

Young Spartacus

Number 45

25 cents

JULY-AUGUST 1976

Black Struggles Mount in Southern Africa

Smash Apartheid—For Workers Revolution!

The brutal and wanton killing of more than 150 black protesters by the racist Vorster government of South Africa has riveted world attention on the crisis rapidly engulfing the rabidly white-supremacist regimes in southern Africa. While South African Prime Minister Vorster and police overlord James Kruger have vowed "to maintain law and order at all costs," the possibility remains that the flames of rebellion of South African students and youth may yet ignite militant struggles by the powerful black proletariat of South Africa.

A week of bloody street fighting began on June 16, when Vorster's vicious police fired on thousands of protesting black high school students in the sprawling, all-black township of Soweto, ten miles

from Johannesburg. As over 10,000 young people joined in resisting police attacks, fighting spread to seven more black townships and to at least two black universities (one on the Natal Coast hundreds of miles from Johannesburg). In Witwatersrand police and white vigilantes broke up joint demonstrations by black and white university students against cop brutality.

The ferocity of the repression unleashed by the apartheid regime surpasses even the Sharpeville Massacre of 1960, in which 69 unarmed black anti-apartheid marchers were gunned down in cold-blooded murder by South African police. Although the recent repression provoked an international diplomatic outcry, imperialist kingpin Henry Kissinger went ahead with his talks with Vorster in West Germany, the first summit meeting between Washington and Pretoria in more than two decades.

continued on page 3



Soweto: Victim of apartheid massacre.

Campaign '76: Fanning the Flames of Racist Reaction

Even though the Democrats and Republicans have yet to converge on New York and Kansas City for their staged presidential nominating conventions, the two capitalist parties have already fielded their candidate: Jim Crow.

This year racial polarization has not dominated the elections to the overwhelming extent that it did in 1968 and 1972, although mass unemployment, job insecurity and a declining standard of living for working people fuel racial tensions. But the capitalist candidates nevertheless seek to exploit racist backlash and political conservatism.

While the candidates have avoided most major issues, not to mention the spectre of Watergate—so much so that journalists covering the primaries seem to be dozing at their typewriters—Gerald Ford, Ronald Reagan and Jimmy Carter have all vociferously voiced their stand on at least one important political issue: "forced busing."

As black unemployment soars and many gains won by black people over the last decade are now being eroded or reversed under the impact of the economic downturn, the Republicans and the Democrats, backed by the racially insensitive sellout labor bureaucracy, increasingly oppose busing—a means to implement desegregation and ensure the democratic right of black people for equal access to public educational facilities.

Presently leading the pack of anti-busing demagogues is Gerald Ford, the president nobody elected. Now neck-and-neck with his Republican rival Ronald Reagan, the ultra-conservative who denounces busing

with anti-"big government" bombast, Gerald Ford likewise has trotted out "government non-interference" as the stalking horse to pull his wobbly bandwagon into the Republican nominating convention.

Racist Republican One-Upmanship

No less than Reagan, Gerald Ford staunchly opposes busing to achieve school desegregation. Even as a Congressman Ford consistently supported anti-busing legislation. More recently, while on the campaign trail, Ford has beckoned the racist backlash with pledges such as, "I am totally opposed to court-ordered forced busing" (quoted in *New York Times*, 21 May 1976).

But, as his California competitor galloped from one primary victory to the next, Ford attempted to turn the tables on Reagan by adopting an even more aggressive segregationist stand. Only days before the Michigan primary in early May Attorney General Edward Levi, later revealed to have been acting under a White House directive, announced that the Justice Department intended to intervene in the United States Supreme Court on behalf of racist anti-busing groups appealing the Boston busing plan. When grilled about the Justice Department bombshell, Ford feigned wide-eyed ignorance.

Less than a week later, however, Ford publicly instructed the same Edward Levi to "look for an appropriate and proper case" through which to argue before the Supreme Court that busing orders be much

continued on page 2

South Vietnam:

ONE YEAR OF STALINIST RULE

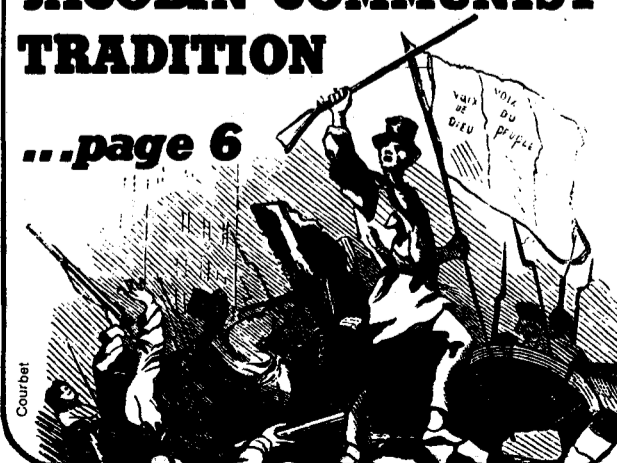


...page 4

Nayan Chanda

MARXISM AND THE JACOBIN COMMUNIST TRADITION

...page 6



Campaign '76...

continued from page 1

more restricted in scope. Perhaps Boston? Indeed! At once Levi arranged meetings with both supporters and opponents of the "Phase Two" busing plan currently in effect in Boston. According to the *New York Times* (19 May 1976), ROAR leader Louise Day Hicks and her racist sidekick, John McDonough of the Boston School Committee, left the palaver with Levi "hopeful and satisfied," while NAACP leader Roy Wilkins and other civil rights activists emerged "angry and disheartened."

Ford Tosses Anti-Busing Bill to Congress

Then, decrying that "our domestic tranquility and the future of American education" were threatened, Ford on June 24 dumped into Congress a bundle of legislation which would impose a maximum five-year limit on almost all busing orders, which would drastically circumscribe the scope of any busing plans, and which would permit busing only when intentional discrimination by local school boards leading to greater segregation could be demonstrated. So much for school desegregation!

Yet Ford's calculated bid to racist reaction has been so blatant and partisan that even the liberal establishment has been provoked to protest. Thus, an editorial in the *New York Times* (5 June 1976) warns that Ford is "scratching at raw sores" and chides,

"Though politicians cannot be expected to abstain from politics in an election year [!], a President on the hustings has the obligation not to abandon the responsibilities of his office to the expedient demands of his candidacy."

The busing decisions, which the Ford administration has targeted and the *New York Times* in the past has bemoaned, by no means represent a sweeping implementation of desegregation. On the contrary, some 600 public school districts across the country still remain untouched by desegregation decisions enacted during the last two decades. Moreover, the busing plans now in effect, notably in Boston, are tightly circumscribed by a welter of restrictions, such as the Supreme Court ban on cross-district busing.

Especially now, when the capitalist candidates are catering to racist backlash and seeking to stall desegregation, busing must be supported as a minimal first step in the direction of integrating the public schools and breaking down the barriers confining the black and Spanish-speaking people to the ghettos.

secular—represent enclaves and bastions of racial segregation and class-biased privilege. All private educational institutions should be nationalized, adequately financed at the federal level and desegregated by all necessary means, including "forced busing."

Carter to Blacks: Grin and Bear It

Meanwhile, the Democratic presidential contenders—those self-appointed "friends" of black civil rights—have not trailed far behind Ford and Reagan in their bids for the conservative vote. On the busing issue, as on virtually every major political question this year, Jimmy Carter has demonstrated his ability to talk out of both sides of his mouth while lying through his teeth.

Carter claims to support desegregation but opposes busing. In an interview with the *Boston Globe* (16 June 1976), he remarked that his "unique" qualification for the presidency was "my relationship with poor people. That's where I come from. That's where I lived. Those are my people, not only whites, but particularly blacks."

Carter indeed has a "relationship with poor people." He's a peanut boss from way back. Perhaps "my people" refers to the workers who slave on his farm

of the few honest remarks of his entire messianic campaign.

While the gaggle of liberal Democratic losers at first grumbled about the overtly segregationist stance and record of Carter, the entire Democratic Party now has swung behind the "new" Jimmy Carter, backing his racist opposition to busing. The recently adopted Democratic Party draft platform, which reflects without exception the so-called "mainstream" policies advocated by Carter, brands busing "a judicial tool of last resort" and proposes instead "other techniques," such as magnet schools, pairing of schools and adjustment of school district boundaries. But this is the same position taken by both Ford and Reagan! In fact, these less-than-token measures have already been advocated in the Esch amendment, which Gerald Ford backs as a means to avoid busing entirely.

The Workers Have No Candidate

With their anti-busing proclamations both the Republicans and the Democrats fan the flames of racist reaction. Both the Republicans and the Democrats again and again have signaled to the racist anti-busing forces that the federal government will not stand behind school desegregation,



R to L top: UPI/AP/AP; bottom: UPI

Moreover, Ford also has floated a series of other proposals designed to undermine federally enforced school desegregation: to create a national council to assist local communities in schemes for avoiding busing; to divert busing funds into ghetto ("disadvantaged") schools, with the aim of promoting "quality education" in segregated schools as an alternative to an "integrated atmosphere"; to strengthen the Federal law requiring courts to impose busing only as a "last resort"; and to review past desegregation decisions, including the landmark 1954 Supreme Court ruling banning "separate but equal" public facilities.

But to achieve more than token integration, busing must be extended to the suburban schools and to all school districts maintaining a segregated system. In addition, low-rent, integrated quality public housing is needed to begin to undercut the residential segregation upon which public school segregation is based.

Ford Backs Jim Crow Private Schools

Only two days before his primary contest with Reagan in California, Ford "coincidentally" announced his support for segregated private schools, provided only that they do not receive federal funds or tax breaks. In this country private "academies" and parochial schools, of course, provide the main means for whites to escape desegregation in the public schools; in Boston, for example, nearly one third of the white students have left the public school system, largely in response to busing (*New York Times*, 15 May 1976).

The Supreme Court, however, ruled on June 25 that private non-sectarian schools may not discriminate against black people on account of race. But the ruling is expected to have little impact, since most private academies, especially the over 4,000 "freedom schools" established in the South following the 1954 Supreme Court desegregation decision, maintain segregation without a formal color bar. Moreover, the Supreme Court ruling does not extend to segregated parochial schools. Only four days earlier the Supreme Court buttressed the parochial school system by ruling that states may provide funds to church-affiliated colleges and universities.

These moves must be opposed. Compulsory, secular integrated public education is a basic democratic demand. Private schools—both parochial and

for less than peanuts—\$2.54 an hour.

Certainly "his people" recall that in 1970, before the Georgia gubernatorial primary, Carter made a well-publicized visit to a whites-only private academy to "reassure Georgians of my support for private education" (*Harper's Magazine*, March 1976). One month later Carter sneered, "I could win without a single Negro vote."

While governor of Georgia in 1972 Carter threatened to back a racist school boycott against a desegregation plan in Augusta unless the state legislature called on Congress to initiate a constitutional ban on busing. Despite his slick country-boy/evangelical presidential campaign Carter has registered his opposition to integration by defending—in a so-called "slip of the tongue"—the "ethnic purity" of segregated neighborhoods against "alien groups" and a "black intrusion." This is outrageous, although certainly one

which has become a storm center in the fight for black equality and civil rights.

Thus, as Gerald Ford maneuvered to outflank Reagan on the busing issue, the South Boston "Information" Center, the headquarters for the anti-busing forces in Boston, declared, "As long as there is forced busing in this city, violence and racial confrontation are unavoidable." No less ominous, Dennis Callahan of the paramilitary South Boston Marshals, a fascist-infested gang responsible for spearheading murderous attacks against black people, threatened "open warfare against the Federal Supreme Court and all its subsidiaries, the NAACP, and all those in favor of forced busing" (quoted in *Boston Globe*, 15 June 1976). Racist attacks must be met with the formation of labor/black defense in Boston!

The interests of black people and the working class as a whole stand counterposed to the twin parties of capitalism and their candidates, who can offer only imperialist wars, racial oppression, degrading unemployment and austerity up and down the line. But the working people remain chained to the parties of the bosses in large measure by the class-collaborationist trade-union bureaucracy and pro-capitalist civil rights misleaders. A political fight must be waged within the unions to replace the sellout bureaucracy with a leadership committed to a class-struggle program.

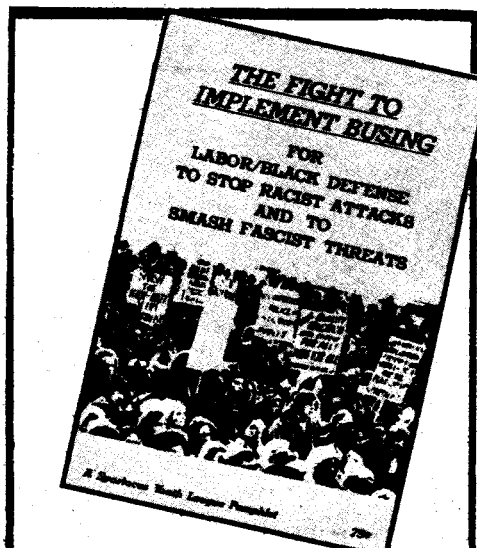
In this presidential election the working class, and especially the specially-oppressed black and Spanish-speaking people, have no candidate. The task confronting socialists and labor militants is the struggle to forge a workers party based on the trade unions fighting for a workers government pledged to expropriating the capitalist class. FOR BLACK LIBERATION THROUGH PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION! ■

...on the move?

If you want to keep receiving your monthly *Young Spartacus* please let us know at least two weeks before you move.

Send your new and old address to:
Spartacus Youth Publishing Co.
Box 825, Canal Street Station
New York, NY 10013

Through manipulation of the Justice Department, behind-closed-doors meetings and off-the-record proposals "leaked" from the White House Ford has exploited the explosive busing issue for his re-election campaign. Even though Levi subsequently withdrew his decision to intervene on the side of the Boston bigots, and even though two weeks later the Supreme Court in a ho-hum "no comment" ruling declined to review the Boston busing plan, Ford nevertheless had succeeded in gaining considerable political mileage, taking the offensive against "forced busing" while Reagan flopped in his effort to inject the Panama Canal as an electoral issue.



Make checks payable to: Spartacus Youth Publishing Co., Box 825, Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10013.

75¢

Black Struggles Mount...

continued from page 1

The student protest began at the Pheferi Junior Secondary School in Soweto, where the word *singeni*—"we will not go in"—was lettered across school doors and hundreds of students boycotted classes. The protest was touched off by a new government decree requiring that black students be taught half of their courses in Afrikaans, the Dutch-derived language of Vorster's Nationalist Party. While English-speaking white students are also required to learn Afrikaans, it is not required for them as a language of instruction.

Apartheid: Degradation and Subjugation

The apartheid system permeates education in South Africa. Black students, who are forcibly segregated in shabby schools, receive so-called "Bantu education" as training for lives as menial laborers without political and democratic rights. On the average

the government spends the equivalent of about \$700 per year on every white student, but only \$41 on each black student. Black Soweto has only one high school for every 16,000 families, while white Johannesburg has one for every 1,300 families. Discrimination is so blatant that "public education" is free for whites, but not for blacks!

Thus, the language issue is symbolic, the more link in the endless chain of racist outrages binding black South Africans in semi-slavery. Four-and-a-half million whites dominate industry, commerce and skilled jobs and monopolize political power, while 18-million black Africans, Asians and "coloreds" (people of mixed race) are color-coded in a medieval hierarchy of disenfranchisement. The muscle of South Africa's mines and industries is black, yet the super-exploited blacks are legally prohibited from joining or organizing unions. At every level and throughout every aspect of South African society apartheid and capitalism are inextricably fused into a single

complex of ruthless exploitation and barbaric oppression. The destruction of one requires the destruction of the other.

Government attacks on South Africa's black majority have escalated recently, with Vorster pressing to formally deprive blacks of South African citizenship. The government is using the excuse that "national homelands"—barbed-wire bantustan wastelands with ghettos—are being established for the "separate development" of each major African ethnic/tribal group. Thus, the Xhosa people, for example, must now live in the Transkei "homeland" or they will officially become stateless, despite the fact that most members of the Xhosa tribe, South Africa's most numerous, have never resided in the Transkei. These undeveloped "homelands" comprise only 13 percent of South Africa's territory, although black South Africans constitute over 70 percent of the total population.

Likewise, draconian legal repression is mounting, with a new Promotion of State Security Bill (called the "SS Bill" by South African liberals) augmenting the iron-fisted Suppression of Communism Act of 1950. The new

"SS Bill" fully legalizes imprisonment without trial and increases the government's power to ban opposition media and organizations. At the same time, South Africa has boosted defense expenditure by 42 percent; even more ominous, Vorster recently has been hinting that his armed forces are developing nuclear capacity (*Newsweek*, 17 May 1976).

Only Workers Revolution Can Smash Apartheid

In the present situation of volatile black resistance in South Africa, a revolutionary party would intervene and raise demands for the abolition of all apartheid laws and repressive legislation as well as demands for full democratic rights for black South Africans, including universal suffrage and the right to form organizations of proletarian struggle (in particular, trade unions and political parties). In addition, communists would demand immediate independence for South West Africa (Namibia) and an end to all racist bantustan schemes. At this time revolutionists above all must fight to break down the total segregation and regimentation of the black masses upon which the apartheid system is based. While the struggle for democratic, trade-union and political rights of the non-white masses is urgently necessary, a South African communist vanguard aims the struggle not toward the creation of an illusory "liberalized" bourgeois regime but toward the smashing of the capitalist state. Given the caste character of South African society, the struggle for democratic rights is deeply interwoven with the class question. Thus, the struggle for proletarian power will be unlocked through the smashing of the caste-apartheid system.

Moreover, much of South Africa's proletariat is contract labor imported from Mozambique, Zambia and other surrounding black African states; the ethnic/tribal ties of this circulating workforce cross many borders. Consequently, a revolution in South Africa—the economic powerhouse of all sub-Saharan Africa—would quickly spread to the rest of southern Africa, liberating the entire area from the economic grip of imperialism and permitting an all-sided social transformation. The enormous power and revolutionary potential of South Africa's black proletariat gives it the historic task of building the foundations of a socialist southern Africa.

But today the proletariat of South Africa remains without the revolutionary leadership needed to organize and advance the struggle against capitalist apartheid. Under the fierce repression unleashed by the infamous 1950 Suppression of Communism Act and the illegalization of African political organizations a decade later, all ostensibly revolutionary organizations in South Africa have been driven underground, with many of their leaders and militants imprisoned.

Although the Kremlin clique and pro-Moscow Stalinist parties currently strut as the champions of "national liberation" struggles in southern Africa, the South African Communist Party (CPSA) for decades has in fact subordinated the interests of the black masses to its utopian-reformist strategies for pressuring the bourgeoisie to abandon apartheid. Even during its ultra-left binge in the late 1920's and early 1930's, the CPSA was willing to accommodate apartheid, stressing that the revolutionary movement "need not necessarily be composed of proletarian elements[!], or have a revolutionary or republican programme [!], or a democratic base [!!!]" (J. A. La Guma, *A National Revolutionary Movement of Black South Africa*, 1928).

When the Communist International a few years later somersaulted into the aggressive class collaborationism of the "Popular Front" the CPSA began to increasingly capitulate to apartheid rule. In the mid-thirties the CPSA actually joined an all-white "People's Front," organized by the Trades and Labour Council, that refused to even

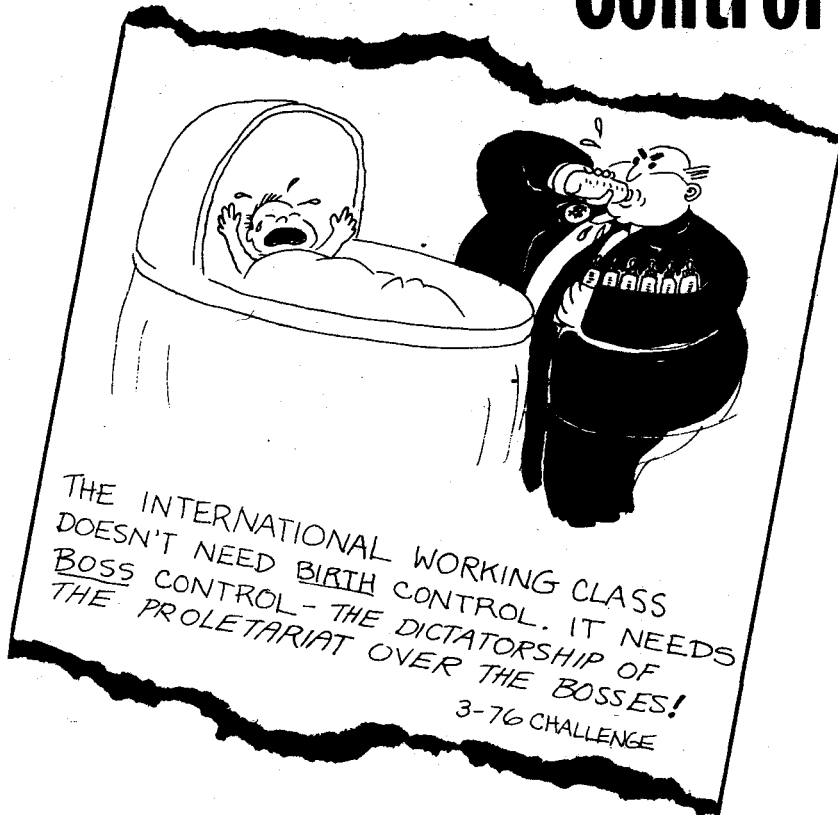
continued on page 8

"Progressive" Labor Opposes Birth Control

Birth Control

Dear CHALLENGE:
How and when did PLP come out with a line against birth control? We are referring to the cartoon (5/27) which states rather bluntly "The international working class doesn't need birth control." We don't really think the party has a reactionary line like that, but the cartoon could leave that clear impression with someone who didn't know. Granted that the international working class could feed and support more people with the dictatorship of the proletariat—but one individual woman supposed to become baby factories? Could the editors please clarify?
Comradely,
T. Harris & G. Burrill

C-D Comment: We think that the primary aspect of the cartoon is correct in that it shows the bosses sucking our livelihood for profit.



In a disgusting display of Stalinist puritanism, the Progressive Labor Party (PL) has recently flaunted its opposition to birth control in a "cartoon" appearing in the May 27 issue of *Challenge* (see above). This repulsive pandering to backward attitudes in the working class apparently has taken some PL supporters by surprise. For a subsequent issue of *Challenge* (June 10) carries a letter to the editor (above) questioning—in shocked disbelief—that the "revolutionary communist" PL could hold such a reactionary position. But the *Challenge* editors stonewalled the criticism, reaffirming the "primary aspect" of the "cartoon."

While this caricature of Vatican "right-to-life" moralism is certainly reprehensible in the extreme, readers of *Challenge* should be accustomed to such reactionary positions from PL. Bowing before the Stalinist icon of the nuclear family as a so-called "fighting unit for socialism," PL places itself in opposition to the Marxist-Leninist recognition that under socialism the enslaving nuclear family will be replaced and human association will be based on genuine social-equality and freedom.

Consciously catering to backward social attitudes within the proletariat, PL once proclaimed that "movements which unite with drug addicts and homosexuals close the door to workers." This anti-homosexual bigotry went along with a despicable glorification of male-chauvinist attitudes toward women; *Challenge* at one time actually carried a "woman's page" consisting of recipes and helpful household hints, while PL in the past has held "Valentines Day" parties calling on women to "Be A Working-Class Sweetheart"! At one time PL opposed abortions, but subsequently changed its position, without, however, examining the Stalinist "principles" which led it to such a reactionary line initially.

PL correctly recognizes that feminism is a petty-bourgeois ideology, but, unable to find its way to the tradition of Leninism, PL simply denies the need to fight the special oppression of women, simply counterposing the need to fight for socialism. Beneath its maximalist insensitivity, however, lurks a fundamentally reformist methodology. In an article in *PL Magazine* (February 1971), two PL supporters argue that the problem with the family, as with so much else in bourgeois society, is the deforming way it is used by capitalism.

Perhaps the bourgeois state, then, is a potentially healthy organ, only distorted by eradicable capitalist influences? It would seem that PL at least once drew just this conclusion, since PL in 1971 ran in the Democratic Party primary in Washington, D.C. Perhaps the Dixiecrats, with the appropriate "boss control," can also become a "fighting unit for socialism"?

In contrast to PL, the Spartacus Youth League stands for the communist program pointing toward women's liberation through proletarian revolution upheld by Lenin, who declared in his speech on International Working Women's Day in 1920: "The chief thing is to get women to take part in socially productive labor, to liberate them from 'domestic slavery,' to free them from their stupefying and humiliating subjugation to the eternal drudgery of the kitchen and the nursery. . . . This struggle will be a long one, and it demands a radical reconstruction both of social technique and of morals. But it will end in the complete triumph of communism."

On June 24, a little more than one year after the defeat of the U.S. imperialist intervention and the destruction of capitalist class rule in Indochina, the North Vietnamese National Assembly convened in Hanoi to proclaim the formal reunification of the country as the "Socialist Republic of Vietnam."

With great fanfare the National Assembly, which was recently reconstituted through elections both in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) and in South Vietnam, designated Hanoi as the capital of united Vietnam, while Saigon was renamed Ho Chi Minh City. The national emblem of united Vietnam is the emblem of the DRV, and the flag unfurled over the "Socialist Republic of Vietnam" is the DRV flag.

Yet even before this ceremonial reunification of the country the Vietnamese Stalinists had announced that during the past year South Vietnam evolved

and labor movement must take sides. Only the Spartacist League raised the proletarian internationalist demand that the Vietnamese Stalinists break with their treacherous class-collaborationist strategy and take power. We alone raised the slogan: "All Indochina Must Go Communist!"

Stalinists Monopolize Political Power

Ever since the military victory of the DRV/NLF forces the Stalinists—and only the Stalinists—have wielded political power in South Vietnam. Early on the Lao Dong (Workers Party) nationalized the entire banking system and most major industrial enterprises and established accordingly the rudiments of a planned economy.

According to an on-the-scene report by British journalist Martin Woollacott, most of the so-called "national capital-

while its core, the People's Revolutionary Party, was revealed to be in fact and now in name the southern branch of the Vietnamese Workers Party. Last and certainly least, the "Third Force" organizations of Buddhist clerics and anti-Thieu intellectuals, which the Stalinists preached were absolutely indispensable for a government of "national reconciliation," disbanded soon after the DRV/NLF victory, having "realized that they had no role to play" (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 6 June 1975).

Thus, in coming to power in South Vietnam the Stalinists cynically trampled over the "first stage" of their allegedly inviolable "two-stage revolution" schema. The Vietnamese Stalinist party had always preached the Menshevik/Stalinist dogma that in a colonial or semi-colonial country the dictatorship of the proletariat could be achieved only through a protracted

mined to sabotage this pre-revolutionary situation, lashed out at the Trotskyists and other working-class leaders with murderous repression, restrained the mass struggle and then welcomed the arrival of Allied forces, thereby stabilizing colonial rule and setting the stage for the French Indochina war.

In South Vietnam today the Stalinist Workers Party—a "Marxist-Leninist" party which has not held a single party conference in the last 16 years!—can maintain its privileged bureaucratic rule only by denying political power to the toiling masses. Direct workers' rule through representative, sovereign soviet bodies, open to all political tendencies in the workers movement that stand for the defense of the conquests of the revolution, would spell the destruction of the parasitic bonapartist caste perched atop the proletarian property forms.

South Vietnam: ONE YEAR OF STALINIST RULE



Stalinist posters for National Assembly election.

from an "advanced democracy" to the "dictatorship of the proletariat." Such a non-capitalist/non-socialist "advanced democracy" never existed. In terms of *state power* South Vietnam was united with the DRV when the victorious armed forces of the DRV/National Liberation Front (NLF) rolled into Saigon on April 30, 1975.

As they approached Saigon the Vietnamese Stalinists were faced with the flight of most of the Saigon business elite, the rout of the demoralized South Vietnamese army and the hourly disintegration of the venal Thieu regime. In the absence of any substantial bourgeois force willing and able to share power in a coalition regime, the Stalinists realized even before entering Saigon that they would have to abandon their long-sought "historic compromise" with capitalism and take power, establishing a bureaucratically deformed workers state no different in class character than the DRV.

From the outset of U.S. aggression against Vietnam more than a decade ago, the Spartacist tendency consistently championed demands for the unconditional defense of the Vietnamese revolution and for the military victory of the DRV/NLF against U.S. imperialism. Moreover, the Spartacist League insisted that the Vietnam conflict was a class war and that, as such, the left

ists" in South Vietnam have been reduced merely to salaried managers of "their" commercial or manufacturing concerns, leading a "tenuous and largely fictitious existence" (*Manchester Guardian*, 2 April 1976). Some foreign holdings, including French rubber plantations, have been left unscathed, primarily because the new regime is seeking to attract badly needed foreign aid. Nevertheless, all enterprises in the private sector operate under the control of the Vietnamese Stalinist government.

Once in power the Vietnamese Workers Party rapidly shed the penumbra of "patriotic" and "multi-class" front organizations which had been created as the framework for entering a coalition government with the bourgeoisie. The Provisional Revolutionary Government, for years touted by the Stalinists as a "national front" of all so-called "patriotic forces" opposed to the Thieu regime, has receded into obscurity, "having had little power in the early stages of military administration, and looking forward now to a swift disappearance after reunification" (*Manchester Guardian*, 6 April 1976).

Similarly, the NLF, which encompassed a few shadowy organizations purportedly representing the "national bourgeoisie" and other "neutralist" forces, has quietly slipped from sight,

"first stage" of capitalist development administered by a coalition government including the "patriotic national bourgeoisie." For over three decades the "two stage" dogma served above all as a rationale for class-collaborationist appetites, as the Vietnamese Stalinists subordinated the struggle of the masses and sacrificed the hard-won gains of military victory: abandoning the demand for national independence during the Popular Front period, welcoming the imperialist forces back into Indochina at the time of the 1945 Saigon insurrection, giving South Vietnam back to the French in 1954 at Geneva, and clutching at the 1973 "Peace" Treaty as the road to "national reconciliation."

But, given the relationship of class forces resulting from decades of colonialism and civil war, the Vietnamese Stalinists could come to power only over the political corpse of the bourgeoisie. The empty shells created by the Stalinists for class collaboration with the "national bourgeoisie" have now been buried alongside the capitalist state in South Vietnam.

"Advanced Democracy" vs. Workers Democracy

The destruction of capitalist class rule in South Vietnam one year ago—just as in North Vietnam 22 years ago—did not bring the working class to direct political power. On the contrary, in South Vietnam political power is monopolized by a Stalinist bureaucratic apparatus which has been consolidated on a foundation of proletarian property forms created through the revolutionary overturn.

In South Vietnam, as previously in China, capitalist rule was destroyed not through an insurrection of the working class and poor peasantry led by a Bolshevik party, but rather through military victory of peasant-based armies led by a Stalinist party. A crucial factor enabling such petty-bourgeois forces to smash capitalism in both China and Vietnam was the passivity or prostration of the working class. Only in 1945 under the leadership of the Vietnamese Trotskyists were the working masses in Saigon mobilized in revolutionary committees which rapidly developed into embryonic workers soviets. But the Stalinists, deter-

Upon coming to power in South Vietnam the Stalinists created an extensive hierarchy of so-called "people's revolutionary committees" through which the governing bureaucracy has consolidated its power. But, despite the claims of the Stalinists, these "people's revolutionary committees" are not representative institutions of workers democracy through which the proletariat exercises its dictatorship.

On the contrary the much-touted "solidarity cells," neighborhood organizations comprised of ten households and led by Stalinist cadres, simply play an exhortative and participatory role. According to the report by Martin Woollacott,

"One such committee in Saigon, for example, decided on rice handouts for needy families within the group, persuaded an army officer who had not registered to do so, and discussed at length a case of habitual drunkenness—all within the first two months of existence."

—*Manchester Guardian*, 6 April 1976

While these neighborhood "solidarity cells" are permitted to shape and administer community affairs within limits and under the watchful eyes of the Stalinist cadres, the higher-level "people's revolutionary committees" are simply top-down creations of the ruling bureaucracy. A look at the establishment of the first "people's revolutionary committee" in South Vietnam is sufficient to puncture the myth of "workers power" promoted by the Stalinists.

The official *Sai-Gon Giai-Phong* ["Liberated Saigon"]—unquestionably a Stalinist mouthpiece—described in detail the election of the first "people's revolutionary committee" in Saigon on June 30, 1975, and reported that the procedure would serve as the model for future elections of representatives at all levels of government. This account in *Sai-Gon Giai-Phong* was reported in the *New York Times* (8 July 1975), as follows:

"Government spokesmen, as reported in the official Saigon newspaper *Giai Phong*, said that 152 residents of Tran Quang Khai ward had been chosen by government officials [!] to represent 10,000 people living there. The 152 then held a closed meeting [!] and chose seven persons from an approved list



As early as 1965 Spartacist tendency demonstrated in defense of Vietnamese revolution. That year SWP/YSA, YAWF and CP all capitulated to "all troops out" slogan (presumably including DRV troops) demanded by New York Vietnam Peace Parade committee. Spartacist League refused to abandon slogan "For immediate, unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam!"

[!!!] of nine candidates to serve on the local committee."

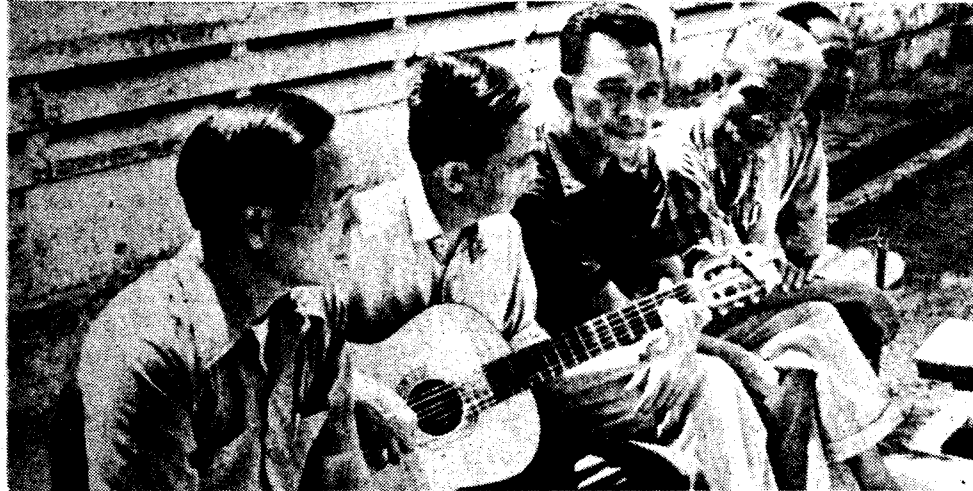
Such is the "workers democracy" which thrives in South Vietnam under the Stalinists!

Indeed following the "model" of Tran Quang Khai, subsequent "elections," which were everywhere "guided by cadres and, in the case of Saigon, by

of his "revolutionary achievements."

Leninists certainly do not equate soviet democracy merely with formal bourgeois-democratic rights. It is true that Soviet Russia under Lenin and Trotsky, the first and only authentic workers state, was reluctantly forced by the prevailing conditions of civil war and economic collapse to circumscribe

Nayan Chanda



Stalinist "Re-education": General Le Minh Dao, sitting with fellow former generals of Thieu army in Stalinist re-education camp near Saigon, strums guitar and leads a chorus of "The Great President Ho Chi Minh."

North Vietnamese soldiers who were billeted in ordinary households," resulted in the creation of an "intricate array of committees" (*Manchester Guardian*, 1 April 1976). These hand-picked "people's revolutionary committees" were allegedly "elected" to replace the Hanoi-run Military Management Committee, which had been set up to govern South Vietnam immediately after the arrival of the NLF/DRV forces. On January 21 the Military Management Committee was duly replaced by an "elected" 15-member "People's Revolutionary Committee of Saigon City" headed by Vo Van Kiet, the Deputy Chairman of...you guessed it!...the Military Management Committee.

National Elections Farce

The rubber-stamp National Assembly which recently proclaimed the "Socialist Republic of Vietnam" no less represents the antithesis of socialist democracy. According to the DRV army daily newspaper *Quan Doi Nhan Dan* (as quoted in the *New York Times*, 25 April 1976),

"As opposed to the capitalist countries, our National Assembly is a unified bloc that will have absolutely no factions representing private or regional interests, no conflicting viewpoints or oppositional organizations."

The "elections" to this superfluous National Assembly, which "represents" only the bureaucracy, have been stridently trumpeted by the Vietnamese Workers Party as the culmination of "advanced democracy" in South Vietnam. Let's examine this "advanced democracy."

In South Vietnam the 281 candidates were carefully selected by the Vietnamese Workers Party for their "contributions to the revolution"; significantly, only 1.6 percent of the total number of candidates in both South Vietnam and the DRV were workers (official statistics cited in *New York Times*, 25 June 1976). Moreover, only candidates hand-picked by Stalinist officials were allowed to stand for election, and the campaigning was limited to the distribution of state-produced posters bearing only a photograph of the candidate and a biographical outline

certain democratic rights.

But, unlike the Russian soviets even during this grim period, the "revolutionary people's committees" in South Vietnam in no way were created through the revolutionary struggle of the Vietnamese working class. On the contrary, these "revolutionary people's committees" were established by Stalinist usurpers imposing their bureaucratic rule over the politically atomized working masses of South Vietnam.

Anti-Revolutionary "Peaceful Coexistence"

No less so than the nationalist bureaucracies misruling the USSR and China the Vietnamese Stalinist regime is committed to "building socialism in one [one's own] country" (formerly in one half a country). Thus, in order to preserve its privileged but precarious bonapartist position, the Vietnamese Stalinist bureaucracy not only must exclude the proletariat from political power in South Vietnam but also must oppose revolutionary internationalism. Because the international extension of the revolution would without doubt galvanize the Vietnamese proletariat and provoke imperialism, the Vietnamese Workers Party, like all the cliques ruling the degenerated and deformed workers states, seeks "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism.

But class collaborationism and "detente," by sabotaging the world revolution, can only undermine and jeopardize the non-capitalist states upon which the bureaucratic regimes must rest. The revolutionary gains embodied in the deformed/degenerated workers states can be defended and secured only through the triumph of the international communist revolution over imperialism.

During the Vietnam war many New Left radicals in this country embraced Stalinism by identifying not with the Soviet Union, but rather with the Vietnamese. Especially the Maoists, but also mainstream vicarious "Third-World" nationalists falsely counterposed the "people's war"/"armed struggle" rhetoric spouted at that time by the Vietnamese Stalinists to the "peaceful coexistence"/"detente" policies pursued by the Kremlin. Moscow

refused to protest the mining of Haiphong harbor, toasted Nixon as U.S. bombs rained down upon the DRV and supported the Lon Nol puppet regime in Cambodia until the very end.

But the defeat of U.S. imperialism in Indochina has now given the Vietnamese Stalinists the opportunity to pursue opportunist "peaceful coexistence" policies no less reactionary than Moscow's. Although the Vietnamese leaders have generally maintained a distrustful distance from both Moscow and Peking, the Workers Party nevertheless has hewn close to the treacherous foreign policy of Moscow. At least for the present, the Vietnamese find that snug relations with Moscow are most lucrative and promising.

Last February at the 25th Soviet Party Congress Le Duan, general secretary of the Vietnamese Workers Party, praised "detente" to the rafters and warbled hosannas to "the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union" (*Daily World*, 27 February 1976). Likewise, during the past year the Vietnamese leaders have vociferously hailed such counterrevolutionary policies of the "glorious" Kremlin gang as support for the sweeping repression by Indira Gandhi in India and support for the "revolutionary forces" of the Portuguese Armed Forces Movement (*Nhan Dan* editorial reprinted in *Vietnam Courier*, September 1975).

Although both demagogically claimed to be defending "socialism," Indira Gandhi has used her "state of emergency" as a flimsy pretext to imprison more than 30,000 Indian revolutionaries (especially Naxalites), while the "revolutionary" Portuguese

hindered the transport of Russian military hardware (which was always stingy and inadequate) through China to Hanoi. Then, after the military defeat of U.S. imperialism in Indochina, the Peking regime indicated its desire for a strong American military presence in Southeast Asia (in particular, Thailand) to counterbalance the increased influence of the so-called "Soviet social-imperialists."

In order to woo the Vietnamese Moscow has signed an agreement to provide a modicum of long-term aid to war-torn Vietnam. Peking to date has offered nothing, despite a trip to China by a high-level Vietnamese delegation (*New York Times*, 15 August 1975). In sharp contrast to his high-profile at the 25th Soviet Party Conference, Le Duan visited Peking last September but departed abruptly without signing the ritual joint communiqué or giving the customary banquet for his "hosts" (*New York Times*, 9 November 1975).

In addition to alienation shaped by the Sino-Soviet split, Peking and Hanoi for some time have been engaged in an ugly confrontation over a border dispute and rival claims to the Spratly/Paracel islands. These squabbles over a few square miles of jungle and some uninhabited coral atolls reveal the reactionary national-centeredness which lies at the heart of "socialism in one country."

Reportedly North Vietnamese Prime Minister Pham Van Dong proposed negotiations to settle the DRV-China border dispute, "but the Chinese have told him that there is nothing to negotiate" (*Far Eastern Economic Re-*

UPI



Le Duan and Leonid Brezhnev at 25th Congress of CPSU.

generals last year seized upon the ill-considered November 25 "putsch" to suppress the most combative far-left elements in the army rank and file. Such are the "proletarian internationalist" policies of the Vietnamese Stalinists!

Hanoi-Peking Rift

"The presence of the Russians and their allies and the absence of the Chinese in Saigon is remarkable," a journalist touring South Vietnam recently noted (*New York Times*, 15 February 1976). Indeed, Peking-Hanoi relations have never been more frosty.

During the Vietnam war the Chinese not only withdrew their previous military aid to the Vietnamese (substituting only "self-reliance" homilies) but even

view, 13 June 1975). Neither side, however, has been willing to negotiate over the disputed Paracel/Spratly islands which dot the South China Sea off the Nansha archipelago. This group of tiny islands, strategically situated and surrounded by oil-rich seabeds, in the past has been claimed by both China and Vietnam, as well as by the Philippines and Taiwan.

After the fall of the Thieu regime DRV troops landed on the Spratly islands, and Hanoi announced the capture of "beloved islands in the fatherland's waters" (quoted in *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 12 December 1975). In response, the *Kuangming Daily* claimed the islands as "China's sacred territory" and warned, "We will absolutely not allow anyone to invade and occupy our territory on any pretext." The threat was repeated once again on June 15, when the Chinese Foreign Ministry blasted "any foreign country's armed invasion and occupation" of any of the 96 islands (quoted in *New York Times*, 16 June 1976).

China now threatens "fraternal" Vietnam over some small islands (which in fact are equidistant between Vietnam, Malaya, the Philippines and People's China), but the Mao regime has long been willing to "peacefully coexist" with British Hong Kong and Portuguese Macao on coastal China! Despite its "anti-imperialist" verbiage, the Maoist bureaucracy has opposed

continued on page 10

SL/SYL PUBLIC OFFICES—Revolutionary Literature

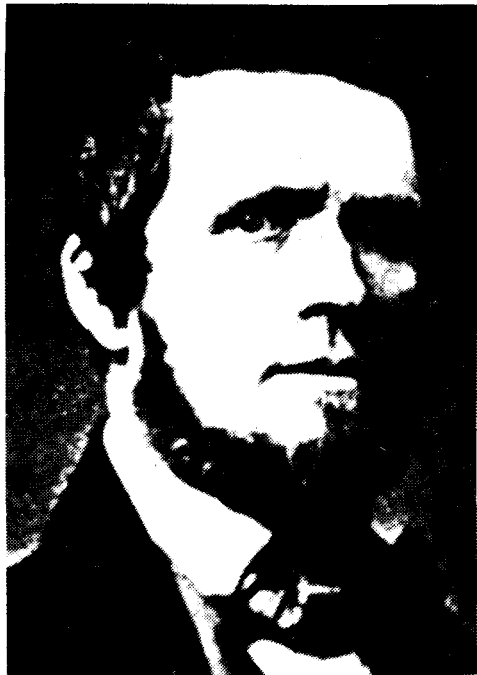
BAY AREA		CHICAGO	NEW YORK
Friday and Saturday	3:00-6:00 p.m.	Tuesday 4:00-8:00 p.m. Saturday 2:00-6:00 p.m.	Monday through Friday 6:30-9:00 p.m. Saturday 1:00-4:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph (near 17th St.) 3rd Fl. Oakland, California Phone 835-1535		650 So. Clark St. 2nd Fl. Chicago, Illinois Phone 427-0003	
		260 West Broadway Room 522 New York, New York Phone 925-5665	

Marxism and the Jacobin Communist Tradition

By Joseph Seymour

EDITOR'S NOTE: As a special feature Young Spartacus has been serializing the lectures on "Marxism and the Jacobin Communist Tradition" presented by Spartacist League Central Committee member Joseph Seymour at the regional educational conferences of the Spartacus Youth League during the past year. The talk reproduced in this issue was given at the SYL Midwest Educational held in Chicago over the weekend of April 16-18. The first part of the series, which appeared in our February issue, was devoted to the Great French Revolution and its insurrectionary continuity through the conspiratorial Jacobin communists Babeuf and Buonarroti. The next section, appearing the following month, discussed the Carbonari Conspiracy, the French Revolution of 1830 and Buonarroti, the Lyons silkweavers uprising and the Blanquist putsch in 1839. The third installment in the April Young Spartacus analyzed Chartism in Britain. The concluding portion of the presentation on the origins of the Communist League will appear in our next issue. To preserve the character of the verbal presentation stylistic alterations have been reduced to a minimum.

Part 4/The Origins of the Communist League



Wilhelm Weitling.



Feargus O'Connor.



Etienne Cabet.

This talk is the fourth part of a projected seven-part SYL class series, entitled "Marxism and the Jacobin Communist Tradition." As such, the full significance of this presentation today cannot be understood without knowing something about the first three, which have been encapsulated in *Young Spartacus*, and then hearing the next three.

The basic theme of the talk is how the communist movement was generated and conditioned by the epoch of the bourgeois-democratic revolution; how Marx assimilated that tradition, how Marxism was tested and in many ways found faulty by the revolutions of 1848, after which the bourgeois-democratic revolution in West Europe was off the historical agenda, and how Marx fundamentally changed his conception of political strategy between 1850 and 1853. This talk, therefore, deals with the origins of Marxism, the development of Marx' political strategy up to the eve of 1848 and its encapsulation and codification in the *Communist Manifesto*, which was published a few months before the outbreak of the February revolution in Paris in 1848.

First I'm going to discuss the general character of the European left in the 1840's. Next I'm going to go back [to the 1830's] and trace the history of the League of the Just, which, becoming the Communist League in 1847, was the inclusive organization of all German communist activists and which was the organization through which Marx became a communist leader in 1847. Then we're going to go back again to the ever-popular question of the "young Marx" and the origins of Marxism in the narrow sense—Hegel and all that. And finally I'll try to tie it all together in 1846, when Marx became a Marxist and found himself on the political stage as a communist factionalist.

Now, before we get into this talk, I want to make one point about method. As both political activists and living human beings we tend to have a fairly good natural sense of the importance of time in politics. You know that the American political scene looked some-

what different five years ago than today; that Maoism, for example, represented something rather different in 1971 than Maoism today.

But when we reflect on the revolutionary movement of Europe in 1815, in 1820, in 1830, in 1840, we lose the sensitivity to time of a working politician. Unless one struggles to think contemporaneously, then I believe the origins of Marxism will appear very obscure, simply because the French political alignment was very different in 1840, say, than in 1844, and again very different than in 1847. The period before 1848 was an extremely volatile period, during which politics was much more unstable than in the U.S. or even West Europe today and in which the political alignments on the left, including Marx' opponents, changed. Marx praised Proudhon in 1842 and polemicized against him in 1847, because in that short period Proudhon's politics had radically changed. So, while some of my talk may seem antiquarian—you know, this happened in 1843 and then that happened in 1844—you should realize that a year is a long time in a faction fight, no less so in 1846.

Revolutionary Politics Before Marx

Marxism developed in a period of relative depression throughout the international workers and revolutionary movement. The period 1830 to 1842—that is, the period beginning with the successful bourgeois-democratic revolution in France and ending with the suppression of the Chartist general strike in Britain—represents a certain kind of cycle of revolution and counter-revolution. It began with a series of relatively successful bourgeois-democratic revolutions or revolutionary movements and it ended with the communist-centered proletarian movements, even the massive Chartist movement, going against the bourgeoisie and getting smashed.

As a consequence, all the leading revolutionary cadres and all the political tendencies in the mid-1840's, when

Marx and Engels first came on the scene, were profoundly shaped by these defeats. Etienne Cabet—a leader of the Society for the Rights of Man [formed 1832] and the most important socialist in France in the 1840's, had been sent into exile after the 1834 Lyons silkweavers' uprising. Feargus O'Connor, the leader of the Chartists, was sent into exile after 1839 [the Chartist agitation to petition Parliament, leading to isolated uprisings] and imprisoned after 1842 [the Chartist insurrectionary general strike]. Karl Schapper, who was the leading cadre of the League of the Just, had also been sent into exile as a result of his role in the Blanquist putsch of 1839. So that unless one understands that the leadership of the principal revolutionary tendencies in the 1840's were rebounding against a series of defeated minority actions, that their attitudes and ideologies were profoundly shaped by that experience, then the political world that Marx entered and what Marx contributed become essentially incomprehensible.

Moreover, you need to realize the scale of the revolutionary movements at that time. Before 1848 there were only two mass movements of the left: the movement of Etienne Cabet in France and Chartism in Britain. All the other tendencies were either propaganda groups, such as the League of the Just; or literary sects, such as German True Socialism; or simply literary figures, such as Proudhon. These two mass organizations, therefore, exerted a profoundly shaping influence upon the League of the Just, whose main cadres were in exile in France and Britain. It is important, then, to have at least a working knowledge of the Cabet movement and Chartism in the 1840's.

Reaction to the Reaction

Etienne Cabet, as I said, was a leader of the Society of the Rights of Man who was forced into exile following the repression of 1835. Cabet returned to France at a time when all the revolutionary communist sects had been

driven underground in the wake of the 1839 Blanquist putsch. Cabet built a mass utopian-socialist movement on the basis of class collaborationism, pacifist anti-revolutionism and bourgeois philanthropism. Known as "Father Cabet" for his appeals to Christianity, he espoused "communism with a human face."

Above all Cabet was consciously anti-violent. Week after week his paper, *Le Populaire*, carried letters, for example, from wives of the Lyons silkweavers who said,

"In the old days our husbands were communists and they believed in violence. We had to worry about the police coming at night and arresting our husbands. Now they have been converted to your kind of communism and we don't have to worry about that anymore."

Among the inner circle of Cabet was Herman Ewerbach, who was one of the leaders of the League of the Just, translated Cabet's writings into German and sought to give his movement an international dimension.

The other mass movement was Chartism, which during the 1840's was an extremely complex political phenomenon. Between 1839 and 1842 Chartism had been both an inclusive mass organization and, in its basic thrust, a revolutionary movement. After the defeat of the general strike of 1842 the Chartist movement moved to the right, became more exclusive and its leadership—around Feargus O'Connor—became bonapartist. O'Connor degenerated into cooperativism—raising, and apparently mismanaging, money to buy all the land in England in order that the workers could become smallholders. His schemes were not only utopian but also downright shoddy.

Now, Chartism is complex largely because O'Connor was by no means the most right-wing leader arising out of the reaction to revolutionary Chartism. On the contrary, there were a whole series of Chartist leaders who wanted to liquidate Chartism entirely and form a political bloc with the liberal bourgeoisie. O'Connor staunchly

opposed that. So, in one sense, he stood for class independence, even though relative to the earlier period he had moved far to the right and abandoned an insurrectionary perspective for petty-bourgeois cooperativism.

Chartism also contained a consciously Jacobin communist left wing led by Julian Harney. Yet in the 1840's Harney was reduced to being the left-wing lieutenant of O'Connor. Nevertheless, I would argue that in some ways Harney during this period [1843-44] was the most advanced socialist of his day; he believed in a mass organization of the proletariat, class independence and violent revolution. The problem was that Harney was not a factional politician. Or, to use a Spartacist characterization, he did not draw the proper organizational conclusions from his political ideas. Instead of fighting O'Connor—a fight he might well have lost—Harney attempted to placate O'Connor and do his own thing, which was mainly acting as an honest broker to the left-wing exiles in London. In particular, with the left wing of the Polish immigrants, some French Babouvists and German communists, he put together something in 1845 called the Fraternal Democrats, which, its name to the contrary, represented communism, although not Jacobin communism.

League of the Just

Now we come to the League of the Just and the Communist League. And again we must double back in time to the 1830's in Paris. At that time Paris had an enormous German population, and there was an inclusive organization closely affiliated with the French Society for the Rights of Man known as the League of Exiles. Just as during 1832-34 in the Society for the Rights of Man there was a parallel factional struggle in the League of Exiles between the Jacobin communists led by Buonarroti and the revolutionary bourgeois democrats. The factional struggle in the Society for the Rights of Man was arrested by the state suppression of that organization. But the German group was clandestine to begin with, since they were worried about being deported back to Germany. So that factional struggle went to a conclusion in a split; the communists, the German artisan and communist intellectuals, took the majority, while Jacob Venedy, who was later a liberal delegate to the Frankfurt parliament of 1848, led the minority.

The German Jacobin communists reorganized as a secret paramilitary organization called the League of the Just. The organization, of course, contained a large number of German artisans, who were not steeped in the rationalist tradition of the French communist movement, so that the League of the Just remained impregnated with religious fundamentalism. There were not only atheists and rationalists and materialists but also utopian Christian socialists such as Wilhelm Weitling, who wrote revolutionary propaganda couched in the language of Christian messianism. A self-taught tailor, Weitling wrote psalms and nursery rhymes such as "I want to be like Jesus who was also a communist," for which Weitling was arrested for blasphemy. It was very powerful propaganda, for Weitling believed it himself. And it was effective in recruiting to communism backward German workers who had been raised as Lutherans and still believed in the Bible.

When Buonarroti died, his base was taken over by the young Auguste Blanqui. The leading cadres of the League of the Just participated in the Blanquist putsch of 1839, and as a result of the ensuing repression many of them were banished from France. So he remained in Paris, but others went to London and Switzerland. This exile tended to color very strongly the political groupings.

The Paris section of the League of the Just fell under the influence of the Cabet movement and, therefore, rejected the insurrectionary traditions of Blanquism in favor of goody-goody class collaborationism of the worst

kind. In Switzerland—which was kind of the Berkeley of Metternich's Europe—there were all sorts of odd communist sects, and Weitling degenerated into setting up study circles to preach the secret gospel about how Jesus Christ really wants you to be a communist. Weitling genuinely believed communism was the Second Coming, but he was not a pacifist. He ran somewhat amok, yet he had great authority. In 1843 Marx declared that Weitling was the great representative of German worker communism.

The London branch of the League of the Just was by far the most important. It was led by Karl Schapper, who has a fascinating history. While a student in 1834 Schapper was won to revolutionary democracy and soon thereafter joined a small German revolutionary organization. Then, with about 20 or 30 other guys Schapper attempted to seize a police station in Frankfurt. It didn't work. He was on the lam in Switzerland, where he joined with the democratic-nationalist Mazzini, and with about 300 others they attempted to invade Italy. It didn't work. Got to Paris, joined the League of the Just, allied with Blanqui, and this time, with a thousand men, attempted to overthrow the French state. It didn't work. He was on the lam again, and made his way to Britain. Now, I would like to say that upon arriving in London he and 1500 guys attempted to overthrow Queen Victoria, but he changed his line. Schapper was a genuinely heroic figure. Engels writes that he and his partners had fights, and they took on 300 guys.

But in any case Schapper decided that his politics were not working very well. He was not an intellectual, but he was a thoughtful man, and he asked himself, "Why have all these movements failed?" Obvious question. He created an organization called the German Workers Educational Society and arrived at a position which I would characterize as between Cabet and Chartism. Schapper concluded that in order for a revolution to succeed the revolutionaries had first to win over the masses. He in fact denied the struggle for revolution, arguing that once the communists had their democratic rights to organize and educate the masses, that would be adequate to bring about communism. Schapper thus wrote, "The German communists agree with English socialists in thinking that communism could be obtained by peaceful means and free discussion alone."

The London-based section of the League of the Just led by Schapper thus was influenced, on the one hand, by the Cabet movement and, on the other, by British Chartism. From the Cabet movement they derived their rejection of revolution, which Schapper tended to associate with putschism, that is, with the only historic experience which they had. Also, from the Cabet movement Schapper acquired an emphasis on propaganda and education—virtually the linear recruitment of the working masses, one by one, to communism through enlightenment. Indeed, his organization was called the German Workers Educational Society.

From the Chartist movement Schapper derived a strong rejection of class collaborationism, which characterized the Cabet movement in France. So his movement was very much the German Workers Educational Society, although they were certainly willing to associate with bourgeois radical intellectuals who had come over to communism—like Engels. Moreover, the German Workers Educational Society broadly embraced the traditions of French enlightenment and rejected Christianity. They were pacifists and propagandists, but proletarian pacifists and propagandists. In that sense Schapper and his followers were closer to Harney. They completely rejected barracks socialism, communalism and the equality of want.

Again and Once Again Factional Struggle

In 1844 Weitling, the overwhelmingly prominent political personality in German communism, was released from

prison in Switzerland and went into exile in London. Weitling at once joined his old comrades now in the German Workers Educational Society. Well, they soon discovered that they were old comrades in the League of the Just but they were no longer comrades now. A factional struggle developed in 1845 pitting Weitling against Schapper. This faction fight involved only a very small group of individuals, but they were political personalities who had not only enormous capacity but also great reputations. Interestingly enough, this factional struggle was recorded in writing, mainly because these people were very concerned with doctrine and ideas. And we in the Spartacist League owe a thanks to comrade Vladimir Zelinski for translating from the German the discussion within the London branch of the League of the Just.

It is a very interesting discussion.



Cartoon from British bourgeois journal *Punch*, 1848: a "physical force" Chartist arming for the fight.

It begins with Schapper asserting that everything must be based on reason. At that time there was among the workers a very strong sense that they were deprived of access to bourgeois culture. The workers' educational organizations, such as the German Workers Educational Society, were not simply front groups to secure legal functioning. Rather, they provided the workers in the age before mass public education with a means to learn. (In fact, the origins of the massive German Social Democratic Party was a small educational society of workers who wrote to Ferdinand Lassalle, "Would you teach us what you know?" Lassalle came, and that's the beginning of the German Social Democracy.)

So this is Schapper:

"The reason for the failure of communism is lack of knowledge, lack of enlightenment. It was only the French Revolution which began to create a certain degree of enlightenment. Only through the struggle of opinion will communism develop firm roots."

But Weitling, the fundamentalist rabble-rouser, replies:

"Reason will play a pitiful role. The greatest deeds will result from the power of emotion. The crown of thorns of the martyrs wins more adherents than the moral needs of poets and orators."

In response Schapper emphasizes

that without propaganda you get nothing:

"Communism could hitherto not be created because understanding was not sufficient. Our generation will no more realize communism than did the previous ones. Our activity is for the coming generation. These will carry through in practice what we have hitherto been able to propagate only by means of enlightened propaganda... Let us build our guard against revolutions, where through them mankind is brought back again into servitude."

Weitling replies simply by praising revolution: "Revolutions come like a thunderstorm. No one can foretell their effects."

Now, with historical hindsight, we can discern that the Schapper tendency was more serious, even though Weitling aptly criticizes Schapper for relegating the revolutionary struggle to the distant future.

Punch

CLASS SERIES/CAMBRIDGE

The Spartacist League and the Struggle for International Socialist Revolution

JULY 7 - AUG. 4
WEEKLY WEDS.
7:30 pm

Shepard Room of the Philips Brooks House, Harvard Yard

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Southern Africa...

continued from page 3

consider so-called "native policy"; at the same time the Bantu language section of the party newspaper was reduced.

By June 1937 the Stalinists were proposing a "working arrangement" with the pro-British/pro-apartheid Labour Party on a platform demanding "slum clearance [read: the demolition of black homes!], reduced bus fares [to and from bantustans!], improved health facilities and a minimum wage of 10s. for white and 5s. for African laborers in municipal employ"! Pursuing this "separate-but-unequal" popular frontism, Stalinist leader W. Kalk one year later declared that since most Afrikaner nationalists were allegedly sincere republicans, the CPSA should orient more toward the white-supremacist Afrikaner cultural societies and trade unions.

Following the Suppression of Communism Act the CPSA took refuge in the bourgeois-nationalist African National Congress (ANC) and to this day has opposed even reformist demands which would alienate the so-called "anti-apartheid" bourgeoisie. In 1958, for example, Nelson Mandela argued, "The principal and most urgent task facing the Congress today is the defeat of the Nationalist Government and its replacement by a less reactionary one," namely, the United Party (N. Mandela, *No Easy Walk to Freedom*). But the United Party was not qualitatively "less reactionary"; on the contrary, United Party representatives who helped draft the vicious Suppression of Communism Act proposed making advocacy of communism a treasonable offense punishable by death.

Despite the occasionally radical rhetoric the CPSA/ANC strategy of guerrilla war, adopted after the outlawing of all African political organizations in 1960, has always been merely another means to pressure the apartheid regime for gradual reform. Thus, as early as 1961 the ANC guerrilla wing, called Umkhonto we Sizwe, indicated the goals of its "armed struggle": "We hope that we will bring the government and its supporters to its senses before it is too late" (quoted in Brian Bunting, *The Rise of the South African Reich*).

Dénouement in Rhodesia

The recent events in South Africa are the latest episode in an escalating crisis in southern Africa, focused on Rhodesia. The fanatically racist colonial-settler regime of Ian Smith which years ago accepted the "principle" of majority rule now girds for a head-on confrontation with black guerrillas and possibly with several black African states. White minority rule is qualitatively more precarious in Rhodesia than in apartheid South Africa. In Rhodesia, the white caste is more dispersed than in South Africa and out-numbered by 20-to-1 (6,100,000 black Rhodesians to 278,000 white settlers); the black masses of Rhodesia are not as segregated, atomized and regimented as in South Africa; and in Rhodesia, unlike South Africa, there are active guerrilla groups with a base of support.

Rhodesia has become the pariah of the capitalist world. Even its long-time ally, South Africa, has hastened to distance itself from the doomed Smith regime, which is now raising "defense of white civilization" as its last-stand battle cry. Vorster, like the rest of the imperialists, is unwilling to back a loser; he presumably seeks to resume his policy of "detente" with black Africa which was disrupted by the South African intervention in Angola.

Vorster has withdrawn from Rhodesia the 2,000 South African policemen who had performed border-patrol functions, and South African Secretary for

Information Eschel M. Rhodie has stated, "Military intervention by South Africa to uphold the Rhodesian Government is absolutely out of the question." However, South African officials have left the door open for a "rescue operation" ostensibly to evacuate white Rhodesians in the event of a military rout. More importantly, South Africa has kept open the two railway lines which are the lifeline of Rhodesia.

The major policy statement of Kissinger's late April jaunt in black Africa dealt with U.S. imperialism's new "hard line" on Rhodesia. Kissinger, the self-styled Metternich of the U.S. bourgeoisie, recently thundered his "unrelenting opposition" to the Smith regime...until the achievement of a "negotiated settlement" for eventual "majority rule." In addition, Kissinger promised \$12.5 million to "revolutionary" Mozambique as compensation for losses incurred by closing its border with Rhodesia. Similar aid was promised to other countries taking the same step. Kissinger also pledged to press for the repeal of the Byrd Amendment, which allows the U.S. to import UN-boycotted Rhodesian chrome.

Kissinger's hypocritical posturing as a "friend of progress" in southern Africa



Kissinger on Africa junket.

Africa comes cheap for U.S. imperialism. Cowboy-politician Ronald Reagan, whose sidekick-adviser is the staunchly pro-Rhodesia Milton Friedman, has sought to whip up national chauvinism and snatch conservative votes away from Ford with attacks on Kissinger's "softness" on the "Communist menace" in southern Africa. Yet maintenance of the Smith regime is not of strategic importance for the U.S. bourgeoisie, which has no intention of pumping massive quantities of military aid to bolster Smith's lost cause.

U.S. commitment to South Africa is a different story. Some 56 percent (at least \$1.6 billion) of U.S. investments in Africa are in South African enterprises; in 1974 alone, U.S. firms exported \$1.1-billion worth of goods there. South Africa is also a key source of platinum, vanadium and other strategic metals. In short, South Africa is a major imperialist partner of the U.S., and its position at the tip of Africa makes it militarily strategic in dominating oil routes from the Persian Gulf to the West. If need be, the white-supremacist redoubt Rhodesia will be abandoned to its fate, but the U.S. stands behind South Africa, the fortress of apartheid, even though Kissinger may "criticize" Vorster's "policies."

Nationalists: As "Militant" as Kissinger

Kissinger's attacks on Rhodesia have provided the cue for many black African bourgeois-nationalist regimes (including those most fond of "detente"-ish hobnobbing with Vorster) to bring out their pocketed militancy. Even Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, a key ally (stooge) of Washington, felt that the time was right to indulge in the old windbagery: "It is now too late," he declared, referring to Rhodesia. "The whites are going to lose their farms, they are going to lose their industries. This is now a revolution. The only white man who has a place is a white man



VORSTER'S APARTHEID ATROCITIES IGNITE BLACK MASSES

who is also revolutionary" (quoted in *Newsweek*, 7 June 1976). While the threadbare banners of "intransigence" were still stirring in this gust of hot air, however, "African revolutionary"-cum-"Kissinger revolutionary" Julius Nyerere, president of Tanzania, declared *sotto voce*: "If Mr. Smith is serious, we can sit down and talk" (quoted in *Jeune Afrique*, 14 May 1976).

Yet "Marxist-Leninist" Mozambique best demonstrates the hollowness of the nationalists' "revolutionary" pretensions. Before the imperialist-approved closing of the Mozambique/Rhodesia border in early March, the FRELIMO regime led by Samora Machel permitted Rhodesia to escape UN sanctions by using the Mozambican ports of Beira and Lourenço Marques (now called Maputo), from which 10,000 tons of Rhodesian goods were shipped each day.

In fact, "revolutionary" FRELIMO did more business with Rhodesia and South Africa than did the Portuguese before independence last June (*Los Angeles Times*, 8 February 1976). The Portuguese authorities at least attempted to conceal their dealings with Rhodesia and South Africa, requiring them to put bogus labels on their shipments and falsify the certificates of origin. But under the FRELIMO regime the transport of UN-boycotted goods proceeded overtly, and most of the skilled workers on the docks were Rhodesian and South African whites. No wonder a high South African official quoted by the *New York Times* (11 March 1976) said that relations between South Africa and Mozambique were "better than they ever were with the Portuguese!"

Indeed, Samora Machel provides South Africa with more than 150,000 Mozambican contract laborers to slave in the South African mines—more than ever before! Under an agreement signed in 1928, 60 percent of their wages are paid in gold directly to the government of Mozambique, which recompensates the miners in Mozambican currency. This arrangement provides an estimated \$115 million per year to the new Mozambique government and represents its primary source of foreign exchange (*New York Times*, 11 March 1976).

Marxists certainly must oppose the system of contract labor in South Africa established by imperialism. Unlike Machel, communists would demand that Mozambican and all black workers in South Africa be granted full trade-union and other democratic rights as well as wage parity.

Like the petty-bourgeois nationalist MPLA regime in Angola, the FRELIMO government employs radical rhetoric to justify capitalist exploitation and anti-working-class repression. Although touted as the organizations of "people's power" in Mozambique, the Dynamization Groups established by FRELIMO in communities and workplaces are in fact used to discipline the plebeian masses and suppress class struggle.

The Dynamization Groups function under the complete control of the state and exclude workers who advocate strikes (*New York Times*, 7 July 1975). One journalist, who does not conceal his sympathy for FRELIMO, reported that at the Sena Sugar Estates in Zambezia Province, for example, "Workers complained that the local

Young Spartacus Special

Red Papers 7: Revolutionary Union's "United Front" with NATO

Eritrean Independence Struggle Intensifies

Young Spartacus
No Platform for Fascist Scum!
SYL Builds Anti-Nazi Demonstration

Rape and Bourgeois Justice
By Max Thompson and Sarah Arnold

What Strategy for Black Liberation: Pan-Africanism or Communism?

Young Spartacus
Indochinese Insurgents Smash Capitalist Rule!
Forward to a Communist Vietnam and Cambodia Through Workers' Political Revolution!
Extend the Revolution! Not Stalinist Bureaucratic Rule, but Workers' Democracy!

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____ PHONE _____

CITY/STATE _____ ZIP _____

\$2/one year

Make checks payable to: Spartacus Youth Publishing Co., Box 825, Canal St. Sta., New York, NY 10013

Dynamization Group secretary had not been elected democratically and had subsequently been given a new house and a motorbike by the estate management" (*Los Angeles Times*, 18 April 1976).

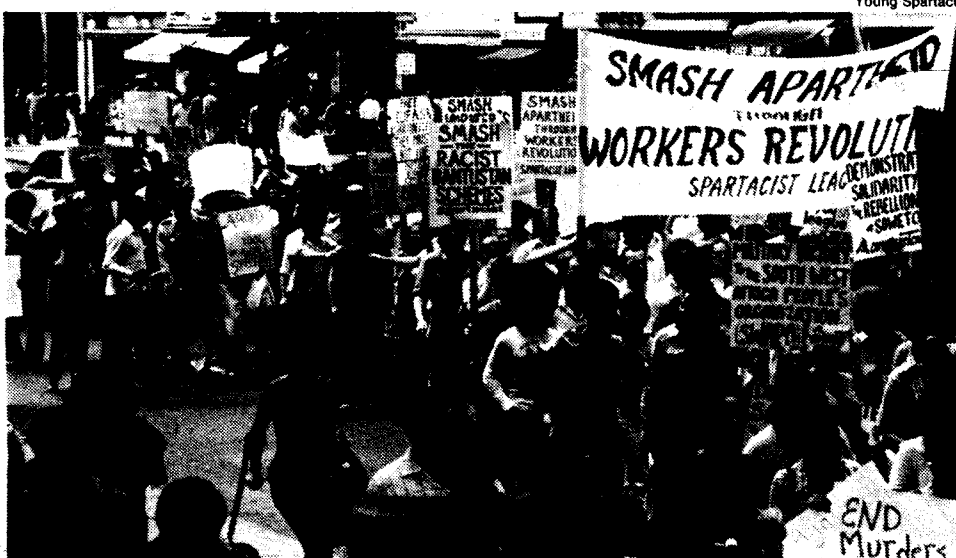
The petty-bourgeois radicals who lead FRELIMO depict austerity and equality of want as "socialism." Thus, Samora Machel, who lives with ample creature comforts in the colonial mansion of the former Portuguese governor general, recently declared, "People used to die in huts and did not have the freedom [!] to come and queue up for food" (quoted in *New York Times*, 4 April 1976). In "socialist" Mozambique the workers have the "freedom" to go hungry for capitalism, but not to go on strike. Militant workers and leftist opponents of FRELIMO have been arrested in droves, so that Mozambique has more political pris-

helping the Rhodesian nationalist guerrillas" (*Economist*, 10 April 1976):

Military Support to Guerrilla Struggles Against White-Supremacist Regimes

On April 19 the "radical" faction of the African National Council in Rhodesia, the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), launched a new mini-offensive, blowing up a section of the Rutenga-Beitbridge railway that links Rhodesia with South Africa. The Rhodesian government responded by clamping censorship on the media, calling up reservists and establishing a new court for "terrorists." Army commander Lieutenant General G. P. Wells proclaimed the "right of hot pursuit" of guerrillas across the Mozambican and Zambian borders.

Meanwhile, British and American mercenaries are reportedly arriving to



SL/SYL contingent in New York City demonstration protesting Soweto massacre.



FRELIMO leader Samora Machel reviews troops.

oners now than under the Portuguese colonialists (*Los Angeles Times*, 11 February 1976).

As for its opposition to racist Rhodesia, FRELIMO escalated its ultra-militant rhetoric with each fat imperialist subsidy. Kissinger's promise of \$12.5 million to Mozambique came on the heels of a British offer of an immediate 5-million-pound interest-free loan, with 10 million pounds more waiting in the wings. Machel reportedly assured British minister of state Dennis Ennals "that none of this money would find its way to

bolster the Rhodesian army. Then, on June 12, Rhodesia launched its first major air strike on military bases inside Mozambique.

In the present conflict in Rhodesia and South West Africa Marxists give military support to the nationalist guerrillas in their fight against the white-supremacist regimes. But revolutionists must also warn the masses against giving any political support to these vacillating, petty-bourgeois forces; even if victorious, they would be as incapable of breaking imperialism's stranglehold as their mentors Kaunda, Nyerere and Machel. Both ZANU and

the "moderate" Joshua Nkomo wing of the ANC are unable to transcend the narrow limits imposed by petty-bourgeois nationalist guerrillism. For example, each guerrilla group continually suffers outbreaks of tribalism and cliquism.

Likewise, Marxists would militarily support any uprisings against the Rhodesian colonial-settler state that were backed by Mozambique or other black African bourgeois states, because Rhodesia's white-settler state, while not imperialist, today stands in essentially the same relation to the black masses of southern Africa as before 1965, when Rhodesia was a colonial extension of British imperialism. But we give absolutely no political support to FRELIMO, the MPLA or any of the

African nationalist regimes. Despite their vague talk of "ending exploitation of man by man," these regimes are busy consolidating bourgeois states and crushing all independent proletarian struggle.

The genuine liberation of southern Africa will come about only through the class struggle of the dockers of Luanda, Beira and Lourenço Marques, the miners of South Africa and Rhodesia and the entire proletariat of southern Africa. The task of mobilizing the southern African proletariat in struggle against imperialism, apartheid and neo-colonialism requires the forging of strong Trotskyist parties. The liberation of southern Africa will be a crucial task and triumph of a reborn Fourth International, World Party of Socialist Revolution. ■

NAM: No "Adversary Relationship" With Cops

CHICAGO—The University of Chicago (UC) administration is once again attempting to lay down "the law" to a section of its hirelings. On campus, Local 710 of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters has been working without a contract since January 31, the membership having rejected a sweetheart deal negotiated by the union brass. The "ranks" being sold out this time, however, just happen to be "the law" itself: the campus cops.

But this hasn't deterred the New Leftist New American Movement (NAM) from announcing its full support for this so-called "rank-and-file" struggle! In a special "labor" issue of its campus publication, *The Red Gargoyle* (June 1976), NAM uncritically quotes a campus cop, "These people put their lives on the line everytime they put on that blue uniform and step into a patrol car or out into the street." *The Red Gargoyle* goes on to rhapsodize about "the white and red cars which patrol quietly the streets of the university and the surrounding communities [and] make those sometimes notorious streets at least livably safe for many residents." NAM even echoes the cops by protesting "the way the administration continually tries to divide the security force from the rest of the community, especially the students, promoting an adversary relationship."

It is scandalous and disgusting in the extreme that self-proclaimed "socialists" such as NAM refuse to recognize that *the cops are the class enemy*. Moreover, the campus-parochialist "safe streets" plea spewed by NAM is but one remove from open "law-and-order" racist and right-wing demagoguery. The UC is surrounded by the South Side Chicago black ghetto, and the UC cops have a long record of racist harassment and victimization of black people who enter the Hyde Park "university community." The notoriously racist campus cops patrol the entire area with full police powers granted by Mayor Daley, and their sorties into the "surrounding commu-

nities" of black people are flagrant provocations.

The "adversary relationship" of the cops to workers and radical students at UC should also be well known to NAM. In its bouts of New Left nostalgia NAM recalls the 1969 student strike at UC which protested administration victimization of a radical professor. At that time the UC cops collaborated hand-in-glove with the "Red Squad" of the Chicago Police Department in securing photographs and other "evidence" used to expel scores of students for participating in the militant demonstration. When members of the paramilitary Legion of Justice attacked the sit-in demonstration, however, the UC campus cops took these thugs into "custody," only to immediately release them without charges!

Again, during the 1974 UC campus workers' strike, the campus cops played their usual strike-breaking role by escorting scabs across the picket lines. Permit us to recall that at that time NAM not only failed to actively build the student strike-support work (which had been initiated and sustained by the SYL) but also voted to open membership in the student strike-support committee to scabs!

In contrast to these social democrats of the third mobilization, the SYL at UC has argued that the cops should be neither on campus nor in the trade-union movement. When a resolution was introduced in the UC Student Government calling on students to support the campus cops in their negotiations with the administration, the SYL representative was alone in opposing this motion; the president of the Student Government, however, is a member of NAM. Once again NAM has demonstrated its myopic perception of the class line in politics, failing to see the "adversary relationship" between strikebreakers and strike supporters, between scabs and strikers.

COPS OFF CAMPUS! COPS OUT OF THE UNIONS! ■

Northwestern "Student Voice" Whimpers: "234 or 430, But Don't Fight"

CHICAGO—On May 21 some 35 Northwestern students settled into the lobby and office of the campus administration building, soon began to play Monopoly and Scrabble and waited to see themselves on the evening news. Despite its appearance, this was a sit-in demonstration against an announced tuition hike staged by a Northwestern grouplet called the "Student Voice."

Counterposing the "voice of reason" to radicalism, the "Student Voice" has adopted a "demand" even more "reasonable" than its casual sit-in: that the tuition hike not be the announced \$430, but "only" \$234! Comfortably ensconced at Northwestern in posh Evanston, the "Student Voice" supporters have reacted with indifference or irritation when the SYL on campus has pointed to the need to demand the end to tuition (presently more than \$4000 per year) and to the class-biased and racially discriminatory admissions system. In response, "Student Voice" rejected an SYL proposal for a united-front fight against the tuition hike,

and these "voices of reason" have denied SYL spokesmen speaking time at every one of their "spontaneous" demonstrations.

Uncritically supporting these anti-communist student careerists is that other super-"reasonable" group on campus—the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA). In New York City the YSA postures as the champion of the demand, "no tuition—open admission." But, at elite Northwestern the YSA is only willing to "demand"—on its knees—"only" \$234 to be added to the \$4000 plus tuition. Such are the ivy-league "principles" of the YSA reformists!

In contrast, the SYL at Northwestern has focused its intervention on the need to fight the elite and class-biased character of Northwestern, calling for an end to all tuition, a policy of open admissions and the nationalization of Northwestern and all private universities. Quality higher education must not be the privilege of the wealthy few but an opportunity for all. ■

South Vietnam...

continued from page 5

the independence of Macao from Portugal, and the Chinese maintain cozy relations with Stephen Ho, Macao's millionaire gambling syndicate kingpin who frequently travels to Peking (*Manchester Guardian*, 26 July 1975).

For Political Revolution in Vietnam!

Without question the military defeat of U.S. imperialism and the destruction of bourgeois rule in South Vietnam represent a historic gain for the international proletariat. As the Chinese revolution so dramatically demonstrates, the overturn of capitalist property relations and the institution of a collectivized planned economy, despite the bureaucratic straitjacket, provide the material basis for enormous strides benefiting the broad masses of toilers.

Unlike the Moscow-loyal and Peking-loyal Stalinists, Trotskyists stand for the unconditional defense of the social conquests of the Vietnamese revolution and the gains embodied in all the bureaucratically degenerated/deformed workers states, from Havana to Moscow to Peking. In contrast, the fake-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance ever since the fall of the Thieu regime has refused to recognize the revolutionary trans-

formation in South Vietnam (regarding the regime, like the Stalinists, as an "advanced democracy"), and thus fails to call for the unconditional defense of the nationalized property system against imperialist attack. On the other hand, those who have labeled Vietnam "capitalist" (or "state capitalist") would be forced to take an abstentionist position in a war between Vietnam and Thailand or Vietnam and Indonesia.

But at the same time, Trotskyists insist that the Stalinist regime which rules the "Socialist Republic of Vietnam" constitutes an obstacle to the defense and extension of the revolution and a fetter on the further development of Vietnam toward socialism. A political revolution in Vietnam, as well as in every degenerated/deformed workers state, is required to topple the Stalinist bureaucracy and institute direct proletarian rule based on soviet-type bodies and a genuinely revolutionary vanguard party. Again and again the Stalinists have demonstrated their hostility to the slightest struggle by the working masses against the bureaucracy.

Twenty years ago in Hungary—to take the most important example—the working class rose against the Stalinist regime and stepped onto the road to political revolution. Sparked in October 1956 by the bureaucratic repression and then massacre of Communist intellectuals protesting the old-line Stalinists, the Hungarian uprising, which soon drew the support of a majority of the party cadres, triggered the formation of democratically-elected Workers Councils, Revolutionary Councils and

Municipal Councils. Virtually every Workers Council pledged support for the collectivist system already established and opposition to the national oppression of Hungary by the USSR.

The Workers Councils, having control over the factories and workers districts, represented an incipient dual power to the vacillating regime of "liberal" Stalinist Imre Nagy. The local workers councils and the Hungarian general strike finally were drowned in blood by Russian troops, although earlier Russian attempts at suppression were neutralized by the widespread fraternization between the Hungarian workers and the Red Army men. But from the outset there was lacking a clear-sighted revolutionary leadership capable of centralizing the struggle, forging the Workers Councils into functioning soviet bodies, formulating a full program, breaking the lingering illusions of the broad masses in "liberal" Stalinism and mobilizing the proletariat for the necessary insurrectionary seizure of power and extension of the political revolution.

The road forward for the laboring masses of the "Socialist Republic of Vietnam" lies in the crystallization of a Trotskyist party of Vietnam. Just as the Vietnamese Trotskyists once stood at the head of the revolutionary workers in South Vietnam during the 1945 insurrection, so the future Trotskyist party of Vietnam will rally the workers to overthrow the counterrevolutionary Stalinist bureaucracy and establish a genuine Soviet Socialist Republic of Vietnam under the banner of revolutionary internationalism. ■

CUNY Cutbacks...

continued from page 12

gressive Labor Party (PL) and its liberal front group, the Committee Against Racism (CAR). Like the RSB, PL often attempts to pose at large demonstrations as the most militant tendency, at times engaging in senselessly provocative posturing and "kick-ass" rhetoric. At a Board of Higher Education demonstration last November 24, for example, PL agitated for the demonstrators to charge the building, even though the door was guarded by a phalanx of burly, quite unsympathetic cops.

When working in the University Student Senate, however, PL competes with the ultra-"respectable" SWP/YSA in capitulating to the student careerists and liberals. Thus, just like the SWP/YSA, PL backed off from the November Wall Street demonstration once the USSR liberals decided to boycott this allegedly "confrontationist" action.

Union Bureaucrats Betray

Student opposition to the budget cuts has been played out against the background of a string of betrayals and defeatist capitulations by the "labor lieutenants of capital" leading the municipal unions. Both the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) and the Transit Workers Union (TWU) were pitted against the city administration this last year and could have spearheaded strike actions capable of smashing the capitalist austerity drive and wrenching important concessions from the bourgeoisie.

But the class-collaborationist union bureaucracy has fought above all to force the union ranks to their knees. The AFT bargained away its strike and then rammed the sellout contract down the throats of the membership, despite considerable opposition. The TWU never made it to the picket lines, since the labor skates accepted a rotten contract at the eleventh (and then some) hour.

The only opposition to the most recent budget cuts affecting CUNY has come from the Professional Staff Congress (PSC), the CUNY faculty union. The PSC was jolted when the Board of Higher Education abruptly shut down CUNY and brazenly announced that the faculty would not be paid for two months.

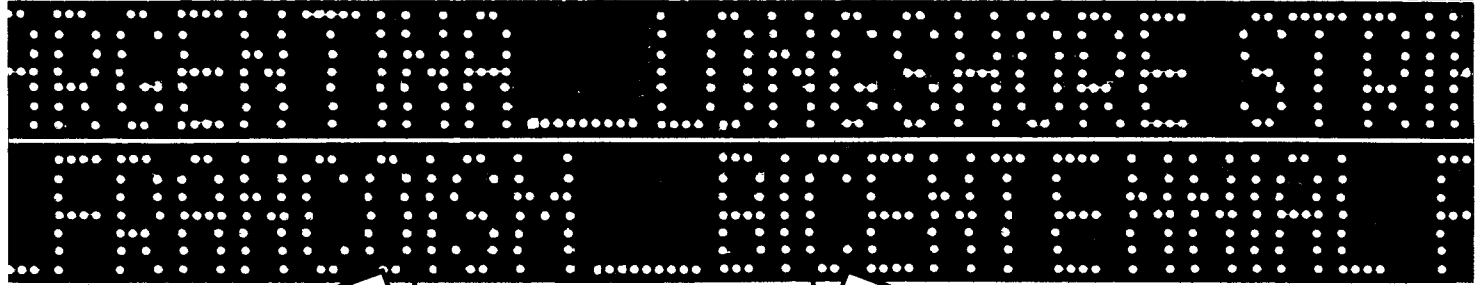
Although the leadership verbally defends open admissions and no-tuition, and occasionally even endorses student protest actions, the PSC recently lobbied the state legislature for passage of the Landes "rescue" bill, thereby accepting the imposition of tuition. While the PSC did oppose the attempt by the city to withhold faculty pay for the period of the CUNY shut-down, union president Irwin Polishook last May signed a disastrous contract which deferred \$16 million in already earned pay until 1978!

At a time when the city attack on no-tuition and faculty paychecks poses the need for joint student/campus-employee struggle, the PSC leadership is concerned only with preserving its relatively privileged status as a "professional" union. Not only has the PSC supported the "rescue" package from Albany which ended no-tuition, but these business unionists have done less than nothing to fight the firing of tutors and adjuncts in CUNY.

Moreover, at a CUNY protest rally at Rockefeller Center on June 14, the PSC rally coordinator shamelessly flattered the cops for clearing the street, enthusing, "This is what happens when the workers cooperate—the cops have helped us out." But the New York City cops, who are not part of the labor movement, demonstrated their real role when they savagely attacked demonstrating students outside the Board of Higher Education this spring and when they arrested students occupying Hostos and Lehman Colleges.

Consistent with their past opportun-

1 Murderers of Hampton and Clark!...West European Stalinists Delete "Dictatorship of the Proletariat"...desia: White Supremacy Living on Borrowed Time...500,000 Spanish Workers Strike in Basque Region...Pat German Maoist Thugs Disrupt Own Demos...Castro Holds First Ever CP Congress...War in the U.Sec Minorit...moil in the Spanish Army...Jim Crow Maoists Declare Cuba Was Always Capitalist...The Sharpeville Massac...e Attica Rebels, Not Murderous Guards!...The Phony Detente Debate...Spain: The Fascist Right...Blow-Up...Near East...Editorial Notes: Healy "Assimilates" Angola...Africans Protest Racist Frame-Up Trials in Jo



Subscribe Now!

Workers Vanguard, Marxist Working-Class Weekly of the Spartacist League. \$5 for one year (48 issues). Write/make checks payable to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, New York 10013

CHINA'S ALLIANCE WITH U.S. IMPERIALISM

A SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE PAMPHLET \$1

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

Explains....
the roots of Chinese foreign policy—from Indonesia to Vietnam to Angola—in the interests of the nationalist bureaucracy ruling over the masses in the Chinese deformed workers state...

Exposes....
the apologetics of the Maoists in the service of counter-revolutionary betrayals...

Counterposes....
to Stalinism the proletarian internationalism of the Communist International of Lenin, carried forward by the Fourth International of Trotsky, and upheld today only by the international Spartacist tendency.

ORDER NOW! Only \$1!

Write/make checks payable to: Spartacus Youth Publishing Co., P.O. Box 825 Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10013

Young Spartacus

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

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

Young Spartacus is published by the Spartacus Youth Publishing Co. The Spartacus Youth League, the youth section of the Spartacist League, is a revolutionary socialist youth organization which intervenes in social struggles armed with a working-class program, based on the politics of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky.

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

Subscriptions: \$2 for 11 issues.
Write Spartacus Youth Publishing Co., Box 825, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

ism, supporters of the SWP/YSA, PL/CAR and the RSB working within the PSC have refused to struggle against the betrayals of the bureaucracy or raise an alternative class-struggle program. At an ad hoc coordinating committee meeting of the PSC on June 11 some aspiring PSC careerists wailed that opposing the Landes bill in public would embarrass the PSC leadership. With the exception of a few supporters of PL/CAR, the ad hoc committee, including supporters of the SWP/YSA and RSB, voted to refrain from criticizing the Landes bill in public!

For Labor/Student Mobilizations Against Cuts and Layoffs!

In contrast to these fake lefts, the Spartacus Youth League during the last year has stood in the forefront of the struggle to smash the austerity drive in New York City. While other campus "radicals" spout bankrupt "student power" parochialism the SYL fights to win students to a revolutionary program. We call for labor/student mobilizations building toward a general strike of city labor against the

cutbacks and layoffs. In the movement against the cutbacks we raise the following central demands:

- Rescind the decisions eliminating open admissions/no-tuition! Institute open admissions/no-tuition in SUNY and at all universities!
- Cops off campus and cop training out of CUNY!
- Rehire all fired CUNY faculty and staff!
- Extend bilingual education and special remedial programs throughout CUNY!
- Nationalize all private colleges and universities! For federally-funded education at all levels and for a state stipend to all students adequate to cover all living expenses! For student/campus-worker/faculty control of the universities!
- Restore all jobs and social services eliminated through cutbacks!
- Cancel the city debt and nationalize the banks without compensation!
- Labor must break with the bosses' parties—For a workers party based on the trade unions fighting for a workers government committed to the expropriation of the capitalist class! ■

SYL DIRECTORY

- ANN ARBOR: SYL, Box 89, 4th floor Michigan Union, Univ. of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI 48107, or call (313) 665-6070
- BAY AREA: SYL, Box 852, Main P.O., Berkeley, CA 94701, or call (415) 835-1535
- BOSTON: SYL, Box 137, Somerville, MA 02144, or call (617) 492-3928 or (617) 436-1497
- CHICAGO: SYL, Box 4667, Main P.O., Chicago, IL 60680, or call (312) 427-0003
- CLEVELAND: SYL, Box 02182, Cleveland, OH 44102, or call (216) 371-3643
- DETROIT: SYL, c/o SL, Box 663A, General P.O., Detroit, MI 48232, or call (313) 881-1632
- HOUSTON: SL, Box 26474, Houston, TX 77207

- LOS ANGELES: SYL, Box 29115, Vermont Sta., Los Angeles, CA 90029, or call (213) 485-1838
- MADISON: SYL, Box 3334, Madison, WI 53704, or call (608) 257-4212
- NEW YORK: SYL, Box 825, Canal Street Sta., New York, NY 10013, or call (212) 925-5665
- PHILADELPHIA: SYL, c/o SL, Box 25601, Philadelphia, PA 19144, or call (215) 848-9816

Trotskyist League of Canada

- TORONTO: Box 222, Station B, Toronto, Ontario, or call (416) 366-4107
- VANCOUVER: Box 26, Station A, Vancouver, B.C., or call (604) 299-5306

Stalinists Whistle For Cops At Harvard

BOSTON—This spring the reformist Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL), youth group of the pro-Moscow Communist Party, surfaced here at Harvard University. Almost surfaced, rather. For YWLL supporters have turned up—lo and behold!—in a so-called Progressive Film Society, which screens Russian films on campus.

But, while the guise may change, the Stalinist politics of the YWLL remain as opportunist and criminal as ever. In a spectacle of political cowardice the YWLL recently has resorted to howling for the Harvard campus cops to eject *Young Spartacus* salesmen from the area near the film showings.

On May 13, as the SYL distributed a leaflet entitled "Stalinists Call Cops on Revolutionaries," YWLL supporters ran to the cops and demanded that the SYL "non-students" be removed from the area. One SYL supporter finally produced his "sacred" Harvard ID card, and the leafletting continued, much to the chagrin of the "Progressive" Film Society Stalinists.

The following week, however, the cops proved more cooperative with the YWLL, policing the area to keep it "clear" of socialists. As one cop approached SYL supporters distributing leaflets, a YWLL member rushed to his side to accuse the SYL of... "trespassing."

Behind the cowardly and deeply unprincipled act of calling the capitalist police on the SYL is the inability of the YWLL to politically defend its reformist Stalinist program and heri-

tage against revolutionary criticism. Yet such despicable "tactics" are small change for the "Communist" Party, which applauded the first Smith Act prosecutions against the Minneapolis Teamster leadership and the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party, which in an orgy of super-patriotism broke strikes during World War II, and which today gives "critical support" to the murderous Argentine junta.

Like crime, however, opportunism doesn't pay. Just as the Smith Act was turned against the "Communist" Party seven years later, so the very same cop whom the YWLL called to eject the SYL from the hallowed halls of Harvard threw off campus a YWLL supporter collecting signatures to put the Stalinist candidates on the ballot!

These criminal incidents of cop-calling at Harvard are only a puny imitation of the anti-working-class violence unleashed by the parasitic bureaucracy in the USSR following the degeneration of the Bolshevik Revolution under Stalin. Those who today call upon the cops to muzzle opponents within the workers movement indeed stand in the rank tradition of the Stalinist butchers who assassinated Andres Nin and thousands of socialists in Spain, not to mention the entire generation of Left Oppositionists murdered in the Russian labor camps, especially after the infamous Moscow Trials. The YWLL reformists may try to cover up their misdeeds or pose as "progressive" film buffs, but the working class will never forget and will avenge the crimes of Stalinism. ■

LE BOLCHEVIK

No 1, 1er trimestre 1976, 0,50f

Publication de la Ligue Trotskyste de France

pour toute correspondance: Bruno Porquier, B.P. 57 95 120 Ermont, France

Kommunistische Korrespondenz

herausgegeben von der Trotskistischen Liga Deutschlands

Zu bestellen über: 1 Berlin 120 Postlagerkarte A 051 429 Postscheckkonto Berlin West: 503 57 - 107 (Wolfgang Hohmann)

Harvard Pickets Protest Racist Loudmouth Moynihan

BOSTON—On June 17 a militant picket line at Harvard's graduation fete greeted the appearance of Daniel Moynihan with a spirited protest against this racist ideologue and imperialist zealot.

As proud parents, smug alumni and a battalion of reporters and photographers trooped into Harvard Yard, this "special day" was yanked back to reality by the militant chants and signs of the demonstration. The picket had been called by the Ad Hoc Committee to Protest Moynihan, a united front initiated by the Spartacus Youth League with the slogan, "Protest Racist Mouthpiece Moynihan." Among those endorsing the protest were the Committee for Palestinians in New England; Boston University professor Howard Zinn; Ephraim Isaac, professor of Afro-American Studies at Harvard; Search for Justice and Peace in the Middle East; the Third World Caucus of the Harvard Medical School; and the Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance.

Moynihan, who served under four presidents, who then represented the U.S. in the United Nations, and who currently seeks to spout his reactionary policies from a seat in the

passing the Sharpeville massacre. In addition, he repeatedly voiced his defense of the racist policies of the Zionist state, claiming that resistance to Israel was simply by "despotism" afraid of Israeli "democracy."

Moynihan's speech to the Harvard graduates and alumni, in which he bemoaned the "contempt for the liberal tradition of Western democracy" by recent college graduates, did not escape the protests of the Ad Hoc Committee. SYL supporters and others from the picket entered Harvard Yard, and during the conclusion of his speech the SYL led chants of "racist Moynihan!" which were picked up by many.

Earlier, as the united-front picket marched and chanted revolutionary slogans, several members of the liberal Committee Against Racism—front group of the Stalinist Progressive Labor Party—stood huddled between parked cars, torn by their desire to demonstrate against Moynihan's racist policies and their sectarian hostility to Trotskyism. The seriousness of CAR's "anti-racism" stood exposed as they finally resolved their dilemma and crept down the street.



Young Spartacus

U.S. Senate, has earned contempt for his advocacy of racist "theories" and programs domestically, and for his rabid defense of U.S. imperialism and Zionism internationally. While serving in the Johnson administration, Moynihan published a report entitled, "The Negro Family," in which he recommended that black men correct "the strains of the disorganized and matrifocal family life" by joining the army, where they could be imbued with "discipline" and "order"... and then be used as cannon fodder in Vietnam! Moynihan is no less notorious for his memorandum to then-President Nixon advocating "benign neglect" toward black people in America.

At his confirmation hearing for U.S. delegate to the UN Moynihan opposed sanctions against South Africa's apartheid regime—which this past month has murdered nearly 150 black people in a slaughter sur-

Equally disgusting was the behavior of the social-democratic New American Movement and its cronies, the Committee for a Democratic Foreign Policy. Both refused to join the united front, even though each admitted having no political differences with the demonstration. Instead, the two groups and their little troupe of *papier-mâché* effigies moved several gates away from the Ad Hoc Committee picket, justifying their divisiveness with the "argument" that they had "no position" on the Near East.

In spite of this sectarianism, the picket line succeeded in drawing attention to the reactionary policies of Moynihan and the imperialist system for which he is a lackey. The protest received coverage during the evening news of a local television station, and the *Boston Globe* covered it with a prominent photo story.

Young Spartacus

Bosses' "Cure" Kills CUNY

Fight For Open Admissions, No Tuition!

NEW YORK CITY—"With the students," a City University of New York (CUNY) professor told the *New York Times* reporter, "it's worse—the bitter taste, the demoralization, the cynicism this creates. Day by day, it was unclear whether there would be school. They were treated like Yo-Yo's on a string."

Indeed, in return for \$24 million in emergency state aid, the capitalist Board of Higher Education has just followed up its earlier elimination of open admissions by imposing tuition at CUNY, thereby excluding thousands, especially the working-class and poor youth who each year have been able to obtain higher education only through the open admissions/no-tuition policies of CUNY.

The imposition of tuition (\$750-\$950) in the 20-campus CUNY system followed an unprecedented two-week lockout of the nearly 300,000 students, faculty and campus workers. Faced with impending fiscal default, the cash-starved Board of Higher Education in collusion with Mayor Beame had ordered the entire CUNY system closed last May 28 as a pressure tactic to force the state legislature in Albany to cough up funds necessary to meet spring quarter operating expenses. Unwilling and unable to bear the entire responsibility for imposing the devastating austerity cutbacks in CUNY demanded by the dictatorial Emergency Financial Control Board—which requires the firing of 2,000 full-time faculty and 2,400 campus workers and the reduction of enrollment by one fifth—the Board of Higher Education and their masters in City Hall decided to dump CUNY in the laps of the state politicians.

Passing the (Unavailable) Buck

As the fiscal watchdogs of the bourgeoisie handed down one cutback ultimatum after another, no bourgeois politician or official relished the prospect of assuming responsibility for such a drastic step as imposing tuition at CUNY. Countless times in the past the New York City administration has boasted about the 129-year-old tradition of free municipal higher education provided by CUNY. Mayor Beame has paid homage to CUNY as the institution which enabled him to "make it," while Democrat Bella Abzug—another New York City institution—now nostalgically recalls her days at Hunter College in CUNY.

When Beame and his CUNY administration underlings bounced the ball into the corner of a surprised state legislature, one state official admitted,

"It's Ping-Pong. Who runs the city? The Governor? The Mayor? The answer is that for the tough political questions, no one wants to run the city."

—quoted in *New York Times*, 8 June 1976

In Albany the state legislature became a spectacle of political pandemonium as Republicans and Democrats engaged in a tug-of-war over the "res-

cue" of CUNY. The Democrats, who dominate the State Assembly, were backing the Landes bill, which in effect traded a short-term emergency cash advance of \$24 million for the imposition of tuition at the level of the State University of New York (SUNY) system.

But in the Republican-controlled State Senate, the Republican majority leader Warren M. Anderson mounted an opposition based on an almost identical immediate-aid package (differing primarily in its retention of the existing formula providing for the financing of CUNY through 50-50 city-state matching funds). Anderson wooed the upstate Democrats who are reluctant, especially during this election year, to vote state aid to New York City while voting only more cutbacks to SUNY. Meanwhile, behind other closed doors the Democratic Party leaders button-holed the seven Republican senators from New York City, who wince at the thought of being pilloried by the Democrats for opposing state aid to CUNY.

With the bolting of the New York City

Republicans, however, the Democrats passed the Landes bill through both houses, and on June 11 these capitalist politicians sounded the death knell for no-tuition at CUNY. Mindful of the militant protests and community outcry over the announced closure of Hostos Community College, however, the state legislature "sweetened" their "rescue" package by earmarking \$3 million to enable the Board of Higher Education to maintain Hostos.

Protests Ebb

While the well-organized student occupation of Hostos Community College during late May and April resulted in a reprieve, student protest actions against the cutbacks in CUNY this year have not even dented the austerity measures which have been ravaging CUNY. When the gates of CUNY were unlocked on June 14, students, faculty and other campus employees returned frustrated and demoralized.

Graduating students, who this year sat in Mahoney Gymnasium rather than

Young Spartacus



June 14 New York City demonstration called by CUNY faculty union to protest cutbacks.

Madison Square Garden on account of CUNY penny-pinching, heard City College president Robert E. Marshak deliver an epitaph to open admissions/no-tuition: "You are attending the last commencement held by a great, free, egalitarian, urban, public institution located in the largest city of our land." But then guest speaker Herbert Bienstock, U.S. Regional Commissioner of Labor Statistics, struck a "bright" note: "there are clear signs of the beginning of a turnaround on the New York scene." He explained that the number of youth entering the job market would begin to decline... "toward the end of this decade!"

At the City College of New York, many of the students who less than two months earlier had participated in a student strike returned to campus cynical and defeatist. A Hunter College professor interviewed by the *New York Times* (7 June 1976) voiced the frustration undoubtedly felt by thousands,

"In 1970, the students occupied the university. Where are they now?"

The lull in organized student protest in large measure is the direct result of the failure of the flock of anti-cutback groups and "left" organizations to provide any political strategy and program capable of sustaining and broadening the protest movement.

The reformist Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA) during the past year has opposed all militant tactics which go beyond "peaceful, legal, non-violent" demonstrations dominated by liberal slogans. In particular, the SWP/YSA opposed and attempted to sabotage a massive demonstration in Wall Street last November, claiming that the location and the militancy of the students could lead to "violence."

Above all, the SWP/YSA has earned a reputation for attempting to channel anti-cutback protest into hat-in-hand lobbying. Thus, the SWP/YSA built a demonstration in Washington, "featuring" Democratic Party politicians, to compete with the militant Wall Street demonstration in New York City. Likewise, the SWP/YSA threw its efforts into organizing a lobbying demonstration last March at the state legislature (sound familiar?), but ended up dissociating itself from the demonstration when hundreds of militant students stormed the State Capitol building.

At the other extreme, the infantile Maoists of the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB) have offered nothing more than mindless "fightback" rhetoric and exhortations for adventurist confrontations. As far as a program, the RSB has actually argued that the city must "pay off its debt," and that "Not to pay the banks... is not a solution we can turn to" (*Fight Back*, NY-NJ Special Edition on Cutbacks, undated).

Gyrating between these two extremes—groveling respectability and mindless substitutionalism—is the Pro-

continued on page 10