the other "left" candidates in the 1984 elections slavishly tail the labor bureaucrats who loyally serve the Democrats, the SL calls for ousting the labor skates and forging a fighting *workers party* that will stop at nothing short of a workers government. Only when the proletariat takes power and establishes its own class rule will the threat of imperialist war be ended. Bradley and Coleman are fighting for the American working class to follow in the footsteps of their Russian comrades in 1917, through socialist revolution. Vote Spartacist!

RICHARD BRADLEY, 34, is a black activist, union militant and committed revolutionist. He received wide public acclaim when last April he twice tore down a Confederate flag the city had flying in Civic Center. Bradley scaled the 50-foot flagpole a third time to hoist a Union banner, the historic Fort Sumter garrison flag, which Mayor Dianne "Jefferson Davis" Feinstein immediately ordered down and which was subsequently shredded by the city and thrown away. After a dramatic five-day trial on charges brought against

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As Mondale Squawks Like A Hawk

Fake-Lefts Catch "Fritz Fever"

FOR SALE: American "left." Experienced journalists, organizers, activists, specializing in voter registration and public relations for Democratic Party candidates.

From the "State Department socialists" of Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialists of America to the Moscow-line Stalinists of the Communist Party to the ex-Red Guard Maoists of the Communist Workers Party, Walter Mondale is being deluged with left-wing recruits for a crusade against "Reaganism." But Mondale wants left camp followers like he wants herpes.

Indeed, in the past few weeks the hapless Democratic candidate has gone out of his way to establish his

credentials as a Cold War hawk, even baiting Reagan as "soft on international terrorism" over the Beirut embassy bombing. In a major interview with the *New York Times* (18 September) Mondale (1) threatened to "quarantine Nicaragua if it uses any force outside its borders"; (2) promised "through a strategic cooperation relationship to strengthen Israeli confidence" (as if the Zionist butchers were too docile!); (3) reaffirmed his opposition to "no first use" of nuclear weapons; and (4) committed himself to a major military buildup, especially for conventional weaponry. Remember who got the U.S. into the last "conventional" war: the Democrats Kennedy and Johnson, who brought you Vietnam.

Dynamic it ain't—Real socialists don't vote Democrat!



The American population is supposed to choose in November between Ronald Reagan, the Cold War maniac who "jokes" about bombing Russia in five minutes, and Walter Mondale, the

pale image of and excuse for a bourgeois opposition to Reagan. For many, the choice is unappetizing, even frightening. For revolutionary

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