

Young Spartacus

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What Strategy To Fight Apartheid?

Wide World

A political bombshell was dropped earlier this month when both the Soviet Union and France charged that an atomic weapons test was in the offing in South Africa. Although the diplomatic dust has yet to settle, the recent revelations raise the specter of the beleaguered bastion of white supremacy armed with tactical nuclear weapons.

With South Africa still center stage in the international news, protest against the murderous repression of the anti-apartheid revolt in the black and "Coloured" townships remains a live issue on American campuses as classes resume this fall. "Apartheid is the issue many student

leaders believe will forge a new coalition among U.S. students," observed the *Los Angeles Free Press* recently, as efforts got underway across the country to rekindle anti-apartheid student protest which last spring erupted in campus demonstrations on a scale not seen since 1970.

But these "student leaders" are attempting to build their coalitions upon dead-end liberal strategies which, in one way or another, appeal to the U.S. government and the American "multinational" corporations to wage a crusade against apartheid. It is a graphic demonstration of the wretched state of the petty-bourgeois radical "left" in this country that these schemes to make

the most rapacious imperialist power in the world into the reluctant savior of the horribly oppressed South African masses are enthusiastically backed by the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB).

Eager to swim with the stream of "Human Rights" moral effluvia gushing from the White House, these fake radicals claim that the most effective way to fight apartheid is for "all good Americans" to boycott everything and everyone associated with such supposedly uniquely South African evils as racial oppression, police repression and capitalist super-exploitation.

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The Third Coming of Teng

U.S. Maoism: Peking Picks Its Flunkey

When the smoke from the fireworks crackling across Peking cleared, the throngs of gong-clanging and banner-bearing Chinese mobilized by the Stalinist bureaucracy to "joyously hail" the recent Eleventh Party Congress caught sight of a familiar little figure waving from the Olympian heights of the Forbidden City. It was wily old Teng Hsiao-ping—back once again from political purgatory.

But the official "rehabilitation" of the durable 74-year-old Teng, twice-purged and vilified as a so-called "unrepentant capitalist roader," came as no surprise despite the officially orchestrated fanfare. His seemingly inexhaustible political fortunes have been on the rise ever since last October, when the Chiang Ching clique, which had been prominently associated with the earlier

anti-Teng campaign, came out the sorry losers in the intra-bureaucratic power struggle which erupted after the death of Mao.

As was to be expected, much of the congress was given over to the ritual of vituperative denunciation of the "Gang of Four." Adding new "quotations" from Mao to his repertoire, Hua regaled the assembled delegates with a new story about how the Chairman allegedly "summed up" Chiang Ching's famous speech to the 1975 Tachai conference: "Shit."

All that remained was to see how much power Teng would command at the remote summits of the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy. It was left to the Eleventh Party Congress to put its official seal on a new triumvirate consisting of Hua Kuo-feng as Party Chairman, 79-year-old Yeh Chien-ying as Minister of Defense and Teng Hsiao-ping as Deputy Prime Minister. In addition, Teng was given a number of other important party, military and administrative positions.

With the return of Teng, the new leadership line-up represents the vic-

tory of veteran Stalinist bureaucrats and technocrats once assailed as "capitalist roaders" by Mao during the misnamed "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" and later by the Mao-sycophantic Chiang Ching clique during their "anti-rightist" campaign. More than half of the 90 new members of the Central Committee are officials who came under fire during the Cultural Revolution and have since been "rehabilitated."

It is anybody's guess at this point whether or not Hua will have only a transitional role, as did the ill-fated Beria in the Russian troika established after the death of Stalin in 1953. But Teng is unquestionably back in the saddle; the 23-member Politbureau "re-elected" at the Eleventh Congress is stacked with his septuagenarian cronies.

Unlike the new-boy Hua, Teng Hsiao-ping has the rough-and-tumble experience and long-standing bureaucratic connections which uniquely qualify him for the task of imposing discipline on the chaotic bureaucratic apparatus.

And "order" and "stability" were indeed the watchwords of the Eleventh Congress. To ensure the bureaucratic efficiency and work discipline needed to meet the new economic targets, the triumvirate has ordered "disciplinary commissions" to be set up at every level of the party. In addition, the congress restored the one-year probationary period for party membership which had been scrapped by Mao during the Cultural Revolution (to enable him to flood the party ranks with idealist teenagers who could be used as a battering ram to bring recalcitrant officials to heel).

Moreover, Hua and Co. have made it clear that the factional feuding which over the past period has disrupted production would not be tolerated. At the Eleventh Congress Hua announced the "triumphant conclusion of our first Great Cultural Revolution." And bureaucrats who don't take the message seriously can expect to share the fate of the 12 alleged supporters of the "Gang of Four" in Honan who were recently paraded around the city in disgrace and then executed.

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EDITORIAL NOTES

Open Admissions: The Answer to Bakke

As national attention turns toward the upcoming U.S. Supreme Court ruling on the "Bakke case" the Carter administration has announced its intention to intervene. Following a press conference in which "ethnic-purity" Carter pledged allegiance to the "principle" of "affirmative action," government officials announced that Attorney General Griffin Bell will personally sign a Justice Department brief defending quota admissions for minorities.

Special admissions programs in professional schools became the focus of controversy last year after the California Supreme Court ruled in favor of Allan Bakke, a white student who has charged the University of California (UC) Davis medical school with "reverse discrimination." Bakke claims that his two-time rejection from Davis was the result of the school's special admissions program, which reserves 16 out of 100 openings each year for "educationally and economically disadvantaged students." Large demonstrations, including a rally of 3,000 at UC Berkeley, swept across West Coast campuses in protest against this attack on one of the few limited gains won through student struggles over the last decade.

Now singled out by many liberals and black politicians as the most important court decision since "separate-but-equal" education was ruled unconstitutional in 1954, the Bakke case has attracted a lot of high-level attention. Forty individuals and organizations have intervened in the case in support of quota admissions (including such "guardians" of minority rights as elite Columbia, Harvard and Stanford universities), while other groups, including the Young Americans for Freedom, have entered on behalf of Bakke. Among the latter is the American Federation of Teachers, led by Albert Shanker, who at the union's recent convention had to beat back significant sentiment in favor of minority quotas.

The president's current defense of minority admissions quotas is a cheap gimmick, undoubtedly motivated by the need to refurbish his badly tarnished image among black liberals and civil-rights organizations. Moreover, Carter is hesitant to embroil his administration in the wave of court suits relating to special minority programs in education and jobs which is sure to arise if the Supreme Court rules the UC Davis program unconstitutional.

But Carter, chief executive of one of the most racially oppressive countries in the world, is no friend of blacks. In less than a year in office, he has overseen the elimination of Medicaid-funded abortions, denied unemployment benefits for striking workers and done nothing to alleviate unemployment among black youth, which in New York has soared to 86 percent. Carter feels free to posture as the defender of educational opportunity for minorities solely because the more significant gains—open admissions to the City University of New York, extensive cross-district busing programs for elementary schools—have already been overturned.

The SYL opposes the California Bakke decision which will eliminate even the minimal increase in minority enrollment that has resulted from special admissions. A return to the discriminatory entrance requirements of the past will ensure that professions remain overwhelmingly male, middle class and white. According to a study prepared by U.S. law schools, for example, less than 30 percent of all minorities in last year's freshman class would have been admitted if special admissions had not existed.

However, quota systems are not our program. At best they represent a lesser evil to the racist status quo, since quotas take racial discrimination and divisions in society as a starting point.

In order to be eligible for a quota program such as that in effect at UC Davis, minority youth must fight the roadblocks of segregated and understaffed ghetto schools, discriminatory "tracking" systems and ever-increasing tuition costs. While attention is riveted on UC law and medical schools, California governor Jerry Brown is busy throwing up new barriers; his 1977-78 budget calls for a tuition hike and a \$500,000 cut in remedial English programs. Most recently, UC officials have announced a new set of entrance requirements in order to *reduce* college admissions.

Rather than struggling simply to keep existing quota programs that benefit only a handful of minority youth, the SYL demands *open admissions to all universities*. Open admissions must be made economically meaningful by an end to all tuition and by a state-paid stipend. Likewise, we raise the call for special education programs and for an end to segregation, to flunk outs and to "tracking," all of which prevent most minority and

poor youth from ever reaching college.

So long as admissions programs are in the hands of the bourgeois administration—like the UC Board of Regents, many of whom have been appointed by arch-reactionary Ronald Reagan and budget-slashing Jerry Brown—educational facilities will be biased against poor and working people. The university administration must be abolished, the private schools nationalized and all universities democratically run by students, teachers and campus workers.

In the struggles against the elimination of minority quotas over the past year, the most vociferous opposition to the demand for open admissions has come from the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), youth group of the social-democratic Socialist Workers Party (SWP). These reformists, along with several nationalist organizations like Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan (MEChA), have sought to limit student protest to the demand for more and better quotas. Thus, these "radicals" do not go beyond the already existing California law which requires every state-supported university to match the percentage of minorities in the state's high schools by 1980.

But it is not unusual for the YSA to find itself pushing the same political positions as the liberal bourgeoisie. In the antiwar movement the SWP/YSA demand for "Out Now!" was adopted by the liberal doves in the Democratic Party. In the women's movement, the SWP/YSA's refusal to raise their own paper demand for free abortion on demand led to the total collapse of its front-group Women's National Action Abortion Coalition when the Supreme Court adopted its single-issue program by legalizing abortion. And now the sole demand of the SWP, "No to Bakke," has just been adopted by Carter.

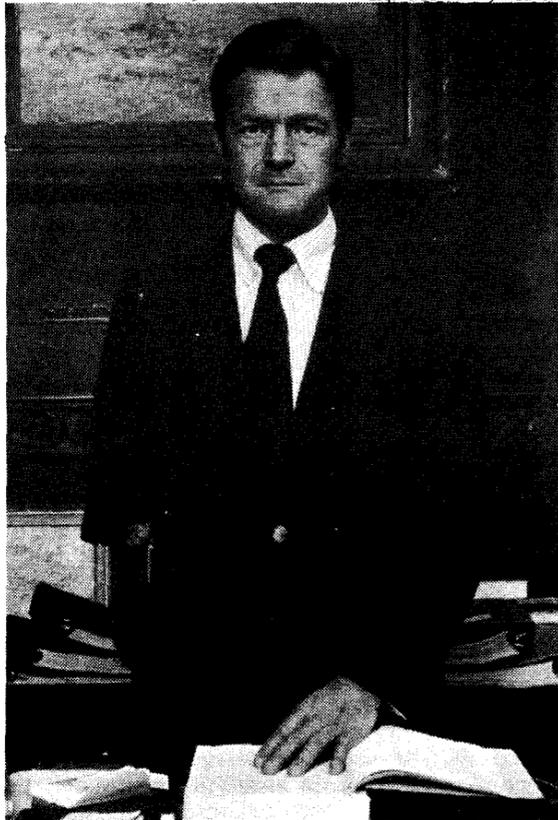
In the past the SWP/YSA's only manner of "distinguishing" itself from liberal politicians has been to denounce them as "hypocrites." But not this time. The 2 September issue of the *Militant* hails Carter's announcement as "an aid to those of us fighting to reverse *Bakke*" and a "departure from the Carter administration's hard-line opposition to affirmative-action quotas."

Unlike the YSA and MEChA, which are "pressuring" UC Davis to prepare a "just suit" against Bakke for the Supreme Court hearing, we have no illusions in the willingness of the university administration to defend open admissions programs which were forced on them through militant student struggle, nor in the "justice" of a court which has dealt blow after blow to school desegregation efforts. The answer to the Bakke decision is not a legal decision to uphold quota programs. It is a fight for open admissions which could lead the way forward to breaking down the barriers of the race-biased, class-biased capitalist education system.

Godfather III?

American universities go to great lengths to propagate the myth that the campus is the realm of the philosopher-kings of culture and enlightenment—and Boston University is certainly no exception. But the president of BU is one John Silber—and these days Silber sounds nothing like John Dewey.

Esquire/Barrett/Arky & Barrett



"We should not lend ourselves to the advocacy of drug usage, homosexuality, quack psychotherapy or of anything else that is likely to frustrate the optimum fulfillment of our students or of our citizens... We should reflect our concern for the family as a continuing structure in the American society and contribute what we can to its strengthening," wrote Silber to the administration's overseer of the BU radio station, WBUR (*Boston Globe*, 20 August 1977).

In pursuit of "the mission of Boston University," which is to reinforce "the American way of life, family and religion," WBUR programs dealing with American foreign policy, assassination theories, women's liberation or programs associated with "community activists" will be axed. And soon to follow will be a show entitled "Gay Talk."

Like many of Silber's monumental stupidities, this latest from his quest to restrict BU to the "natural aristocracy" could be dismissed as the drivel of a would-be Cotton Mather. But when Silber raves—things happen.

The attempt to purge WBUR (similar to the witchhunt carried out among the station's staff in 1971) follows on the heels of Silber's attack on the funding of a student newspaper because of his dislike for its editorial policy. Silber's commitment to campus "democracy" extends only so far as guaranteeing the campus presence of marine recruiters and the Center for Latin American Development Studies—a think tank for right-wing dictatorships. The Boston left will not forget how Silber called in the vicious Tactical Patrol Force to defend these expressions of "the mission of Boston University."

Since coming to BU in 1970, Silber has run roughshod over the entire university community. An article in the September issue of *Esquire* magazine details Silber's vindictive and capricious petty sadism toward students, professors and even fellow administrators. As he surrounded himself with high-paid sycophants and spent thousands to halt a faculty unionization drive,

...on the move?

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Silber would plead poverty, mandate austerity budgets and raise tuition.

Silber's squandering of university funds is particularly blatant. In addition to a whopping \$140,000-a-year salary, Silber enjoys at university expense a Cambridge "meditation pad" ... a car ... domestic servants ... four insurance policies ... and a twenty-room mansion—whose furnishings are alleged to have been disappearing.

In the tradition of a tinpot tyrant, Silber once bestowed hundreds of thousands of university dollars on a singer who pleased him at a dinner party by singing 33 consecutive Schubert *Lieder*. Two years later, this singer's "institute" is \$400,000 in debt and has mustered only two students.

Silber does perform one service, however. His heavy-handed rule over BU strips away the patrician gentility which so often surrounds the "liberal," union-busting university administrations which have one foot on Wall Street and the other in the Pentagon. Silber is but a grotesque caricature of all the boards of trustees composed of bankers and industrialists and the administrations dedicated to keeping the universities safe for "God, country and the family." BU provides a stark example of why the bourgeois administration and trustees must be abolished and the universities placed under the control of students, teachers and campus workers.

The Real Monument to Martyred Kent State Students—

ROTC and Cops Off Campus!

CLEVELAND, August 25—"Kent State"... "student protest." The two became almost synonymous after four Kent antiwar demonstrators were shot in cold blood by the National Guard seven years ago.

And once again student protests at Kent are back in the news nationally. For the last four months Kent State students have protested administration plans to build a gymnasium annex on the site where on May 4, 1970, trigger-happy National Guardsmen were ordered to open fire on students demonstrating against the U.S. imperialist invasion of Cambodia.

Protest marches involving hundreds, a building occupation and mass arrests have made this year's annual memorial actions at Kent the largest and longest political demonstrations on campus since the turbulent days of the radical antiwar movement. For years the Kent administration has attempted to bury the memory of the four students who were murdered while protesting the American imperialist butchery in Indochina. But the proposed construction of a gym was a blatant provocation which could not go unchallenged.

Yet this year Kent State turned out to be far from synonymous with radical anti-militarist protest. Under the misleadership of the "May 4 Coalition"—a hodgepodge of sundry student government liberals and assorted fake socialists—the Kent State protests have been channeled into groveling appeals to the very government and campus administration responsible for the 1970 massacres.

It was militant student opposition to ROTC at Kent (culminating in the torching of the campus ROTC building) that prompted the panicked administration to call for the National Guard in 1970. But today the May 4 Coalition refuses to oppose ROTC—even though ROTC training programs exist at Kent. Moreover, the Coalition chose to turn a blind eye to the U.S. air force and navy recruiters who carried on with their business-as-usual during the four months of "struggle" at Kent.

While supporting the Coalition demand that the proposed gym be moved elsewhere, the Spartacus Youth League at Kent stood alone in fighting for the demand: ROTC off campus! In addition, only the SYL countered the administration provocation with the call for the abolition of the Kent State administration and its replacement with student/teacher/campus-worker control of the university.

A Tragic Farce

The administration provocation should have been met with a campaign to mobilize student outrage into militant demonstrations against the government and its on-campus drummer boys responsible for the slaughter in Indochina and the massacres at Kent and Jackson State in 1970. But instead the Coalition corralled students into an impotent stunt:

camping out in tents on Blanket Hill.

When Boy Scout tactics brought no results after 62 days, the Coalition seized upon the Gandhian tactic of "civil disobedience": 194 Coalition supporters were led into the waiting arms of campus and county cops to face inevitable fines and jail sentences.

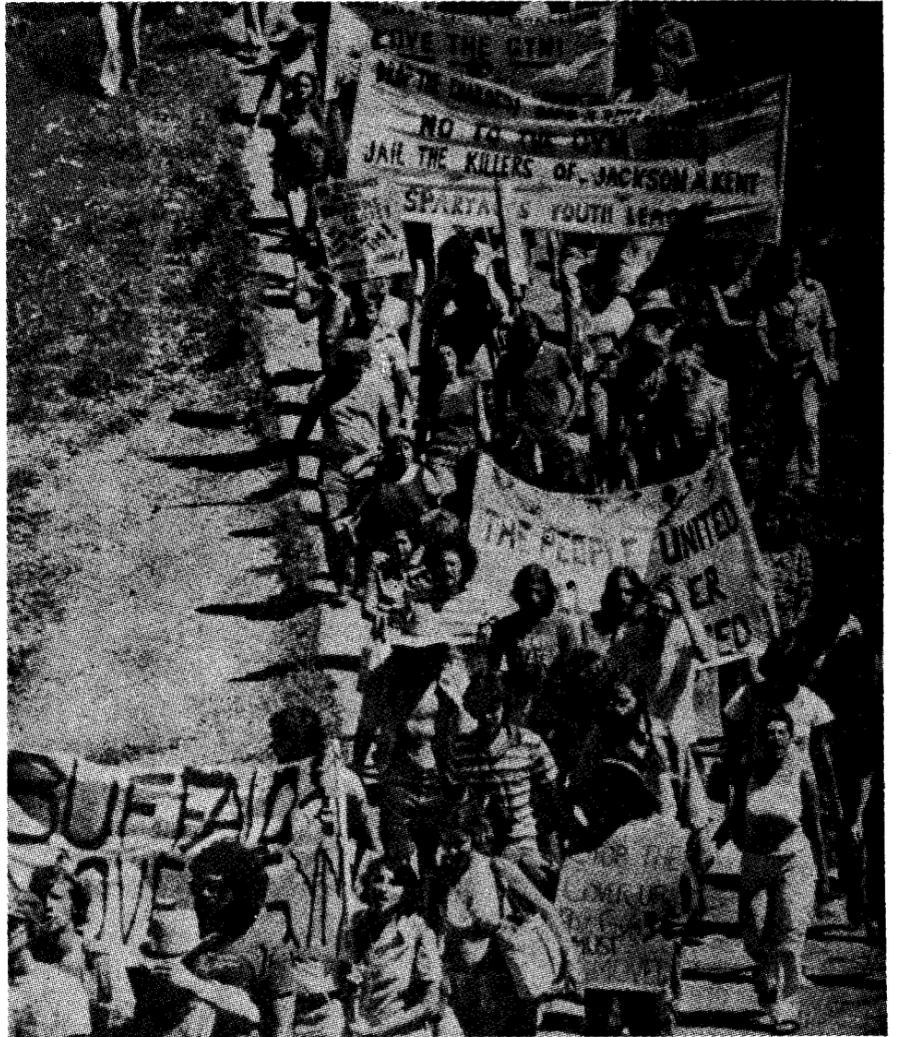
Instead of protesting U.S. imperialism and ROTC the Coalition haggled over who was to go to Washington to "win support" from the government which carpet bombed Indochina and how to appeal to the U.S. Department of the Interior to have Blanket Hill declared a national historical landmark and graced accordingly with an official government plaque. All that remains is for the Coalition to demand that ROTC cadets at Kent perform sentry duty at this sought-after monument!

In their own small way the Coalition-led protests bring to mind Marx's famous dictum: when historic events occur twice, the first is as tragedy, the second as farce. And in the name of protesting the tragic slaughter of four students at Kent seven years ago, the Coalition has staged a veritable political farce. At one "protest" some Yuppies hurled pies at the governor of Ohio, claiming a great political "victory" with their good marksmanship (and it couldn't have been better). At another meeting a woman resigned from the Coalition, claiming to have found Allah (and the audience cheered). And one of the last demonstrations staged by the Coalition was to demand that the campus police return the tents which had been seized with the bust of "tent city."

Determined to keep serious politics out of the Kent State protests, the Coalition leadership managed to squander the student indignation and militancy which had been manifestly generated by the gym provocation. Recent Coalition "mass actions" have attracted dwindling support. Student interest in the Kent "struggle" was revived only when Joan Baez appeared



Cops drag away protestor.



Kent State demonstration on July 22.

on campus in a free benefit performance.

Liberal Illusions—With a Vengeance

At every step the Coalition leaders fought the proposals of the SYL for opposing ROTC and cops on campus. But, as much as the Coalition sought to evade the question of the armed forces of the capitalist state, the cops were not about to graciously reciprocate.

Despite their much-praised "restraint" in the Blanket Hill bust, the cops have become increasingly emboldened and vicious as support for the "tent city" stunt of the Coalition visibly dwindled. On July 7 the cops arrested two and brutally beat three members of the Coalition, including a paraplegic Vietnam vet.

Later, the police rounded up student leaders four days after a protest march on July 22, charging them with criminal trespass (on the proposed gym site). After videotape "evidence" was produced, bail was set at an exorbitant \$2,000.

Most recently, on August 19 Coalition members celebrating a new restraining order on the gym construction were arrested in a local bar and charged with "aggravated rioting." The evidence? An agent provocateur planted in the group by the cops kicked a cop car as the group left the bar. One of the attorneys for the Coalition who was present at the scene was arrested simply for having demanded to know the charges against the student activists.

Despite our considerable political differences with the Coalition leadership the Spartacus Youth League has vigorously denounced all the cop attacks and legal repression directed against the Kent State protesters. We demand that this police dragnet be stopped at once and that all charges against the more than 225 arrested Kent activists be dropped at once!

When Will They Ever Learn...?

Even when the administration erected a wire fence around Blanket Hill and the cops stepped up their repression of student radicals at Kent the Coalition continued to preach illusions in the "unity" of President Carter and the Department of the

Interior against the Kent State administration. Instead of struggling to organize militant student protest against the administration schemes and ROTC, the Coalition placed confidence in the restraining orders handed down by the courts.

But the Kent administration is backed to the hilt by the agencies of the bourgeois state—from the local cops to the courts. It is enough to point out that on several occasions the courts enjoined the Kent demonstrators on the hill while giving the go-ahead to the gym construction. Only continued protest and national publicity secured the latest restraining order. It was these same capitalist courts which on 8 November 1974 dismissed all charges against the Ohio National Guardsmen who had fired on the Kent students and, on the same day, ordered the release of former Lt. William Calley, the mass murderer of My Lai.

But the so-called leftists of the ex-Trotskyist Young Socialist Alliance (YSA—youth group of the social-democratic Socialist Workers Party) and Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB—youth appendage of the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party) have intervened only to give a "left" cover to the liberal politics of the Kent Coalition. While the SYL fought for anti-ROTC slogans, the YSA and RSB limited their political intervention to arguing over who could best represent the Coalition in its hoped-for meetings with White House officials.

The YSA distinguished itself by tailing after every twist and turn of the Coalition—from "tent city" up until the "mass busts." Only when protesters began getting carted off by the cops did these timorous social democrats call for "peaceful, legal" protest to get "police off campus"—a cynical and despicable ploy by an organization which actively demands that the U.S. government deploy cops, National Guardsmen and federal troops in the ghettos of Boston... to "protect" the embattled black people from the vicious attacks of the racist anti-busing forces.

For its part the RSB refused to demand cops off campus, even when the SYL chant received wide support on the day of the mass arrests. The RSB's "mass line"—which translated from Mao-talk means groveling be-

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SWP's Favorite Sheriff Evicts Elderly Tenants

S.F. Cops Storm I-Hotel



Brutality reigns as "progressive" sheriff Richard Hongisto (left) leads vicious assault on International Hotel.

SAN FRANCISCO, August 25—In a brutal display of force, 500 riot-equipped city cops evicted the elderly residents of the International Hotel and their supporters here in the early morning hours of August 4. The fifty residents of the International Hotel have fought for nearly 10 years to prevent their eviction by the Four Seas Corporation, a real estate developer centered in Thailand.

Since the regime of former mayor Alioto, neighborhoods containing low-cost housing for the elderly have systematically been torn up in favor of commercial and tourist-oriented development, forcing the homeless elderly to relocate to criminal-infested skid-row hotels. The resistance to the International Hotel eviction became a symbol of the crying need for low-cost housing for the elderly and of militant opposition to the "redevelopment" schemes which have created such enormous human misery for the elderly.

On the day of the cop attack, over 3,000 supporters of the tenants gathered outside the hotel, forming

a human chain to keep the police from entering. The cops, many on horseback, savagely assaulted the crowd with nightsticks flying, injuring many of the demonstrators. After an hour of bloody street fighting, the leaders of the hotel support committee directed the demonstrators to retreat from the front of the hotel and allowed the police to enter.

Inside the hotel over 100 residents and supporters had bolted themselves into their rooms, refusing to leave voluntarily. San Francisco sheriff Richard Hongisto, who has recently developed a reputation as "San Francisco's radical sheriff" and a "friend of the gay movement," led the charge inside the hotel.

Wielding a sledgehammer, Hongisto personally went through the hotel corridors, smashing in the door panels of each room and ordering his police to carry the occupants out into the street. By 7:15 that same morning the evacuation was complete.

All members of the left and the labor movement must vigorously oppose this callous and brutal evic-

tion. The spectacle of an early-morning massive police assault to evict 50 elderly tenants is an indictment of the cruelty of the capitalist system. In the name of private property the old and poor are thrown into the streets, subjected to having their heat and electricity shut off in the middle of winter (which resulted in at least one death in New York City this year) and, in general, are left to die in poverty and loneliness.

What was necessary to prevent this eviction was a full mobilization of the powerful Bay Area labor movement against the city government and the courts. Unfortunately, the leadership of the I-Hotel movement—a motley collection of ex-New Leftists, ethnic Maoists and the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP)—limited the struggle to "grass-roots" community politics and futile rhetoric of how "the people united will never be defeated." The inability of the protesters to muster greater forces than the "community," despite their valiant efforts, left them tragically vulnerable in the face of the cops' show of force.

Particularly despicable was the role of the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Although playing no role in the I-Hotel support committees, the SWP has recently become the best defenders of Sheriff Hongisto. Because of Hongisto's stance against Anita Bryant, prominent members of the SWP signed a campaign statement put out by "Gays for No on A and B," which opposed a ballot proposition calling for new elections for mayor, sheriff and district attorney. The leaflet contained a picture of Hongisto and was titled, "Save Our Sheriff."

In a disgusting display of hypocrisy, following the hotel eviction the SWP's *Militant* advised that Hongisto's role should dispel any illusions that gay activists have in the sheriff—evidently intended to include their own members! But only one week after the eviction, the SWP turned around

and announced plans for a demonstration against the death penalty which included as a featured speaker... Richard Hongisto, "illusions" and all!

Although the "progressive" sheriff did not attend, members of the I-Hotel Tenants Association came to the demonstration with a huge blow-up picture of Hongisto breaking down doors the night of the eviction and distributed a statement protesting Hongisto's attendance at the rally.

Neither the New Left community-pressure politics of the RCP nor the SWP's reliance on the very same bourgeois authorities who are responsible for the eviction can lead the way forward. The I-Hotel eviction, the union-busting campaigns in the Bay Area and the cutbacks in desperately needed social services are the acts of the capitalist class in its epoch of social decay. Only under a planned economy and a workers government will the elderly no longer face the brutality of the real-estate speculators and the nursing-home swindlers. ■

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Anti-Shah Protests in LA and Michigan

Hands Off Iranian Militants!

This summer the University of Southern California in Los Angeles gave a clear lesson in the workings of capitalist education. On July 5 Iranian Empress Farah Pahlavi was awarded an honorary doctoral degree, while the more than 500 anti-Shah demonstrators assembled on campus under the threat of arrest by the director of campus security.

As Ronald Reagan and LA mayor Tom Bradley looked on, surrounded by a swarm of campus cops, more than 100 police from nine LAPD divisions, State Department officials and SAVAK (Iranian secret police) agents, "Her Majesty" received a degree for her "magnificent service to your country and man, and womankind." Naturally, university spokesmen did not admit that the award given to this accomplice of the butcher of untold thousands of Iranian students, workers and peasants had anything to do with the \$1 million endowed chair in Petroleum Engineering established at this "ivory tower" by the Shah in 1974!

In conjunction with the anti-Farah protest eight members and one supporter of the Iranian Student Association (ISA) occupied the Iran Government Tourism and Information Center in Los Angeles. Here the notoriously brutal LA cops gave a lesson in American capitalist "justice" when they savagely attacked the anti-Shah protestors. After one student was beaten unconscious, all were arrested on charges of burglary and kidnapping, and their car was illegally impounded.

On July 7, after a pre-trial hearing, the charges were reduced to battery, resisting arrest, criminal trespassing and disturbing the peace. The Iranians, however, were not released on bail. The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) immediately intervened, and the students were held for another day while their immigration statuses were investigated. If they are deported, they face possible execution or life imprisonment as well as torture under the Shah's draconian law 310.

The INS' detention of the students immediately produced a protest demonstration. United action by workers and students to demand the dropping of all charges should greet the Sep-

tember 30 hearings. Hands off the ISA 9!

More Demos in Michigan

In another case two Iranians and three Americans were arrested at Michigan State University (MSU) at East Lansing following one of a long series of demonstrations protesting a film project on Iranian history, including a confrontation between the Trustees and 300 students and faculty in May and a week-end sit-in at the MSU International Center. With most students home for the summer, the MSU administration seized the opportunity to crack down on this relatively popular campaign, which has been a thorn in its side since spring.

Funds for the defense of the ISA 9 can be sent to:

Bank Account Number 130-520
Security Pacific National Bank, 4436
Atlantic Avenue, Bixby Knolls, Long
Beach, CA 90807

Letters to the MSU Board of Trustees and Peter D. Houk, the Ingham County Prosecuting Attorney, as well as defense contributions, can be sent to:

The Committee to Stop the MSU-Iran
Film Project, P.O. Box 24, East
Lansing, Michigan 48823

On June 24, as a protest action against the MSU film project was ending, campus police followed a car with two demonstrators. One was arrested for using a bullhorn without a permit and was roughed up by the cops. When a companion and a bystander, both Iranian, verbally protested the action, they too were immediately arrested. Later, two more "unauthorized use of bullhorn" warrants were issued for two other alleged demonstrators.

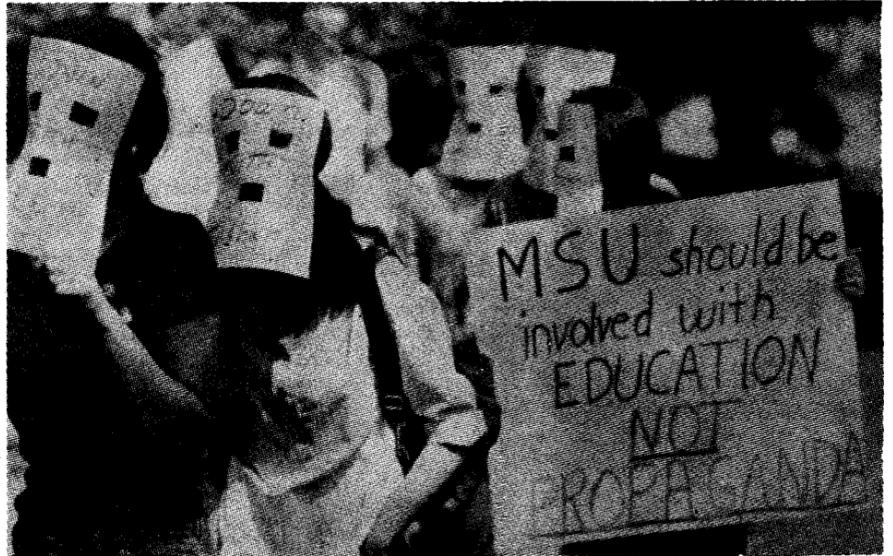
Later, in July, the prosecuting attorney admitted that "it would have been more appropriate for a warning to have been issued," and the charges against the three Americans were dropped. Nevertheless, the charges of "obstructing an officer" and "resisting arrest" still stand against the Iranians, who at the time of their arrest were harangued by the cops and threatened with prosecution by the FBI and INS.

It is clear that the Iranians are being targeted, like the ISA members in Los Angeles. All charges must be dropped! No deportations! Hands off foreign student leftists!

Misdirected Protest

Our solidarity with the victims of this outrageous frame-up does not, however, imply political endorsement of the campaign led by this Committee. Its five-month-old campaign is directed against a university contract, begun in 1974, to produce a series of "instructional" films on Iran funded by the National Iranian Radio and Television, the government communications monopoly.

At times, protests against certain cultural projects or productions can be an effective means of drawing public attention to a political point. For example, during the Vietnam War, the super-patriotic film, "Green Berets," would definitely have been an appropriate target for antiwar protest, although to call for a blanket boycott of even this pro-war



ISA protest at Michigan State.

"spectacular" would have been correctly seen as moralistic censorship.

But, as Marxists, the SYL draws a distinction between a cultural event or work which may implicitly justify the reactionary status quo while remaining primarily entertainment (i.e., most culture under bourgeois society), and events which in their content and context constitute a clear political act, such as the inclusion of the Chilean torture ship, the *Esmeralda*, in the 1976 "Tall Ships" parade, and thus present a sharp focus for political protest.

In the case of the MSU film project, as originally planned several of the films were to tout the Shah's phony "White Revolution" (read counterrevolution) and other aspects of contemporary Iran; they clearly would have been pro-Shah propaganda. However, in its present form, the series is restricted to historical movies dealing with Iran only up to 1750 A.D.

The protestors now argue that by failing to explicitly condemn the "White Revolution" the films whitewash the barbaric Iranian regime by omission. But by such logic any bourgeois history of the Middle East which does not document the Shah's crimes should be declared unfit for the pub-

lic. It would be stupid moralism to therefore reject and boycott all capitalist education in general.

Moreover, the strategy of the Committee, with its demands that MSU sever all connections with all oppressive regimes from South Korea to Iran to Brazil, builds the illusion that the university can be "cleansed" of capitalism's dirty work. Revolutionaries are not in favor of boycotting what is morally repugnant, but rather, seek to mobilize the power of the working class in effective acts of protest against the Shah's white terror and in solidarity with the struggles of the Iranian masses. Above all, this means not wailing about the "hypocrisy" of Carter's campaign for "human rights" but exposing it as a completely reactionary drive to restore the moral authority of U.S. imperialism.

The American left and labor movement must actively demand the dropping of charges against the ISA 9 in Los Angeles and the framed-up anti-Shah protestors in Michigan as well as the freeing of all victims of the Shah's reactionary repression in Iran! No arms to the Shah! Down with the blood-stained Pahlavis—For a workers and peasants government in Iran! ■

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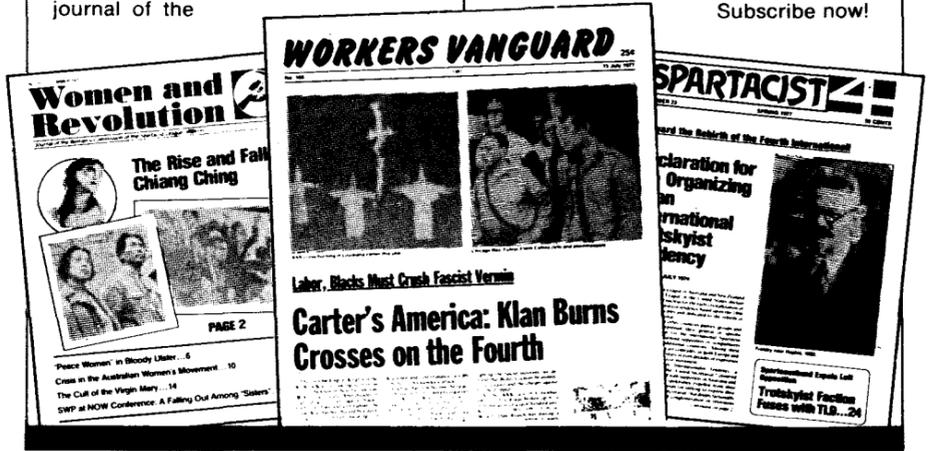
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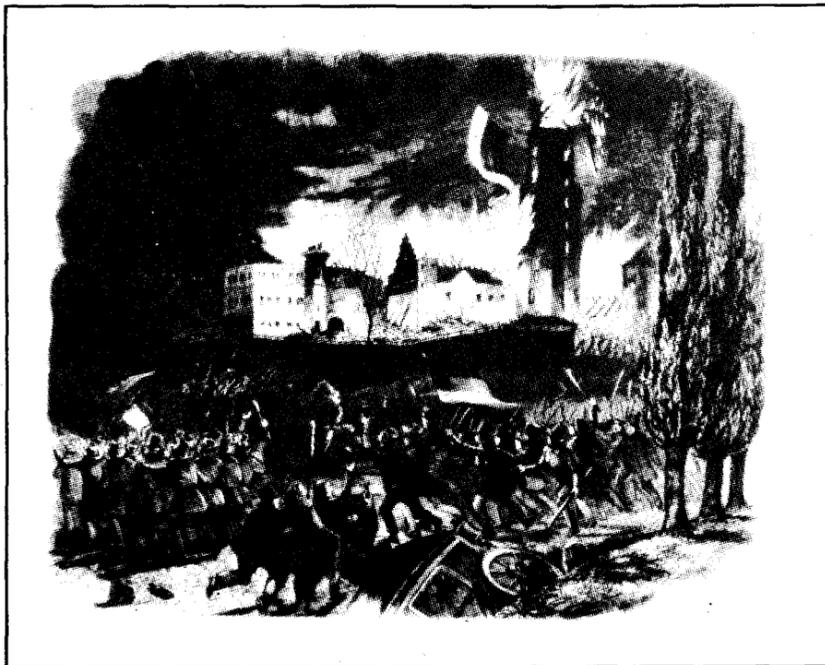
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KARL MARX AND THE GERMAN REVOLUTION OF 1848



MARXISM AND THE JACOBIN COMMUNIST TRADITION-PART 9

Marxism emerged as a distinct communist tendency in the two years preceding the Revolution of 1848 when Karl Marx and Frederick Engels developed their unique strategic conception of how to propel the bourgeois-democratic revolution to a radical conclusion that would be "the prelude to an immediately following proletarian revolution." It was the German revolution of 1848 that decisively put to the test that revolutionary strategy.

The failure of the Revolution of 1848, in France as well as in Germany, was pivotal in shaping the doctrinal development of classic Marxism in the era of the First International. V.I. Lenin, for one, fully realized that the experience of the German revolution of 1848 was a political watershed for Marx and Engels. For example, in 1907 Lenin wrote:

"...in the activities of Marx and Engels themselves, the period of their participation in the mass revolutionary struggle of 1848-49 stands out as the central point. This was their point of departure when determining the future pattern of the workers' movement and democracy in different countries. It was to this point that they always returned in order to determine the essential nature of the different classes and their tendencies in the most striking and purest form."
—"Against Boycott," in *Collected Works*, Vol. 13

In projecting this class series on "Marxism and the Jacobin Communist Tradition" I deliberately divided the discussion of the Revolution of 1848 into separate presentations on France and Germany. Today's class on the German revolution of 1848 will have a focus rather different from the last class on the revolution in France. And the reason is that the German revolution of 1848 ended where the French revolution had begun, namely, with an unstable constitutional monarchy.

Since it took place on the political terrain of revolutionary bourgeois democracy, the French revolution of 1848 is rich in lessons which, if properly understood, are directly relevant to contemporary revolutionary developments—one immediately thinks of Portugal following the fall of the Caetano dictatorship in 1974. It was the first time that socialists entered a bourgeois government; the first time that a parliament democratically elected on the basis of direct universal suffrage became an instrument of counterrevolution; the first instance of populist bonapartism.

In contrast, the German revolution of 1848 provides no such lessons, since it unfolded without sweeping away the Hohenzollern and Hapsburg monarchies. It is an important revolution in terms of the history of mod-

EDITOR'S NOTE: As a special feature *Young Spartacus* has been publishing the presentations on the origins of Marxism that have been given by Joseph Seymour of the Spartacist League Central Committee at various educational gatherings of the SYL over the past year.

In this series comrade Seymour has set out to demonstrate how Marx and Engels assimilated the political worldviews and experiences of the preceding generations of revolutionary militants who struggled to achieve an egalitarian-collectivist social order by ensuring the triumph of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. In stressing the living continuity of the Jacobin communist tradition and its shaping influence on the young Marx and Engels the series debunks the currently fashionable New Left/academic interpretation of Marxism as simply a self-contained, armchair ideological derivation from Hegelian philosophy.

Preceding articles in the series have covered: the Great French Revolution and how Jacobin communism was continued in the conspiratorial organizations and insurrectionary struggles of Babeuf and Buonarroti; the French

democratic opposition and how it underwent a profound political differentiation from the Carbonari Conspiracy and the 1830 Revolution to the Blanqui putsch of 1839; British Chartism and how it reached its revolutionary climax; the origins of the Communist League and how it developed through the factional struggle between the utopian millennialism of Weitling and the passive propagandism of Schapper; the political development of Karl Marx before 1848 and how he formulated a unique strategic conception for pushing the bourgeois-democratic revolution to the prologue of the socialist revolution; and the French revolution of 1848 and how the counterrevolution triumphed through a class differentiation within the victorious revolutionary-democratic forces.

Back issues of *Young Spartacus* containing the preceding articles in the series "Marxism and the Jacobin Communist Tradition" are still available and may be obtained at 25 cents per issue from: Spartacus Youth Publishing Company, Box 825, Canal Street Station, New York, N.Y. 10013.

ern Germany and the history of Marxism, but not in and of itself, at least to the same degree as the French revolution. So the focus of this presentation will not be the events and complexities of the Revolution of 1848 in Germany. Rather, I want to examine the political activities of Marx and the Marxist party, touching upon the German revolution itself only so far as necessary to explain their tactics, strategy and organizational decisions.

The Specter of Napoleon

In one important sense the German revolution of 1848 was made in Paris and not in Germany. The revolutionary overthrow of the July monarchy of King Louis Philippe in February 1848 and its replacement by what appeared to be a radical-democratic Provisional Government scared the German princes out of their wits. Sparked by the February Revolution in France, a popular uprising erupted in Vienna on March 13 and within days the Berlin proletariat insurrected against the Prussian Guards, forcing the Prince

of Prussia to flee to England.

But what terrified the German nobles and monarchist bureaucrats was not so much the revolutionary rumblings in Germany as the specter of an invasion by a revolutionary French army. Many among the nobility had themselves witnessed Napoleon's successful invasion of Germany and remembered that his bourgeois-democratic reforms were relatively popular, at least in the beginning. So by the end of March the German princes feared that history might repeat itself and that a French invasion would be received by the discontented populace with support, or at least with neutrality. In part, therefore, the German revolution of 1848 was an attempt by the princes to gain the support of the liberal opposition and the popular masses behind the liberals through granting a series of concessions.

This is not to say that the February Revolution in France did not send revolutionary tremors throughout Germany. In numerous provinces the peasants burned the deeds. A radical-democratic putsch was at-

tempted in the province of Baden, which bordered on France and was the most radical province in Germany. And militant demonstrations and even street fighting erupted in a number of major German cities during March.

But these insurrectionary developments in and of themselves were not adequate to shatter the existing absolutist government. Indeed, the outcome of the Berlin uprising in late March was a far cry from the February insurrection in Paris. In France the army was driven out of Paris, King Louis Philippe was forced to flee in disguise and a radical-democratic Provisional Government with a socialist component took power.

In Germany the March uprisings left the military forces and state bureaucracy of the absolutist monarchy intact. After the Berlin insurrection King Friedrich Wilhelm of Prussia merely withdrew his troops, apologized to the population and promised various reforms. In fact, in the course of the German revolution only one of the over forty princes lost his throne: mad King Ludwig of Bavaria. Every time I read about the German revolution of 1848 I am reminded of a terrible movie called "Lola Montez," in which Oscar Werner, playing a student revolutionary, storms the palace and ends up seducing the king's mistress.

After the Ides of March

While the Hohenzollern and Hapsburg monarchies survived the March uprisings, the German revolution nevertheless ushered in real, if limited, gains. First, some elementary democratic rights and civil liberties were granted, including freedom of the press, freedom to organize and freedom for political prisoners. Political exiles like Marx and Karl Schapper, a member of the Central Authority of the Communist League, were allowed to return to Germany. But the granting of democratic rights did not mean that there was not legal and extra-legal repression of the communists and radical-democrats, as was soon to be demonstrated.

Second, as a concession to the revolutionary masses the old reactionary ministers were dumped and replaced by the representatives of the liberal opposition, headed by the Camphausen-Hanseman Ministry. It should be noted that in the early 1840's Ludwig Camphausen had been Marx's sugar daddy when he began his political career as a publicist for the German democratic bourgeoisie.

And third, the German revolution brought into being a series of constituent assemblies. Most important were the all-German National Assembly in Frankfurt, which was empowered to draw up a constitution for

the future united Germany, and the Prussian National Assembly in Berlin.

Of these two the Berlin Assembly is by far the more significant. It was not only more radical in composition, but also functioned under the pressure and the protection of the revolutionary plebeian masses of the seat of the existing Prussian government. It is not accidental that most of Marx's political energies were directed toward the Prussian National Assembly, which he regarded as embodying the gains of the revolution, and not the German National Assembly in Frankfurt which had no relation whatsoever to the existing government and which sat in a small provincial city removed from the centers of the revolution.

Dual Power: Democracy "In Agreement with the Crown"

With the establishment of the constituent assemblies the German revolution of 1848 entered a period of dual power. On the one hand there were the constituent assemblies, most of which were not elected on the basis of universal suffrage but through less than democratic franchises. On the other hand there were the absolutist monarchies which retained control of the state apparatus, although they weren't sure whether their troops would rebel if sent against the insurgent masses.

In fact, the dual power was so pure it was even codified legally. In early April the Camphausen-Hansemann Ministry passed two laws providing for a general, secret and indirect franchise to elect a new assembly empowered to draw up a constitution in "agreement with the crown."

It is important to realize that in this period the lines between constitutional monarchism and democratic republicanism were drawn in blood—quite literally. For example, the president of the Frankfurt National Assembly was a liberal by the name of Heinrich von Gagern. But his brother, Maximilian von Gagern, was a military officer who suppressed the radical-democratic putsch in Baden.

In many ways the German revolution of 1848 resembles the Russian revolution of 1905. In both cases one sees a series of concessions made by the absolutist monarchy rather than a revolutionary overturn of the entire feudal edifice. It is interesting that following the defeat of the 1905 Revolution in Russia a number of Menshevik leaders concluded that Russia was destined to undergo the same political evolution as Germany following the 1848 Revolution, namely, the gradual modernization of the absolutist state apparatus from above. So analogies between the German revolution of 1848 and the Russian revolution of 1905 were much in vogue in the Russian Social Democratic movement in the period from 1906 to 1908.

It was this situation of dual power that confronted Marx and Engels when in April they arrived in Germany. But they were not unprepared. Marx and Engels brought with them a developed conception of revolutionary strategy, which had been set forth in the *Communist Manifesto*.

Ambiguities in the Marxist Perspective

As I indicated in the previous talk on "Karl Marx Before 1848," Marx became a communist leader in large part because he was able to develop a strategy of how to ride the bourgeois-democratic revolution to power. It was his unique strategic conception that differentiated Marx from both the putschism of Louis Auguste Blanqui and the passive and pacifistic propagandism represented by Karl Schapper. But the strategy developed by Marx contained two elements of ambiguity.

First, the arguments Marx advanced as to why the bourgeois-

democratic revolution would have to triumph before the communists could come to power imply very different periodicities between these two developments. On the one hand, Marx argued in terms of political prerequisites: bourgeois democracy was necessary not only to enable the communists to legally organize a mass working-class party but also to enable the proletarian masses to clearly see that the bourgeoisie was in fact their irreconcilable class enemy. Such arguments imply a more-or-less short-term transition from the bourgeois-democratic to the socialist revolution.

On the other hand, Marx also presented an argument based on economic considerations: namely, that the proletarianization of the mass of German peasantry required the bourgeoisie to assume direct control over the state apparatus and thereby ensure the unfettered development of capitalism. But this implies a rather longer term transition. And this ambiguity of pre-1848 Marxism was not entirely resolved until after the German revolution.

Second, Marx called for supporting the revolutionary measures of the German bourgeoisie but left open the forms of that support. In this regard the *Communist Manifesto* states,

"In Germany they [the communists] fight with the bourgeoisie whenever it acts in a revolutionary way, against the absolute monarchy, the feudal squirearchy, and the petty bourgeoisie.

"But they never cease, for a single instant, to instill into the working class the clearest possible recognition of the hostile antagonism between bourgeoisie and proletariat, in order that the German workers may straightaway use, as so many weapons against the bourgeoisie, the social and political conditions that the bourgeoisie must necessarily introduce along with its supremacy, and in order that, after the fall of the reactionary classes in Germany, the fight against the bourgeoisie itself may immediately begin."

Perspective of German Jacobinism

Was Marx talking about strictly military united fronts, or about a political bloc with the bourgeoisie perhaps involving critical electoral support, or about a possible entry into the organizations of bourgeois democracy? Even before 1848 Marx did not tactically limit his collaboration with bourgeois democrats to strict united fronts. For example, in Belgium on the eve of the 1848 Revolution Marx established the Democratic Association, which in essence was a propaganda bloc between radical democrats and the communists. And following his expulsion from Belgium to France Marx joined not the Blanquist organization in Paris but rather the Society of the Rights of Man, which at that time was associated with the left wing of the government.

Instead of simply seeking military united fronts and an independent organizational existence Marx believed that given the enormous disparity in forces the communists could do better as a faction within the bourgeois-democratic organizations, which in Germany were movements rather than parties. Thus, Marx's strategic conception was for the creation of a Jacobin party in Germany in which the communists would form the proletarian left faction. It comes through clearly in a later article written by Engels:

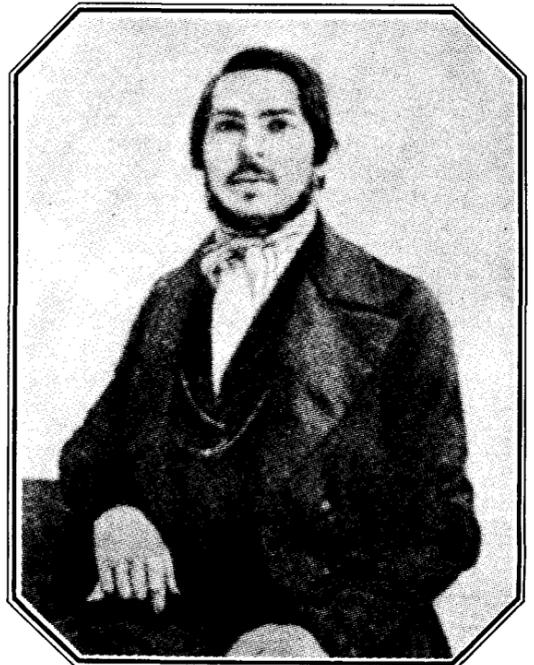
"... as the proletariat was still unacquainted with its own historical role, the bulk of it had, at the start, to take on the role of the forward-pushing, extreme Left wing of the bourgeoisie.... Thus, the German proletariat at first appeared on the political stage as the extreme democratic party.

"In this way, when we founded a big newspaper in Germany, our banner was determined as a matter of course. It could only be that of democracy,

continued on page 8

"In the activities of Marx and Engels themselves, the period of their participation in the mass revolutionary struggle of 1848-49 stands out as the central point. This was their point of departure when determining the future pattern of the workers' movement and democracy in different countries. It was to this point that they always returned in order to determine the essential nature of the different classes and their tendencies in the most striking and purest form."

—V.I. Lenin



Top to bottom: Marx, Engels and the heroic struggles on the Vienna barricades in 1848.



1848...

continued from page 7

but that of a democracy which everywhere emphasized in every point the specific proletarian character which it could not yet inscribe once and for all on its banner. If we did not want to do that, if we did not want to take up the movement, adhere to its already existing, most advanced, actually proletarian side and to push it further, then there was nothing left for us to do but to preach communism in a little provincial sheet and to found a tiny sect instead of a great party of action."

—"Marx and the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-1849)," in *Selected Works*, Vol. 3

Engels is here describing their intent and not what actually happened during the German revolution of 1848. In fact, Marx and Engels did not found a great party of action and the German proletariat in its mass did not appear on the political stage as the extreme democratic party—as no such party existed.

Polarization within the Communist League

It turned out that the German revolution of 1848 frustrated Marx's intent. As a result, Marx changed his strategic line at the end of the revolution and even more so during the first period of his exile from Germany. The sources of this frustration were three, although each has a very different weight.

First, a section of the Communist League in Germany did not go along with Marx's tactical perspective but remained true to utopian socialism of an adventurist rather than a pacifist sort. Second, the overwhelming majority of the German artisan proletariat did not rally to the cause of radical democracy, but instead used the revolutionary situation to organize trade unions and to agitate around a policy of artisan protectionism, that is, a modified restoration of the old guild system. And third, the German bourgeoisie, even including those democrats who had worked closely with Marx, turned out to be substantially less revolutionary than Robespierre, or for that matter Cromwell. So that at every point Marx ran into obstacles presented by the very political forces that he had expected to weld into a radical Jacobin party in Germany.

Now, the opposition to Marx by the left wing of the Communist League is perhaps the least important, but certainly the most interesting factor. As I indicated in a previous class, Marx won the Communist League cadres to his particular strategic conceptions from the top down, recruiting the authoritative leadership in exile in London. In fact, the *Communist Manifesto* was intended to recruit the Communist League membership primarily in Germany, which at that time was under strict anti-communist censorship laws.

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But the German revolution broke out before the *Communist Manifesto* was distributed at all in Germany. So that at the time of the March Revolution the Marxification of the Communist League was only partially completed and, moreover, was expressed geographically. Thus, the Communist League in London was Marxist in its overwhelming cadres, while the German Communist League centered in Cologne was not.

At the time of the March insurrection the Communist League in Cologne was led by Andreas Gottschalk, who was an unreconstructed True Socialist with putschist-adventurist tactical impulses. However, since he was also a physician who was known for helping the poor at minimal or no cost, Gottschalk had earned considerable political authority and following in the Rhineland. After having been arrested and then released for leading a large militant demonstration in Cologne during the March days, Gottschalk founded an organization called the Cologne Workers Association, which had about seven thousand members (at that time the population of Cologne was only 80,000) when Marx arrived.

So Marx was confronted by a formidable political opponent. And opponent indeed he was. Gottschalk differed with Marx on almost every important question.

Marx insisted upon entering the Cologne Democratic Society, that is, the society of the radical bourgeoisie. Gottschalk opposed him.

In February, during the elections for the new parliament, Marx wanted to give electoral support to the democratic candidates. Again, he was opposed by Gottschalk.

In April, as the elections to the Frankfurt and Berlin assemblies approached, Marx was in favor of participating (and in fact some communists were elected to the various parliamentary bodies). And Gottschalk opposed Marx on this question too, pointing out that the elections were based on a restricted franchise excluding the lower stratum of the working class.

Since Gottschalk was in the minority and the Communist League was a centralized group, Marx simply ordered him to adhere to the policies that had been decided upon. Gottschalk refused to do so and instead resigned. Yet he remained the president of the main mass workers organization in the central radical city of the Rhineland.

The Roots of Economism

Upon arriving on the scene in Germany Marx discovered that the main political impulse of the overwhelming majority of the German proletariat was artisan protectionism, an opposition to what was called freedom of trade which was both import protectionism and also protectionism against domestic competition.

In the Germany of this period two-thirds of the non-agricultural manual laborers were not factory workers but were employed by small artisans. Now, these artisan producers were being economically ruined in large numbers not only by foreign competition (mainly French and English) but also by the rapid development of the factory system in Germany itself. What worried the artisan proletariat, therefore, was not exploitation by large capitalists—that had yet to come—but the economic ruin of their own small employers.

So there existed the objective basis for a solidarity between the small artisan capitalists and their handful of employees against the competition of big capital, both foreign and German. In their overwhelming numbers the German artisans looked to the government as well as to their own organizations for a way to prevent being driven into bankruptcy or into the factory proletariat.

It was the pressure of this artisan protectionism which led to the

other, more significant oppositional tendency within the workers movement identified with Stefan Born. A compositor by trade, Born had been recruited to the Communist League by Engels in Paris and then went to Brussels, where he assimilated Marxism as he understood it. With the outbreak of the 1848 Revolution Born returned to his native city, Berlin, and was soon leading a major printing-trades strike.

But Born quickly realized that the German working class was spontaneously utilizing the new freedom to organize not for the struggle for some kind of social republic, as was the case in France, but rather for forming trade unions and conducting massive strikes. In fact, the workers tended to be indifferent to the bourgeois-democratic revolution, so much so that only 30-50 percent of the workers eligible to vote in the parliamentary elections did so.

Caught up in this burgeoning trade-union movement, Born broke with the Communist League and with all socialist politics and formed a national organization called the Workers Brotherhood, publishing *The Brotherhood of Workers*.

In a sense Born represents the first example of the bright young worker groomed for leadership by the Marxist movement who in an upsurge of class struggle becomes a successful trade-union official (although in his case the success was not very long lasting). By April 1848 we find Born writing the following early justification for trade-union economism:

"The bourgeoisie and the proletariat, capital and labor, did not yet oppose each other so sharply as in France and in England. In Germany this opposition is not yet completely present since in the first place manufacturers still offer us a friendly hand by way of mediation and in the second place because the workers are not organized, they do not regard themselves as a party. We do not want the senseless destruction of capital [that doesn't mean the means of production, it means the capitalist system—JS] but we do want to improve our condition in general. Therefore, we must organize."

—quoted in P.H. Noyes, *Organization and Revolution: Working-Class Associations in the German Revolutions of 1848-1849* (1966)

But when he spoke of organizing, Born was talking about the formation of trade unions. Born simply assumed that the situation of dual power would continue indefinitely, ensuring the working class the freedom to peacefully pursue their economic struggles. It is to be expected, then, that Born was opposed to any second radical-democratic revolution which might jeopardize the tenuous freedoms newly won:

"We know very well that we could get into imminent danger with any unintelligent attempts at a new revolution. We would lose all that we had already achieved and would put Germany into a state of anarchy, in which we know not who would come to power. At this point our interest and the interest of the capitalist meet. We both want peace. We both must want it."

—*Ibid.*

Marx Against Artisan Protectionism

Marx was well aware of the political trajectory of Born and attempted to deflect his errant follower. When at one point Born rejected an offer by some student radicals to jointly protest the anti-democratic franchise laws, Marx wrote to him: "The proletariat has not the right to isolate itself. However hard it may seem, it must not reject anything that could separate it from its allies" (quoted in David McLellan, *Karl Marx: His Life and Thought*). Unsuccessfully Marx attempted to impress upon Born the realization that if the bourgeois-democratic forces were defeated then his trade unions would not last much longer.

But Marx also confronted Born over the question of artisan protectionism, which was far more profound than his blithe business-as-usual trade-union economism. Marx opposed artisan protectionism, while the overwhelming majority of the German artisan proletariat did not. So that in early 1849 there were two contenders for parliament in Cologne and, while both were democrats, one was a radical-bourgeois lawyer who was a close ally of Marx and the other was a master artisan who wanted to restore the guild system. It is significant that Marx supported the bourgeois lawyer and not the artisan protectionist.

In justifying his position Marx wrote an important document, wherein he states:

"We are certainly the last people to desire the rule of the bourgeoisie. . . . But we say to the workers and the petty bourgeois: it is better to suffer in the contemporary bourgeois society, whose industry creates the means for the foundation of a new society that will liberate you all, than to revert to a bygone society, which, on the pretext of saving your classes, thrusts the entire nation back into medieval barbarism."

—"Montesquieu LVI," in articles from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* 1848-49.

So, Marx found himself in the situation where in the midst of a revolution his economic program was politically closer to the left bourgeois democrats than to the mass of the German proletarians. As a result, Marx was able to exercise leadership over the German proletariat only episodically and in generally defensive situations. His position against artisan protectionism very much narrowed his tactical options. It foreshadowed the reason why Marx was not able to create a mass proletarian organization in 1848 or for that matter in the 1860's. But nevertheless it is a tribute to Marx's revolutionary integrity that he did not support what he considered a reactionary economic policy for the sake of gaining the support of the masses of artisan proletarians whom Marx and Engels struggled to lead.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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Apartheid...

continued from page 1

Many of the boycotts being promoted by campus groups today are simply calls for atomized individuals to take a "moral stand" against apartheid. From the World Council of Churches to the YSA and RSB come appeals for American students not to invest in Krugerrands nor buy Del Monte sardines canned in Namibia. It is the task of revolutionists to mobilize anti-apartheid sentiment in actions which can concretely aid and advance the struggle against apartheid in South Africa; the conscience-soothing "moral stands" can be left to the preachers and inveterate pacifists, with their 'socialist' hangers-on.

Even if such consumer boycotts were to become popular, their effect on the South African economy would be next to negligible. South Africa exports mainly industrial raw materials, which would not be affected by a consumer boycott. Likewise, the demand for Krugerrands overwhelmingly comes from the world's most powerful financial empires, which are not about to cease their currency transactions out of moral heartache. At best, consumer boycotts can play a useful role when organized as an auxiliary to a broader campaign of protest centered on labor action; for example, a strike to force Del Monte to recognize trade-union rights for the black workers employed by its South African/Namibian subsidiary.

In addition to these impotent consumer boycotts, an anti-apartheid "strategy" gaining ground on campus is the demand that American universities dump their stock holdings in corporations which operate in South Africa or otherwise do business with the South Africans. While revolutionists fight against all military training and research on campus, the "divest now" liberals limit the protest to a demand which challenges neither the administration, nor the Vorster regime nor the U.S. corporations. It is not accidental that some 23 Democratic legislators in California have urged the University of California Regents to "divest now" and that Wisconsin Attorney General Bronson La Follette last spring ruled that University of Wisconsin holdings in corporations linked to South Africa was in violation of state anti-discrimination laws.

While perhaps an inconvenience for university trustees, such stock dumping merely means that some other corporation will buy up the shares, while the university re-invests in some other corporations exploiting countries other than South Africa. Instead, students should call for the nationalization of the private universities and for abolishing the administration and their boards of big-shot trustees, placing the universities under student/teacher/campus-worker control.

But the "divest now" demand is sometimes presented as the opening wedge of a wider strategy of pressuring the U.S. government and the American bourgeoisie to end its "complicity" with South Africa. No matter how well intentioned most of the "divest now" protests, such a strategy accepts capitalism and only asks that imperialism be made less "immoral." It is to say that Columbia University investments in Harlem slum real estate is somehow more "moral" than its stock holdings in corporations with real estate in South Africa. It is to say that General Motors' exploitation is less "tainted" in white Britain than in black South Africa.

If carried to its logical conclusion, the "divestment" strategy leads straight to advocating one set of capitalist investments and imperialist policies over another. In fact, such a position has already been taken by the YSA, those practiced purveyors of liberal cretinism whose program

for enforcing black rights in South Boston is to demand that Washington send in troops from the same U.S. Army that defended "human rights" in Vietnam.

Early this summer in Chicago the YSA distributed a leaflet issued by the "Chicago Coalition on Southern Africa" (which includes the YSA front group, National Student Coalition Against Racism) which detailed how First National City Bank and Continental Bank both have financial connections with South Africa. But the leaflet went on to demand with capitalized emphasis: "CLOSE YOUR ACCOUNTS AT FIRST NATIONAL AND CONTINENTAL IN PROTEST ON JUNE 16! OPEN YOUR ACCOUNTS AT SOUTH SHORE BANK, AMALGAMATED BANK or some other bank which does not make loans to South Africa and does not sell the Krugerrand." So wretchedly reformist are these "socialist" stock brokers that they are even beneath Kautskyan social democracy, which at least demanded, in the words of Lenin, "absolutely ridiculous schemes for 'reform,' such as police supervision of the trusts or banks."

Sechaba



WhiteCape Town students demonstrate.

While some Chicago bankers may be indebted to the YSA, this "struggle" to shift personal savings accounts is less than impotent even as a moral gesture. American capitalism is so monopolized that every bank intersects or interconnects to some extent with the vast financial empires of the corporate giants with holdings in South Africa. If the YSA were to take its moral sweatings seriously, then these junior reformists would have to denounce everyone with a bank account (or insurance policy, pension fund and so on) for "complicity" with apartheid.

Similar idiot moralism reigned during the Vietnam war era, when liberal pacifists called on workers not to "legitimize" the U.S. government by paying income tax. By this criteria of "complicity" everyone who had their income tax withheld by their employers, or who even paid sales taxes, was morally "tainted."

Imperialist Boycotts: When and Why

At bottom, the "divest now" strategy is an attempt to get the Carter administration to live up to its "Human Rights" bombast and enforce existing or threatened boycotts against the white-supremacist regimes in southern Africa. But the reaction of the American and French governments to the recent rumors of an impending atomic test sheds light on why the imperialists would resort to sanctions against South Africa.

It has long been known that Pretoria has been bending its efforts toward developing nuclear capacity. For some time reliable reports have appeared detailing how both the U.S. and France, as well as other countries, have been assisting the South Africans with their nuclear program.

But this time a hue and cry was raised by both France and the Carter administration. On August 22 French Foreign Minister Louis de Guiringaud warned the Vorster regime that any

atomic testing on its part would provoke "grave consequences"—namely, trade sanctions. Even though South African Foreign Minister Roelof Botha assured the U.S. that the reports were "wholly and totally unfounded," Carter indicated in appropriately diplomatic language that he didn't buy their protestations of innocence, warning that the U.S. would "continue to monitor the situation very closely." Meanwhile, Carter administration spokesmen began hinting that the U.S. was considering economic sanctions on South Africa.

What has triggered the international diplomatic furor is that the new reports, based on secret documents acquired by the African National Congress, show that the South African atomic program is being developed under the direct aegis of West Germany. Following the Axis defeat in World War II, the victorious imperialist powers, headed by the United States, prevented West Germany, through treaty agreements and other measures, from acquiring nuclear weapons. But now West Germany is actually involved in developing nuclear weapons in South Africa, thereby circumventing these imperialist-imposed sanctions.

It could not be more clear that the U.S. imperialists seriously consider trade boycotts not out of concern for the "human rights" of the oppressed black masses of South Africa but in response to shifting military relationships between rival imperialist powers. Behind the "Human Rights" campaign is the attempt by the Carter administration to re-establish a modicum of moral credibility for a government badly discredited by the debacle in Indochina and the Watergate scandals. It is an attempt to mobilize public opinion in support of an aggressive imperialist foreign policy.

Only one day after warning South Africa to conduct its nuclear development "under international safeguards and instructions" (that is, to exclude the West Germans) Carter issued a secret directive of his own that called for improving the combat ability of the American forces stationed in West Germany and reviewing missile "targeting policy" so as to ensure that U.S. nuclear war heads aimed at the USSR would inflict "unacceptable damage" (*New York Times*, 26 August).

Whether or not they echo Carter's rhetoric, those who advocate a total economic boycott of South Africa can only end up supporting the imperialist war machine. To be logical, they should advocate the building of more Trident submarines, for how else could such a boycott be really enforced against the possibility of continued trade with South Africa by the U.S.' economic rivals? In reality, the only possibility of a capitalist economic boycott of South Africa would be as a maneuver by one side of an incipient inter-imperialist war.

Sanctions and Revolutionary Marxism

An object lesson in how liberal and reformist cries for the "democratic" imperialists to boycott the "unjust," "undemocratic" capitalist states only serve as ideological camouflage for imperialist ploys took place in 1935, when sanctions were proposed against Italy for its invasion of Ethiopia. In that period the "democratic" imperialists resorted to sanctions against Mussolini only under the impact of inter-imperialist rivalries and shifting international alliances prefiguring renewed world war (in particular, Italy refused to join France and Britain in an anti-German alliance).

While the Stalinists and Social Democrats called upon the "democratic" imperialists and the League of Nations to boycott fascist Italy, the American Trotskyists sharply opposed their arguments justifying sanctions:

"...sanctions are war measures. They in-

clude withdrawal of financial credit, embargoes on trade, various forms of boycott. To enforce them genuinely would require a blockade of the country against whom the sanctions were invoked. The probable, the almost certain outcome of such a blockade, as history has so often proved, is war.... "Thus it follows that sanctions must be either ineffectual a kind of large-scale bluff or they must lead to war.... "Marxists, then, reject and expose as betrayal any and all advocacy of League or government 'sanctions.'"

John West, *War and the Workers* (1935)

While opposing calls for the United States and the other "Democracy" to make good their anti-fascist rhetoric by ending their investments in Italy, the Trotskyists advocated an international campaign, which might include "a time-limited boycott" by trade unions, aimed at protesting the Italian attempt to annex Ethiopia (*New Militant*, 17 August 1935). For example, in South Africa, members of the Communist League, the Trotskyist organization, agitated among blacks for workers' boycotts of Italy and exposed the Stalinist-pacifist reliance on the South African government. Several South African Trotskyists went to jail as a result of their courageous work.

Not only are capitalist sanctions reactionary but, in the final analysis, utopian as well. The capitalist world system is so interconnected that even imperialist war may not mean the complete cessation of trade between the embattled nations.

In the midst of World War II, for example, the U.S. Department of Justice discovered a list of 162 patent agreements between American corporations and I.G. Farbenindustrie, the German chemical trust. But unlike the liberals, who had clamored for General Electric and the other corporations involved to "divest now," the American Trotskyists argued:

"The liberal, trade union and Social-Democratic papers have been wailing woefully at the U.S.-Nazi cartel conspiracies. The 'solutions' they offer are beneath contempt.

"A typical liberal newspaper, *P.M.* which has published more on these conspiracies than any other daily, seriously called on the small stockholders of Standard Oil to take steps to oust the trust officials responsible for the agreements with I.G. Farben. The editors of *P.M.* must be aware of the absurdity of this proposal....

"Neither the monopolies nor their cartel agreements can be eliminated within the framework of the capitalist system. They are bred by the system. They will disappear only with the end of that system."

Fourth International, June 1942

The Main Enemy is at Home!

Today, it is the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League which uphold the program of Trotskyism. It is only the SL/SYL which fights for labor to "hot cargo" (refuse to handle) military goods bound for the white-supremacist regimes and to take class action aimed at forcing U.S. "multinationals" operating in South Africa to recognize trade-union rights for their black and "Coloured" workers. In contrast to the boycott schemes abounding today, which are either empty moralistic gestures or else in effect appeals for imperialist trade war, we advocate concrete demonstrations of international labor solidarity—including coordinated labor boycotts when appropriate—with clearly-focused goals, such as for the release of the victims of apartheid terror.

Our task as communist youth on campus is to win students to a revolutionary perspective. Fighting against all utopian-liberal schemes which demand of the imperialists nothing more than shifting their investments from southern Africa to another area, we stand for expropriating the bourgeoisie — not only the American but also their South African junior partners. To all the imperialist "human rights" demagogues the SYL counterposes that revolutionary-internationalist slogan: "THE MAIN ENEMY IS AT HOME!" ■

Teng...

continued from page 1

As for foreign policy, the Hua-Teng-Yeh leadership is determined to continue to pursue its alliance with U.S. imperialism against so-called "Soviet social-imperialism." Thus, shortly after the Eleventh Congress, U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance was warmly received by Teng, who reportedly joked about his most recent return from the political wilderness. (Unfortunately, Vance refused to disclose to the press some samples of Teng's notoriously pungent wit.) Vance also met with Hua; he was the first U.S. official besides the disgraced Richard Nixon to do so.

Klonsky's The One!

One month previously, however, another American was able to enjoy the rare "privilege" of shaking the hand that shook Richard Nixon's. This dignitary—feted in the Great Hall of the People and pictured on the front page of the *Peking People's Daily*—was one Michael Klonsky, Chairman of the Communist Party (Marxist Leninist) [CP(ML)—formerly October League].

But no mere pilgrimage was this. By its protocol formalities and its prominent press coverage (the *People's Daily* delayed publication by several hours in order to run a photo display of the Chinese reception for Klonsky) the Peking regime made it quite clear that Klonsky was "their man." After years of competing with other American Maoist groups, the CP(ML) now has the Chinese "franchise."

For years, the Klonsky outfit has demonstrated its cur-like loyalty to whatever line appeared in *Peking Review* and whoever was on top in the Forbidden City. No betrayal by the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy was too much for Klonsky to swallow.

The October League became notorious for shamelessly lauding every imperialist statesman and "Third World" dictator that found their way to the banquet tables in Peking—and a few that haven't. After China sealed its rapprochement with the Shah of Iran in 1973, the October League fell virtually silent about the fierce repression in Iran and even came out against the slogan, "No Arms to the Shah!" Similarly, the CP(ML) denounced reports of Idi Amin's savagery as simply "racist imperialist propaganda," while attacking the reformist pro-Moscow Communist Party for calling Zaire dictator Joseph Mobutu "the CIA's hit man in the murder of the martyred Patrice Lumumba" (*The Call*, 30 May 1977).

During the civil war in Angola the CP(ML) screamed about Russian so-called "imperialism," but failed to call for the real imperialists—the South Africans—to withdraw from Angola. The pages of the *Call* are rife with reprints from the European Maoist press supporting NATO, while the CP(ML) recently went so far as to criticize Carter for "appeasing Soviet aggression to a great extent" by his "decision to drop the B-1 bomber" (*The Call*, 11 July 1977):

Who's Kidding Who?

But what secured the Chinese "franchise" for Klonsky was above all his slavish support for whoever comes out on top in Peking. When the Chiang Ching clique was purged last year, Klonsky hailed Hua without batting an eyelash (although cribbing everything from *Peking Review* for fear of committing a blunder).

Likewise, when Teng was officially restored, the CP(ML) fawned before the very Stalinist bureaucrat whom it had previously condemned as the arch-"revisionist" and "capitalist

roader." It was only last year that the *Call* categorically stated in its May Day edition that Teng "represented the bourgeois class in China" and that "The struggle [against Teng], initiated and led by the party and Chairman Mao Tse Tung, exposed attempts by Teng and his followers to restore capitalism through a reversal of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution."

But now Klonsky has taken pen in hand to explain how the return of Teng represents... "a great victory" (*The Call*, 1 August 1977). According to Klonsky, "Teng made some minor errors, but the 'gang of four' fabricated a list of charges against him."

for the American Maoist movement. For years rival Maoist groups in this country—in particular, the October League of Klonsky and the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) led by Bob Avakian—have been able to claim the mantle of Maoist orthodoxy for their divergent lines and pronouncements on an entire range of political issues.

But the game is over. Peking has picked its flunkies. And the big loser is Avakian.

For some time the RCP has attempted to soft pedal the more scandalous aspects of Chinese foreign policy, while justifying each and every

(*Revolution*, 15 October 1976).

Where to Now?

No matter where it might turn, the RCP cannot escape a deep political crisis. To follow tiny Albania out of the Maoist fold would be political suicide for the RCP. Who would take seriously an organization which tells U.S. workers that the font of political wisdom flows from Tirana and that "Yugoslav hegemonism" is the main danger in the world today? Who could survive a steady diet of the blithering speeches of Enver Hoxha?

But to cling to Maoist ideology would sooner or later require the RCP to write off *post-Mao* China as "capitalist." After all, Maoist dogma is based on the idealist fiction that under the dictatorship of the proletariat capitalism can be peacefully and gradually restored by cunning "revisionists" who "put profit in command." It is not necessary therefore, to demonstrate that a civil war has taken place if one really believes that the class character of a state—in particular, a proletarian state—is based not on the existing property relations (the Marxist criteria) but rather on the class psychology of its rulers. Such a "theory" has more in common with the Hindu belief in Karma than with Marxist materialism.

In fact, within the framework of Maoist ideology it is difficult to conclude that China has *not* become "capitalist." The economic policies adopted by the Eleventh Congress are not qualitatively different from the policies which were formerly denounced as "representing the bourgeois class in China." Moreover, the Chinese are now considering how to incorporate into the Chinese economy certain aspects of Yugoslav enterprise decentralization and "profit incentives"—which have always been held up by Maoists as the essence of "putting profits in command."

But even if it were to break with China while clinging to key aspects of Stalinism, the RCP will not be able to extricate itself from political crisis. Every Stalinist organization, if it is to politically survive, must have its "own" country somewhere; Stalinists without a country are doomed. And the RCP knows it. Today the RCP finds opening before it the ever-narrowing trail to political oblivion "blazed" already by the Progressive Labor Party (PL), which broke from China (and all the "socialist" countries) in the early 1970's and has since dwindled into a Stalinoid sect.

Workerism in the Service of Social Reaction

But, in one sense, the RCP has already struck off on the PL road. As was the case with PL, the RCP is attempting to gain solely through nativist-workerist posturing what it has lost in the form of international connections with a "revolutionary regime." Thus, the main activity of the RCP over the past period has been to tout its Potemkin-village "National Workers Organization," which is a carbon copy of the happily-defunct Workers Action Movement launched by PL in its heyday. In addition, the latest youth front group of the RCP (appropriately named "Youth In Action"—all action, no politics) made as its national campaign recently the staging of a publicity stunt on Wall Street that was reminiscent of the macho-exhibitionism which was passed off as "politics" by the Avakian/Klonsky-led Revolutionary Youth Movement of vintage 1969-70.

But the RCP has even less going for it today than did PL when it broke from China. After its factional struggle in SDS, PL emerged with a sizable youth group that politically represented the most serious, pro-

continued on next page

PEKING REVIEW

Soviet Social-Imperialism — Most Dangerous Source of War

NATO

Need for Improved Military Forces

UNITED STATES

President Ford Recommends Increased Defence Spending



Klonsky shakes the hand that shook Richard Nixon's: CP(ML) "franchise," the reward for slavish devotion to *Peking Review's* pro-NATO, anti-Soviet line.

What about his alleged attempt "to restore capitalism"? A mere "minor error"! And what about the list of charges against him "initiated and led by the party and Chairman Mao Tse Tung"? It was all the doing of the nefarious "Gang of Four"! It is some "socialist democracy" indeed where these alleged crypto-"capitalist roaders" can hoodwink not only Mao and the entire top leadership of the party—but also 900 million Chinese people.

To keep up with the revolving door purges, the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy has been forced to keep closing the History Museum in Tien An Men Square in Peking in order to change its "history." Unfortunately for Klonsky, the CP(ML) does not have the same resources for suppressing the "history" it scribbles in the *Call*.

Avakian Gets the "Main Blow"

Klonsky's getting the Chinese "franchise" represents a watershed

betrayal in its own more militant-sounding verbiage. Moreover, the RCP even occasionally ventured into Maoist heterodoxy, claiming, for example, that Cuba was *never* "socialist."

But despite his fancy footwork Avakian broke his political neck when he stumbled over supporting the purge of the "Gang of Four." While Klonsky rushed into print to hail the purge, *Revolution*, the more-or-less monthly of the RCP, month after month maintained a stonewalling silence.

But this telling silence, duly noted in Peking, gave the death blow to the RCP's claim to represent Chinese Stalinism in this country. And if a *coup de grace* were needed, the restoration of Teng is it, since the last recorded statement of the RCP on China was that "With the guidance of Mao's line, the Chinese people were able to recognize the line and policies of the capitalist roaders, headed this time by Teng Hsiao-ping"



Back in style: Teng (right).

Master of ostrich position: Bob Avakian (left).

working-class wing of SDS—which was then the mass, hegemonic campus radical organization. But the RCP has only the isolated RSB, known for its infantile antics and little else.

Moreover—and more important—PL, while wallowing in philistine workerism, nevertheless championed as its all-purpose slogans, "Fight Racism!" and "Fight Anti-Communism!" Although its politics are of a piece with the minimalist economism of PL, the RCP has shamelessly capitulated to anti-communism and white racism within the working class.

The RCP's refusal to defend the historic gains of the Russian Revolution by its writing off the USSR as "capitalist," stems as much from a capitulation to the anti-communist backwardness of American workers as from its increasingly heretical Maoism. In the February 1977 *Revolution*, the RCP explains that in the U.S. "more and more people will be drawn into struggle against the Soviet rulers before they grasp its capitalist and imperialist character," that is to say, while they still regard the USSR as "socialist"! This capitulation came through clearly over Angola, when *Revolution* failed to call for the withdrawal of the South African forces, while ranting about "Cuban mercenaries" like any bourgeois anti-communist rag.

Similarly, the RCP crows about its super-militant opposition to fascists. But it capitulates to the very

Rights Amendment—a simple statement of bourgeois-democratic equality—apparently believing that the organized working class doesn't have the strength to prevent the capitalists from rolling back protective labor legislation. In addition, the RCP, which rivals the Vatican in its ranting against "deviant sexual behavior," has lately given backhanded support to Anita Bryant's reactionary, religious-fundamentalist campaign against the democratic rights of homosexuals. Despite a few hypocritical words about not scapegoating homosexuals, the RCP lines up with Bryant's campaign to "Save Our Children" from homosexual teachers, "Parents should have the right to remove notorious homosexuals from any and all jobs working with children" (*Chicago Worker*, July, 1977).

Trotskyism: The Only Road to Revolution

For RCP cadres who still have subjectively revolutionary impulses, the only way out of this anti-Marxist morass is the Trotskyist analysis of the SL/SYL. All the Stalinist regimes, from Belgrade to Peking, consist of nationalist bureaucracies which exclude the working class from political power and which parasitically distort the collectivized, planned economies of these states. All revolutionary socialists must therefore unconditionally defend the property foundations of these bureau-

the counterrevolutionary Stalinist usurpers!

The RCP's retreat into mindless activism vindicates the prediction made eight months ago by the SYL, when *Young Spartacus* wrote: "Insofar as it still aspires to orthodox Maoism the RCP has demonstrated that it cannot compete with the OL for the Chinese 'franchise.'...the current power struggles in China may yet serve to sow some seeds of doubt, which cause subjectively revolutionary elements in the RCP/RSB to break with Maoism. Confronting the RCP is the revolutionary program and practice of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League. Those who aspire to make a proletarian revolution in this country must break with Stalinist reformism and embrace Trotskyism—the continuation of Leninism." ■

RFU Fusion...

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of the RFU comrades:

"We make a commitment to the party because we believe we have a chance...We are confident that it will be our program—revolutionary Trotskyism—enriched by the intervening experience of the working class in struggle which will guide the socialist revolution. Anyone who does not believe that possibility does not belong in our organization. They belong in the SWP, or the RCP, or the RSL. They belong in a party that has become cynical, that liquidates the revolutionary potential of the working class."

In their political evolution from the gay left to the banner of Trotskyism, the comrades of the RFU have demonstrated their commitment to the building of a Leninist vanguard party. The fusion marks another step forward in the struggle to reforge the Fourth International! ■

Correction

In our article "Bloodshed and Betrayal in Francoist Elections" (*Young Spartacus*, June 1977) a central democratic demand was misformulated. We stated that a Trotskyist party would champion "the legalization of all working-class parties." The correct formulation would be to demand "an end to all legal prohibitions and restrictions on political parties."

As originally stated this would imply support to the right of the bourgeois state to legalize and ban or otherwise regulate political associations. To do so would be to sow dangerous illusions among the working masses as to the alleged class-neutral role of the state as a "social arbiter." Even in the case of the state banning fascist organizations, which much of the Spanish "far left" demands, the precedent would most certainly be used against the left under altered circumstances.



Cops attack after "Youth in Action" block entrance to Stock Exchange on August 19.

racist, sexist and anti-communist attitudes and movements which spawn such scum.

For the last several years, the RCP has opposed busing, that is, opposed black peoples' democratic right of equal access to public education. It agrees with the racists that busing is necessarily an attack on the white working class. It hails the Louisville anti-busing backlash, led by the Klan, as "progressive"!

The RCP also stands with groups like ROAR in opposing the Equal

cratically deformed workers states from imperialist attack or internal counterrevolution.

But at the same time, we struggle for a workers political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucrats, whose doctrine of "socialism in one country" is a reactionary-utopian expression of the attempt to come to terms with world imperialism and preserve the global status quo by abetting counterrevolution—from Spain in 1936 to Indonesia in 1965. Defend the revolutionary gains! Defeat

Kent State...

continued from page 3

fore whatever is currently popular—has impelled the RSB to vote for negotiations with the Kent administration and against the call for ROTC and military recruiters off campus.

Last to arrive on the scene was the Communist Youth Organization (CYO), youth group of the Peking-loyal Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), which arrived with its tents long after "tent city" had been busted. Despite the CYO's vague talk about opposing "imperialism" (usually directed against the Russian degenerated workers state), these Maoists were more concerned with attacking the SYL than with driving ROTC off campus. At one demonstration a handful of CYO zealots, infuriated by our slogans demanding ROTC off campus, actively participated in an abortive attack on the SYL contingent. To be consistent with the Chinese Maoist line that the "main blow" should be directed against the USSR, the CYO should demand more ROTC programs and stepped-up military recruitment to do battle with "Soviet social-imperialism."

ROTC Off Campus!

The disparate components of the Coalition have made common cause to oppose the Trotskyist politics of the SYL.

Its inability to respond politically often drove the Coalition into frenzied attacks which included despicable displays of cop-baiting and violence-baiting (because of our political opposition to these would-be Gandhis). Coalition members at least indirectly contributed to the allegation (later retracted) by the *Akron Beacon Journal* that the SYL was a group of "outsiders" seeking to provoke violence (see "Protests Continue at Kent State," *Workers Vanguard*, 29 July 1977).

It is these fake-leftists who must bear the primary political responsibility for the failure of the Kent State protests to coalesce into anything more than pressure tactics aimed at forcing the "men of conscience" of the Department of the Interior to build a monument at Kent.

The entire "monument question" at Kent State is but the latest example of the Coalition's no-win tactics. While we are neither for nor against the building of a monument per se, this is simply one more appeal to a bourgeois agency by the same people who shout down the call for ROTC off campus. It would be far better for a monument to students gunned down opposing imperialist war to be erected by the Kent student body and not by those responsible for their death. There is always an element of nauseating hypocrisy when the state of Massachusetts proclaims a commemoration to Sacco and Vanzetti (after ordering their murder), when the German social democrats issue a stamp honoring Rosa Luxemburg (after having been responsible for her death during the suppression of the November Revolution of 1918), when the city of Paris names a boulevard in memory of Auguste Blanqui (who spent over half his life in French jails), or when the state of Indiana dedicates a museum to Eugene V. Debs (whose views led to his imprisonment during World War I). Although we do not oppose such a "monument," this can hardly be taken seriously as the goal of militant protest.

As we stated in a leaflet entitled "Lessons of Kent State: Cops and ROTC Off Campus!": "only by directing our struggle against the masters of the trigger-happy National Guard and Cops—the capitalist class—and its administration lackeys will the current protest at Kent State have any lasting significance." Indeed, the most fitting monument to the four slaughtered students would be to drive ROTC from the campus! ■

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Young Spartacus

Red Flag Union Fuses with Spartacist League

On August 20 the fusion of the Spartacist League and the Red Flag Union was announced at a public forum in Los Angeles. As Michael Weinstein, a central leader of the Red Flag Union (RFU), and Martha Phillips of the SL Central Committee explained, the fusion marks the end of a long political journey which led the RFU (formerly the Lavender and Red Union) from a sectoralist, "gay liberation/communist" organization to revolutionary Trotskyism.

In his exposition of the political evolution of the RFU, Weinstein noted,

"While we were subjectively committed to making a socialist revolution we were guided theoretically by a worldview—sectoralism and Maoism—which depended on forces other than the working class guided by a vanguard communist party to lead the revolution. Sectoralism and Maoism are united theoretically in as much as both ideologies reject the strategic centrality of the working class and view it as only one group among several that has the revolutionary potential to overthrow capitalism."

Early on in their political development toward Trotskyism the comrades of the Red Flag Union were forced to confront the SL over its Leninist position on special oppression and the question of dem-

ocratic rights. The document which served as the basis for the fusion quoted a recent *Workers Vanguard* article stating,

"The vanguard party of the working class is the force which integrates the will to resist all forms of degradation by the capitalist system. The vanguard party must be the tribune of the people, championing the rights and aspirations of all the working people and the specially oppressed."

—"Stop Anita Bryant," *WV* No. 162, 17 June 1977

The defense of the democratic rights of the oppressed—which are indivisible and must include full democratic rights for homosexuals—is essential to revolutionaries attempting to shape the class struggle. The Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth League have consistently demanded full democratic rights for homosexuals and have participated in the protests against reactionary anti-homosexual backlash, as exemplified recently by the ominous Anita Bryant campaign.

In class society homosexuals are systematically discriminated against and quite often exposed to brutal repression. This special oppression, however, is not a central component of the U.S. capitalist social order—



Joint RFU/SL forum in New York City.

as with the special oppression of women enslaved in the nuclear family or of blacks as a race-color caste concentrated in the lowest rungs of society. As such, the question of homosexual oppression, unlike that of women and blacks, does not occupy a *strategically decisive* position in the struggle for the proletarian revolution.

Why Fuse with the Spartacist League?

The question of homosexual oppression exposes the revolutionary pretensions of the many fake-left organizations who either capitulate to the petty-bourgeois radical lifestyle of the gay milieu or to backward social attitudes and the deeply-rooted prejudices of the American working class. Weinstein pointed out that for the many left groups who opportunistically courted the RFU the fusion with the SL must seem like a crime against nature.

As the RFU began its evolution away from the gay left in the direction of Trotskyism, several fake-Trotskyists presented themselves to argue that homosexuals as a group are as decisive in the class struggle as women or blacks. Such "theory" is simply a rationalization for their capitulation to prevalent New Leftist concepts that homosexuals must organize separately to fight their oppression.

For the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL), the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the Freedom Socialist Party and the LA-based Socialist Union, it was inconceivable that an organization mired in sectoralism and New Left Maoism could break decisively in the direction of Leninist politics. The SL won the RFU over politically not by tailing its poly-vanguardism, but through a hard struggle to win these comrades to the central programmatic points of Trotskyism.

Weinstein went on to attack the reactionary positions on the gay question by organizations which set their sights no higher than the current backward consciousness of the working class. A particularly disgusting example is provided by the macho-Stalinist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), which wrote in the July 1977 issue of *The Worker*:

"The worst thing about Anita [Bryant]'s Christian piety has little to do with the issue of homosexual rights. She and her moralistic legions are out to pervert people's just hatred for society's problems..."

"One of these massive social problems is homosexuality. It is certainly not simply 'just another lifestyle.'

"...homosexuality is an ugly blot on society, a perverse hatred of the opposite sex..."

Weinstein contrasted such malicious Maoist bigotry to the SL's consistent opposition to workerism, which glorifies the bourgeois consciousness that infects the working class today. Comrade Phillips added that this fusion is a further statement of the SL's commitment to fight all forms of special oppression and its confidence in the ability of revolutionaries to transform the social consciousness of the proletariat.

Significantly, in transcending the gay left, the RFU had to confront the Trotskyist position of defense of the degenerated Soviet workers state and the deformed workers states (China, Cuba, Eastern Europe, etc.) against imperialist attack. By drawing the class line on the Russian question and steadfastly defending the gains of the workers movement in those societies where capitalism has been overturned, while at the same time struggling to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies through workers political revolution, the SL was able to impress upon the RFU the overwhelming significance of this question.

As a result, a small minority of the RFU broke from the organization to the RSL's anti-Soviet Shachtmanism. Weinstein related,

"The faction fight in the RFU over the class character of the Soviet Union sealed our fate as future Spartacists for many of us... Through our study of the Russian Question, we recognized that the question of Soviet defensism was the same question which historically divided genuine communist revolutionaries from every manner of social democrat—that is, support for one's own bourgeoisie."

"Ultimately, we saw refusing to defend the Soviet Union against imperialist attack meant support for one's own supposedly 'democratic bourgeoisie' against the nasty totalitarian USSR."

The Red Flag Union/Lavender and Red Union was deeply committed to the building of a vanguard party, a task incompatible with its continued immersion in gay liberation and Maoism. This contradiction could only have resolved itself in one of two ways: through disillusionment and leaving politics or in arriving at Trotskyism. The RFU chose the second course, guided by the revolutionary leadership of the Spartacist League. The experience and political integrity of the comrades of the RFU will enrich the Spartacist League.

Weinstein's concluding remarks reflected the genuine determination

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Building the Leninist Vanguard—

From the Gay Left to Trotskyism

Spartacist League/
Red Flag Union
Fusion Forum

The Red Flag Union, formerly the Lavender & Red Union, and the Spartacist League/U.S. announce the principled Leninist fusion of their respective tendencies behind the program of revolutionary Trotskyism.

For the RFU fusion is the culmination of two years of political struggle and reorientation which brought it from being a "gay liberation/communist" organization sympathetic to Maoism to a definitive break

- Permanent Revolution vs. Socialism in One Country
- The "Russian Question" and Jimmy Carter's "Human Rights" Crusade
- A Marxist Analysis of the Struggle for Democratic Rights for Homosexuals
- The Leninist Party & the Specially Oppressed

both with sectoralism and with the Stalinist theory of "socialism in one country."

The fusion exemplifies the process by which the vanguard communist party will be built and underscores the role of the party as the tribune of all the oppressed.

As one RFU spokesman stated, "I am a communist who happens to be a homosexual. I have one and only one political identity—as a fighter for the proletarian revolution."

Forums will be held at the following dates and places:

U.C.L.A.—September 30th

Seattle—September 30th

S.F. State University—September 7th
San Francisco (citywide)—September 10th

Boston—September 30th

Stanford University—September 29th

Washington—September 24th

For more information on time and location of forums, contact the nearest SL/SYL local (see Directory).