

# Young Spartacus

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## Sit-Ins, Demos Demand University Divestment

# Anti-Apartheid Protests and Liberal Moralism

April 28—In the last two weeks protests demanding university divestment of stock in companies dealing with South Africa have mushroomed across the East Coast and through the Mid West. Thousands of students have staged demonstrations, vigils and sit-ins focusing on the question of university "complicity" with the brutality of the South African racist state. Already the current wave of anti-apartheid protest is even larger than that of last spring—which was primarily confined to California—but the liberal/utopian character of the demonstrations remains unchanged.

Although demonstrations were taking place at campuses such as Rutgers and Wesleyan earlier this year and students had occupied the offices of the Chancellor of the State Board of Higher Education at Portland and Eugene, Oregon, as far back as January, the current activity has escalated dramatically since the March 31-April 2 conference of the Northeast Committee for the Liberation of Southern Africa, which drew several hundred participants at Yale University:

- On April 14 members of the South African Action Group occupied the office of the president of Wesleyan University, calling on the Trustees "to determine exclusively the swiftest and most economical means of divestiture." However, the group agreed to consider the trustees' other proposed options of voting for shareholder resolutions to "undermine apartheid" and of more directly "influencing" corporate management.

- The same day, 200 students occupied the main campus administration building at Princeton, Nassau Hall, demanding complete and immediate divestment. The People's Front for the Liberation of South Africa (!) also organized a rally of 400 outside the building. The occupation ended the following day, but daily pickets of at least 100 students have occurred since.

- At Cornell, 250 students sat-down on the steps of the Johnson Art Museum on April 11 and prevented the participants at a Board of Trustees meeting from leaving the premises.

- At the University of Chicago (UC), the UC Action Committee on South Africa called a demonstration in front of the administration building to demand that the university divest and the "U.S. Get Out of South Africa" which drew some 200 students on April 20.

- At Harvard more than 1,000 students turned out to support divestment on April 24 in a demonstration which received widespread media coverage and on April 27 an estimated 2,500 students staged a torchlight rally following an administration declaration of its refusal to divest.

- In addition, following a panel discussion on the 1968 student strike, 100 Columbia students staged a pro-divestment march on the house of university president McGill which rapidly tripled in size as it criss-crossed the campus. And on April 25 students from Yale, Princeton, Rutgers and Columbia announced plans for a June 16 march on Wall Street to protest U.S. corporate and banking ties to South Africa.

The brutal murder of Steve Biko and dozens of other



Part of 4,000-strong demonstration in Nashville on March 17 protesting South African apartheid team at Davis Cup match.

anti-apartheid protesters in Vorster's jails, the shooting down of militant black and Coloured youth in the streets and the apartheid system's inhuman regimentation and exploitation of the non-white population are fitting objects for student protest. The current demonstrations testify to the widespread revulsion felt by the U.S. student population for U.S. corporations who reap huge profits due to the white supremacist regime's repression of black labor.

### What's Behind the Latest Upsurge?

Unlike last year's divestment upsurge which at least followed in the wake of Soweto militancy, the current round of protest does not even pretend to correspond to any new mass anti-apartheid revolts in South Africa. Last fall, the prison murder of Biko did not elicit any immediate protest demonstrations from the pro-divestment organizations. In fact, at San Francisco State and Columbia groups like the Revolutionary Student Brigade, the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and various local New Leftist clots who have jumped on the divestment handwagon ostentatiously *boycotted* demonstrations protesting the murder of this leading anti-apartheid militant organized by the Spartacus Youth League (see "Protests Hit Murder of

Steven Biko," *Young Spartacus* No. 58, October 1977).

Rather the ups and downs of the divestment drives are closely related to the increasing respectability of trade and investment sanctions as a strategy of pressuring South Africa among liberal bourgeois circles. American imperialism has been increasingly nettled by what it sees as the dangerous intransigence of the apartheid regime.

The imperialists fear that without some cosmetic surgery the possibility exists for the creation of a black African/Soviet/Cuban alliance, as in Angola. While recognizing that white rule in Rhodesia was fundamentally unsalvageable, the major imperialist powers upped the pressure on Pretoria by pushing through a UN resolution in November calling for an arms embargo of South Africa. "Democratic" imperialism, which backed the South African invasion of Angola in 1975 and has studiously ignored the brutal and massive repression of anti-apartheid militants for decades, suddenly declared the white supremacists to be a "threat to international peace."

The UN resolution was triggered by the murder of Biko and Prime Minister B.J. Vorster's attack on the liberal press and clergymen and "black consciousness" groups which had expressed their outrage at reports of

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## EDITORIAL NOTE

### "People's Mayor" Axes "People's Cop"

It must be rough going for the reformist left in Cleveland these days. Only a few months back a seemingly invincible combination swept into power: a mayor and police chief who had uniformly been heralded in the pages of the fake-left press. Yet scarcely four months after taking office, "antimonopoly" mayor Dennis Kucinich has found himself locked in battle with "progressive" police chief Richard Hongisto, creating a local scandal of major proportions.

Elected as a maverick "reform" Democrat last November, "Boy Wonder" Kucinich imported liberal

Christopher Springmann



charges that Kucinich, his executive secretary Bob Weisman and the city council had pressured him into "unethical acts." Hongisto's claims were quickly picked up by Kucinich's political opponents who in turn launched a recall petition campaign which is steadily gaining steam. Meanwhile, as mayor and hand-picked top cop hurled such insults as "anti-humanistic," "incompetent" and "pathological liar" at one another, the city council initiated a petition of its own, this one against Weisman.

Behind the charges of corruption, patronage and

Larry Nighswander



Cleveland's former "hip" top cop Richard Hongisto (left) and mayor "Boy Wonder" Dennis Kucinich (right, in dark suit).

darling Hongisto from San Francisco to fill Cleveland's revolving-door chief-of-police post. Together they were to revive deteriorating neighborhoods, clean out corrupt government departments and keep the municipally owned power plant out of the hands of big business. Indeed, one of Kucinich's first "enlightened" acts was to erect in front of Muni Light a billboard bearing the slogan "Power to the People."

Then at a press conference in late March the "anti-establishment" balloon burst. The "people's mayor" gave the axe to the "people's cop" for raising the lurid

nepotism are conflicting appetites: Hongisto has been maneuvering for greater autonomy for his police department bailiwick—a dangerous proposition which would leave the cops independent from any form of civilian control—while Kucinich, in line with his desire to replace the old city machine with a few friends of his own, would prefer that the police be controlled directly from the mayor's office.

Left stranded by his "liberal" and "black community" allies—whose eleventh-hour support narrowly secured his election—Kucinich's present

position looks pretty bleak. Lest he despair of his isolation, however, he need only peruse the pages of *Daily World*, newspaper of the Communist Party (CP). Anxious to show that there's still plenty of room for the good mayor in their mythic "antimonopoly coalition," the CP has rushed to Kucinich's defense, blustering that he "became the target of the downtown business interest, the utilities and reactionaries" (*Daily World*, 20 April 1978). Hongisto was duly taken to task by these shameless reformists for letting himself be "used by reactionaries, racists and local big business."

The CP's current praise for Kucinich is not just sympathy with an underdog. With enough "fight the right" rhetoric to make Henry Wallace blush, the CP touted Kucinich in last year's election as a latter-day William Jennings Bryan. In an article entitled "Elections in Cleveland a defeat for big business, political bosses," the CP boasted of the:

"Unity of Black and white and of East Side and West Side around workingclass issues, as called for by the Communist Party, materialized around the candidacy of Kucinich and in the defeat of the most reactionary city council people."

—*Daily World*, 15 November 1977

The election was also hailed as part of the trend toward "growing political independence from the two old party machines and for coalescence of antimonopoly forces" (*Political Affairs*, January 1978). In fact, before Kucinich's meteoric rise to power he was best known as the man from Cleveland's largely white West Side who broke with the Democratic machine to help defeat Cleveland's only black mayor Carl Stokes. Even the CP was forced to admit that "he has a long way to go to overcome the charge of racism lodged against him since Carl Stokes' defeat" (*Political Affairs*, January 1978).

The CP can at least find consolation in equally bad company. The International Socialists (I.S.), granddaddy of State-Department socialism, desperately cried "Scandal!" in the April 10 edition of *Workers Power*. The I.S. today bemoans the man who "swept into office on an anti-establishment platform" for tarnishing his original "radical, populist image"! But then the I.S. has always been a group for images—one of their recent favorites was none other than Bob Weisman, once a president of United Automobile Workers (UAW) Local 122. In fact, during the 1976 UAW contract period, the I.S.-backed "opposition" within the union, the United National Caucus, all but dissolved into Weisman's sub-reformist "Coalition for a Good Contract."

But Kucinich is not the only one with friends

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### Defend SYL Activist Sandor John!

## Press Focuses on Chicago "Outside Agitator" Trial

CHICAGO, April 21—As the case of Spartacus Youth League (SYL) activist Sandor John is pending before Illinois Criminal Court, the campaign against administration repression at the University of Illinois Chicago Circle campus (UICC) has received significant support throughout the city. John was arrested last November 22 on charges of criminal trespass for the "crime" of being a non-student distributing socialist literature on Circle campus. This McCarthy-style harassment of "outside agitators" represents a threat to the democratic rights not only of the left but of all those who oppose the administration.

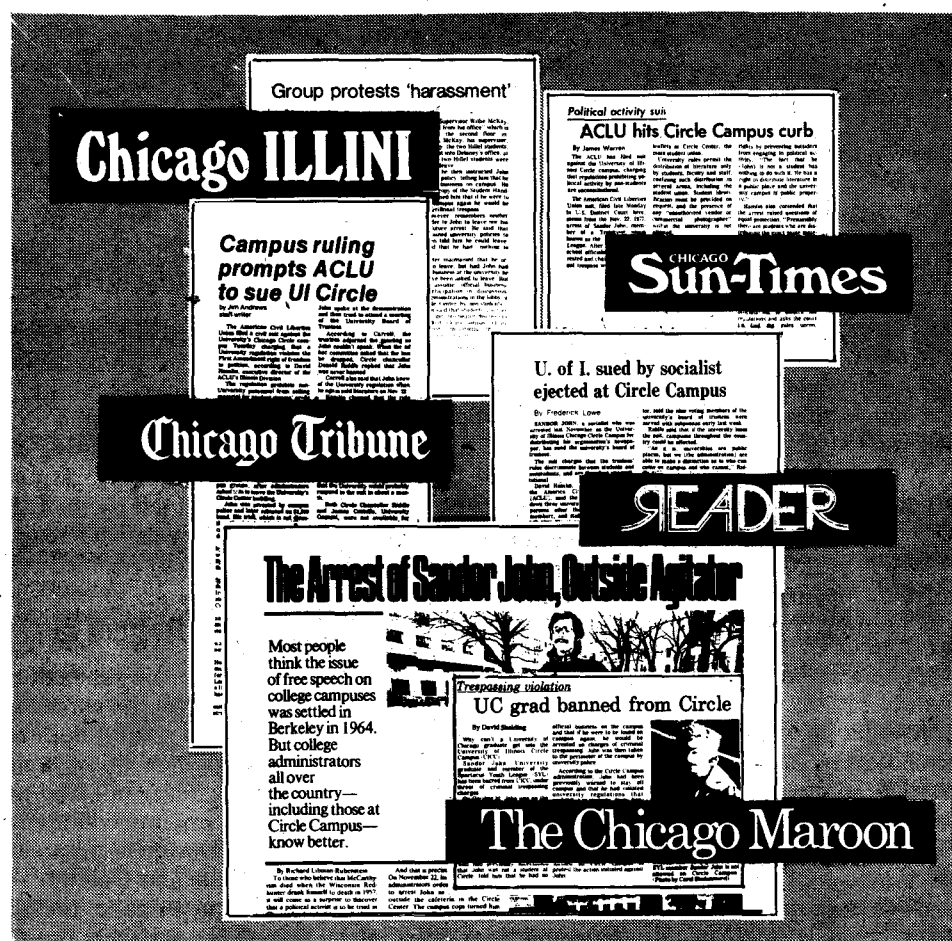
Recently the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) has filed a civil suit on behalf of John and the SYL against the University of Illinois. The suit challenges the constitutionality of the University's regulations which prohibit non-students from conducting political activity on campus. The Chicago *Sun Times* and *Tribune*, the two major daily newspapers, have carried prominent articles on the recently announced ACLU suit, as have other newspapers in the Chicago area.

Meanwhile, pressure has been mounting on Circle campus against the administration's policies. In a desperate attempt to reassert the administration's

authority, University Chancellor Riddle issued a statement, mass distributed on campus, entitled "The Right of Free Speech and Expression on Campus." This "proclamation," which cynically asserts that the administration will preserve the right of free speech and expression and "is firmly committed to insuring its protection for every member of our campus community" goes on to conclude that only the administration has the right to decide who can or cannot attend public events on campus!

Even the pro-administration remedial journalists of the campus newspaper, the *Illini*, had a hard time swallowing Chancellor Riddle's statement. To this day, the *Illini* (10 April) maintains that the administration's rules on "outsiders" were designed "to protect the members of the campus community from unwanted, high-pressure, sales pitches from fanatical vendors trying to hawk their rag." But now, the *Illini*, which has played the role of the administration's mouthpiece in its attempt to smear the Sandor John defense case, is half-heartedly admitting: "One might ask why the University ever got into this mess."

The implications of this case are clear to all parties. If the "outside agitator" witchhunt is defeated, it will represent a



significant setback for future attempts to crack down on university dissent. Thus, in a recent interview with the *Chicago Tribune*, Chancellor Riddle declared that "if the university loses the suit, campuses throughout the country could be affected" (*Chicago Tribune*, 16 April).

While the campaign to drop the charges against Sandor John continues, funds are urgently needed. *Young*

*Spartacus* urges its readers to contribute to the Sandor John Defense Fund, which is being administered by the Partisan Defense Committee, a class-struggle, anti-sectarian defense organization which is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League. Send contributions/make checks payable to: Partisan Defense Committee (earmarked Sandor John Defense Fund) P.O. Box 6729, Main P.O., Chicago, Illinois, 60680. ■

## Administration on the Rampage

# Liberal Nostalgia At Kent Protests

It is now eight years since the murder of four antiwar protesters at Kent State, and yet the "spirit of Kent" continues to be a cause célèbre on the left. Unlike the antiwar activists who marched in defiance of ROTC, cops and National Guardsmen, however, the current brand of this "spirit" hails back to the juvenile antics which arose out of last year's gym-site controversy. When the university administration announced its intention to build a gymnasium on the site from which National Guardsmen opened fire, student protest rekindled as hundreds of students turned out on the May 4 anniversary of the 1970 shootings.

After months of protest including a militant building seizure by over 500 students and the ill-fated "tent city" fiasco, the Kent State "spirit" rapidly dissipated under the joint pacifist/New Leftist/Maoist leadership of the May 4 Coalition. With the outer structure of the gym now taking shape on the disputed Blanket Hill location, the university administration clearly has the upper hand on campus this year.

Students at Kent face the upcoming May 4th in the wake of over eight months of unrelenting administration harassment and legal reprisals against the anti-gym protesters active last spring. While granting the token concession of canceling classes on May 4, the administration has unleashed a provocative state of siege on campus with vindictive attacks on anyone it can associate with the student protests. Kent student Glenn Perusek was dragged before the administration's All-Campus Hearing Board for *distributing leaflets* opposing a proposed tuition hike. May 4 Coalition activist Carter Dodge protested the star chamber proceedings which put Perusek on "conduct probation" and was brought before the same body days later and received a month-long suspension! Additionally, "outsiders" (i.e., veteran Kent activists and May 4 Coalition leaders Alan Canfora and Greg Rambo) were arrested on criminal trespass charges for addressing an "unauthorized" rally on March 29, and the 194 persons arrested in July at the "tent city" bust have for the most part been forced to forfeit bail. Kent State president Brage Golding has even threatened to seek injunctions against the scheduled May 4 rally this year should any non-students attend.

Last fall Golding, who was obviously emboldened by the disintegration of student protest against the gym site, gave clear warning of what was to come. Rallies and demonstrations were banned, five students were arrested for reading the Bill of Rights publicly in the Student Center, and the scheduled Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB) conference was forced off campus. As we wrote in a leaflet distributed last October:

"Covering up their crime and the memory of massive student protest in 1970 is not enough for Golding and his ilk—stifling all opposition is the clear aim of the banning of the RSB conference, and the administration witchhunt. Taking their cue, the ROTC recruiters advertise almost daily in the pages of the *Stater*... they and Golding's riot gear-clad cops are the 'outsiders' who should be driven from the campus."

The SYL stands in full solidarity with the May 4th activists against university and state repression and demands that all charges be dropped, that Dodge be reinstated to full student status and that all disciplinary notes be wiped off the school records.

### ROTC and "Victories"

The imminent May 4 activities have



John A. Darnell/Life

produced a spate of "Lessons of the Kent State Struggle" type articles in the left press—particularly among the now split RSB/Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB). But the ongoing gym construction and the administration rampage against leading militants have brought forth no "criticism/self-criticism" from the Maoist honchos of the May 4 Coalition. (In fact, while elsewhere the RSB and RCYB have been ripped apart with polemics and often projectiles flying back and forth between the hostile organizations, at Kent "unity" between the two has been forged on the basis of unabashed organizational appetites to stand in the tradition of "take the hill" bravado.)

Undaunted by the stinging defeat of the central demand of the demonstrators last year (moving the gym), the RCYB has, of course, "summed up" the Kent struggle as a victory:

"How can we say that we won if the gym still gets built? Because the gym is now a monument to the brutal nature of the system that murdered the four at Kent."

—*Revolutionary Communist Youth*, March 1978

Just as with heads-I-win/tails-you-lose, this self-serving Maoist illogic allows only for "victory." But with "victories" like these...

While the RCYB dedicates itself to Orwellian interpretations of the Kent protests, the May 4 Coalition engages in a conscious political apologia for the policies which led to Golding's "open season" on the Kent State left and the rapid attrition of student support. Throughout the Kent protests it was the Spartacus Youth League which alone upheld that if the demonstrations did not confront the central questions of May 1970 (i.e., the imperialist state which devastated Vietnam and the presence of ROTC, cops and the National Guard on campus) the renewed activity would simply pass with little lasting impact. Sensing that for all their adventurist pranks support to the protests has qualitatively lessened, the May 4 Coalition dedicates itself to polemicizing *against* the call for ROTC off campus (which the SYL uniquely and consistently raised at Kent last year).

According to the second issue of the Coalition's newsletter, *The Truth Demands Justice*, the difference is one of the "period": "Unlike today, during the war students across the nation protested the presence of ROTC on college campuses and very often were successful in removing ROTC from their campuses." After describing the burning of the Kent ROTC building in 1970, these "older-but-wiser radicals" pontificate:

"It is very important for us in 1978 to view these actions as acts of political



Workers Vanguard

Top: 1970—National Guardsmen murdered 4 at Kent State. Bottom: 1977—"Tent City" demonstrators refused to call for cops and ROTC off campus.

desperation by American students... The militant action of students against property can only be viewed as justifiable outrage which ultimately helped to achieve a noble goal—the end of the war."

It is indeed ironic that those who once held out a piece of chain-link fence from the Blanket Hill construction site as a moment of "struggle" are now be-moaning "outrages" against "property." But the dividing line between the SYL and the May 4 Coalition is not the question of burning down the ROTC building; rather, it is the question of opposition to the repressive forces of the bourgeois state.

### Once Again, The Lessons of May 4

It is far from coincidental that today's "radicals" recoil in horror from the demand for ROTC off campus. Opposition to this demand directly flows from political accommodation to the decrease in student protest directed against U.S. imperialism and its institutions. Today, in the era of Carter's "human rights" crusade, appeals for campus divestment to rid "clean" American multinationals and universities of South African stock, the parading about of cold war anti-Soviet dissidents and the like are "in."

The organizers of the current Kent protests smugly dismiss anti-ROTC

protests as "acts of political desperation" and tack on that they are "unlike today." But the militant, if politically primitive, hatred of the American bourgeoisie that spurred the massive student resistance against the war in Indochina was far *advanced* of the pacifistic, flower-children-style mass bust at the site of "tent city" and the constant attempts by coalition leaders to negotiate with everyone from the Trustees to the Department of the Interior for an "official" monument.

With May 4 again approaching, the gym construction should serve as a grim reminder that the combined forces of the bourgeois administration and the state are again trying to stifle student protest. The four Kent students were murdered for opposing imperialism's war and its armed forces—and yet the future butchers of other Vietnams and the organized enemies of student leftists and workers are being trained right on campus. The only truly fitting memorial to the students killed in 1970 would be to get all representatives of the state which gunned down students at Kent and Jackson State off campus!

Stop the Administration Harassment! Drop All Charges Against the Anti-Gym Protesters! Reinstate Carter Dodge! Cops and ROTC Off Campus! ■



Police confront protesting students in Jakarta.

## Troops Occupy Campuses After Student Protests

# Indonesia: Twelve Years After the Bloodbath

Twelve years after the brutal slaughter which choked Indonesia's cities and countryside with the corpses of some 500,000 to 1,000,000 workers and peasants, the military dictatorship of General Suharto which it brought to power is still there. But though Suharto was unanimously "re-elected" president of the republic for another five years at the People's Consultative Congress (MPR) held in March, his regime continues to be faced with widespread dissatisfaction and suspicion from within the ruling elite. For several months prior to the MPR Suharto was the target of active, although small, student protests and rumblings of criticism from the higher echelons, most notably the Muslim political establishment and a cabal of "dissident" generals.

The current unrest came to the fore on January 20 when the regime responded to the escalating wave of student protests, and criticism from military "dissidents" and the press with a sudden crackdown in which over 300 students were arrested, seven leading newspapers

banned and the military critics told to shut up or else. Within a month the newspapers were back on the streets after their chastened editors had pledged to "always maintain the good reputation and authority of the government and national leadership."

But protest rallies and strikes by the students continued, particularly at the prestigious Bandung Institute of Technology. In Jakarta, where rumors of student deaths at the hands of the rampaging troops are widespread, the troops were used to shut down the University of Indonesia and other nearby campuses.

Originally beginning as vague protests against corruption and the blatant rigging of the "election," student anger has increasingly focused on Suharto, with calls for his removal by "constitutional means." Another focus of protest has been the ostentatious luxury and business activities of "certain officials' wives," a barely disguised attack on Madam Suharto (whose notoriety for corrupt business dealings has earned her the title, "Madam Ten Percent"). Given the dominant role of the Islamic students' society, the Himpanan Mahasiswa Indonesia, in the protests, the attack on wives is a convenient appeal to populist reformist resentment against nepotism and to reactionary orthodox sentiment for reinforcing women's chattel status and a return to the veil. The "socialism" espoused by many of these students is no different in kind from that of a variety of nationalist demagogues in the Islamic world, best exemplified by Libya's reactionary Islamic dictator Qaddafi.

The present bout of student protest is not the first. The so-called Malari riots which shook Jakarta in January 1974 during the visit of then-Japanese prime minister Tanaka combined characteristics of a desperate plebeian upheaval with a chauvinist pogrom against the sizable Chinese population. The theme of racist anti-Chinese xenophobia was not only an important component of the

slaughter in 1965-66 which crushed the pro-Peking Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI) but also continues today in student attacks on Chinese businessmen as one of the prime sources of corruption. When high school students staged their own anti-corruption demonstration before the MPR opening they pointedly held it in the Chinese quarter of Jakarta.

The contradictory and extremely narrow character of the Indonesia student movement is not surprising. Within Indonesia, the university student population numbers only 160,000, is carefully screened and often the children of the post-1965 "New Order" elite. With the overwhelming devastation of the Indonesian left in 1965-66, in which Muslim students directly participated, the universities became the preserve of the right. Cut off from any ties to the workers movement and the left, university protests in post-1965 Indonesia have fully lent themselves to clericalism and anti-communism.

Although a revolutionary party would nevertheless seek to recruit individuals from such strata, the role of the students in Indonesia graphically confirms that while students are one of the most volatile sections of the petty bourgeoisie they are far from the automatic force for revolution as is maintained by "student vanguard" enthusiasts such as the Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance.

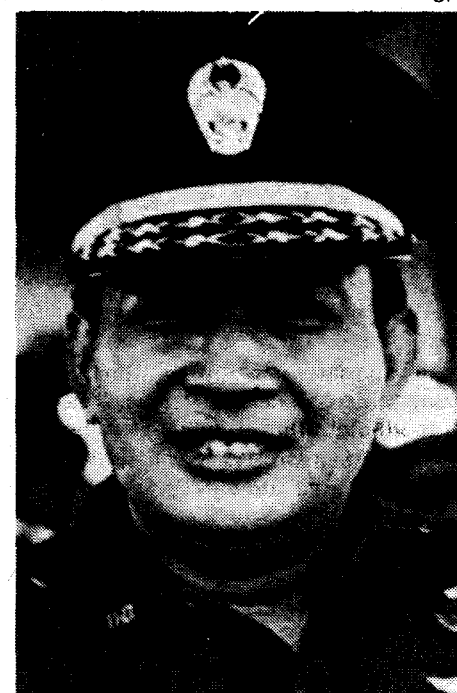
### The Debacle of 1965

More than anything else it was the 1965 coup which locked in Southeast Asia, securing Indonesia as a reactionary bastion in the region for a grateful U.S. imperialism (and Australian jackal imperialism) and allowing a section of the U.S. bourgeoisie to contemplate withdrawal from Vietnam. Besides being the fifth most populous state in the world and (with the partial exception of Vietnam) the most powerful state in Southeast Asia, Indonesia straddles

Japan's vital trade lifelines to Europe and the Near East oil fields and is itself an important arena for neo-colonialist exploitation, particularly for the U.S. and Japanese imperialists.

If the visible opposition to the generals today appears as narrowly-based, elite-centered and moderate, this is no measure of the pent-up massive popular discontent. Rather it is a

UPI



Indonesian dictator Suharto.

reflection of the enormity of the holocaust in 1965. The bloodbath of 1965-66 is not as evocative to many leftists as the Chilean coup of 1973, although both resulted from the same criminal popular-front alliances pursued by Stalinist parties and left in their wake equally brutal dictatorships. The Indonesian slaughter, however, resulted in a proletariat which was not merely beheaded, but crushed. Leaderless and disoriented, the toiling masses of Indonesia have yet to recover from the disaster produced by the cringing policy of "national unity"

### Young Spartacus

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

Editorial Board: Samuel Lewis (editor), Elizabeth Kendall, Mary Jo McAllister, Charles O'Brien, Marc Rogier

Production manager: N. Wilner  
Circulation manager: L. Murphy

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with the "progressive" bourgeoisie practiced by the PKI.

The decimation of the PKI also laid the basis for the rapprochement between U.S. imperialism and China. Indonesia decisively demonstrated that, for all the radical trappings concerning the "Third World," the Chinese Stalinists were no less committed to "friendly" bourgeois rulers than their Soviet counterparts. With the escalation of Sino-Soviet antagonisms, Peking's search for anti-Soviet "progressive" forces neatly dovetailed with American foreign policy. Prior to 1965, the PKI was temporarily useful to then-dictator Sukarno as a counterweight to the aggressively rightist ABRI (Armed Forces) generals. The PKI pledged eternal loyalty to the "Great Leader of the Revolution" and abandoned all semblance of political independence in exchange for high level maneuvers to join the capitalist government. PKI leader Aidit exhorted the cadre to place "the interests of the class and the party below the national interest" as the party called for the strengthening of the bourgeois state with the slogan "Help the Police" and agitated for the jailing of Sukarno's liberal and Islamic critics—in the very prisons which were later to hold them. While the masses reeled from rocketing inflation and economic collapse, the PKI refused to launch a campaign against the rising prices, preferring to coin idiot slogans for the demagogue Sukarno like "Our hearts are harder than our hunger."

Throughout this period the Maoist bureaucracy in China, with whom the PKI had aligned in the Sino-Soviet dispute, had uncritically hailed the PKI's course. Mao himself proclaimed that the PKI leaders had "creatively applied and developed Marxism-Leninism in the light of the revolutionary practise in its own country" (quoted in Simon, *The Broken Triangle*). Such praise fitted in with Peking's own ardent wooing of Sukarno as an "anti-imperialist" statesman. When, however, after the failure of the 30 September Movement—an attempted coup against the rightist generals by more junior officers loyal to Sukarno—the army moved against the PKI, this latter-day Chiang Kai-shek willingly joined the witchhunt (see "How Maoist Strategy Sabotaged the Indonesian Revolution" in the Spartacus Youth League pamphlet *China's Alliance With U.S. Imperialism*).

With some three million members, the PKI was the largest Communist Party outside Russia and China. The youth and women's affiliates had similar numbers while the PKI-controlled All-Indonesian Central Organization of Trade Unions (SOBSI) claimed three and a half million members, encompassing over 60 percent of the labor movement. The PKI peasant association represented some nine million peasants—all this out of a total population of slightly more than a hundred million. Yet in a few short months the PKI and its organizations were literally immolated in a counterrevolutionary bloodbath whose scope and ferocity have few historical parallels. As the army hunted down PKI cadre and supporters in the cities, a nightmarish white terror enveloped the countryside. Throughout the archipelago and particularly in the PKI strongholds in central Java and Bali, village after village was razed and men, women and children hacked to pieces by the military and roving bands of Islamic reactionaries. Throughout this savage massacre the Stalinist PKI leadership was helpless, pledging its eternal loyalty to a "progressive" national bourgeoisie whose army was pulverizing them out of existence.

Lashed by the murderous repression and demoralized by the failure of their policies, the post-1965 PKI splintered into a pro-Peking and a much smaller pro-Moscow wing, with leading cadre dispersed in exile in Moscow, China and Albania. The pro-Peking element issued

## Protests Erupt in Shah's Prisons

# Iranian Students Stage Solidarity Hunger Strikes

In the prisons and torture chambers of Iran, hundreds of victims of the bloody-handed Shah's white terror have been on a hunger strike since mid-March. Despite the severe repression, the strikers are demanding an end to harassment and assault on prisoners by police commandos and agents of the dreaded SAVAK (the Shah's secret police), the right to communicate with and receive visits from family and friends, improved prison conditions and the release of prisoners whose terms have expired.

In solidarity with the courageous defiance of these victims of the butcher Shah, Iranian students abroad have initiated hunger strikes of their own in England, Austria, West Germany, Sweden and throughout the U.S. The sympathy strikes, organized in the U.S. by the diverse wings of the deeply divided Iranian Students Association (ISA), are intended to publicize the plight of the estimated 100,000 prisoners of the Shah's regime and to draw attention to the violent social upheavals which have erupted in Iran.

In recent months the Shah's dictatorial regime has been confronted by an upsurge in massive popular protests—beginning on January 9 when hundreds of protesters were massacred in the streets of the religious center Qom by cops and troops. After the forty days of the traditional Islamic mourning period had elapsed on February 18, shops and schools in dozens of cities were shut down in protest. In Tabriz, Iran's second largest city, tens of thousands took to the streets to attack the hated symbols of the Shah's terror and foreign imperialist domination. In addition to the headquarters of the Shah's Rastakhiz party in Tabriz, which was reduced to rubble by the enraged masses, 73 U.S. and other banks and hundreds of military and police vehicles were destroyed.

Each of these protests is carried out in defiance of the overwhelming repression

of the Shah's regime. For the prisoners engaged in the hunger strike, for whom this is perhaps the last desperate form of resistance, there is no protection from the countless torture devices of the SAVAK. Similarly, for the Iranian student militants abroad, each demonstration exposes them to the thousand tentacles of SAVAK terror and the threat of deportation to the Shah's

productive than other tactics open to foreign students in bourgeois-democratic countries—such as protest demonstrations (together with the American left) at consulates or offices representing the Iranian state. (This is a far cry from the social democrats of the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom and the Socialist Workers Party who, in order to gain "respectabil-

Popperfoto



Iranian students protest Shah, Montreal, 1977.

torture chambers—whose existence and continued operation gives the lie to the Carter administration's cynical attempts to whitewash the Shah's barbarity.

But while hunger strikes may be the sole recourse of imprisoned militants, for the ISA members abroad they are a particularly ineffective means of protest against the butcher Shah. Acts of moral witness directed at attracting the sympathy of bourgeois liberals and increasing the pressure of "progressive" world opinion on the Shah are far less

ity" in the eyes of bourgeois liberals, have also raised "tactical" differences with the ISA. For these fake-Trotskyists this has been elaborated into a shameful strategy of *refusing* to defend guerrilla fighters in Iran and *refusing* to raise the demand "Down with the Shah.")

Rather than search in vain for "progressive" bourgeois forces, revolutionaries would turn to the power of the international workers movement and seek to organize both united-front protest activities and a labor boycott of *continued on page 11*

some "self-criticism" of the "old" leadership for not adopting an "independent attitude toward Sukarno" and not preparing for eventual "armed struggle." But an independent attitude toward the bourgeoisie was impossible within the framework of the Menshevik/Stalinist conception of "two-stage revolution," which demanded an alliance with the national bourgeoisie, with Sukarno!

The 1965 coup demonstrated forcefully, and all too tragically, that Maoism's claim to be more "revolutionary" than Moscow-style Stalinism was

false to the core. Now, with Peking's support to the U.S.-inspired Association of Southeast Asian Nations, as part of China's alliance with U.S. imperialism, it would only be logical for the Chinese Stalinists, and the Peking-loyal elements of the PKI, to support those who butchered the PKI as bulwarks against "Soviet hegemonism"!

### "Sick at Heart"—But Ruthless Butchers

Today's military critics, known as the "Sick at Heart Brigade," consist of retired or non-active senior ABRI officers like the former defense minister and independence war hero A.H. Nasution, independence war hero Bung Tomo and former commanders of the celebrated Siliwangi Division (prominent for its brutality during the coup) like Kemal Idris and H.R. Dharsono. While men like Nasution and Dharsono may not have been especially close to Suharto since the coup which replaced the Sukarno dictatorship, they are all fundamentally identified with the "New Order" and were often directly and intimately involved in the massacres—Nasution was then ABRI chief of staff. In fact Dharsono and Idris were staunchly anti-communist hawks who wanted to carry the purge further than Suharto. These butchers are not interested in restoring democracy but in stabilizing the situation by purging the junta of the more corrupt elements and

introducing a less overtly military regime.

Before the January 20 crackdown, members of the "Sick at Heart Brigade" were popular speakers at student meetings. At one such meeting called to commemorate the "66 Generation"—the Muslim student activists who played an important auxiliary role in the roundups and massacres of the time—Dharsono summed up the feelings of the "heartsick" ones:

"...our enemies in 1945 were the colonialists. In 1966 they were the communists. And now, although we have no enemies, we have differing opinions that should be overcome...the people would obey out of fear, not love."

—*Far Eastern Economic Review*,  
3 February 1978

Dharsono should know all about obedience through fear, as he was the commander of the Siliwangi Division when that outfit was "purifying" central Java of peasant supporters of the PKI in 1966. However, his audience of students, later to be described by the regime as "subversives," responded to this "criticism" with cries of "Long Live Pak (Father) Dharsono" and "Long Live ABRI"—a telling illustration of the current political consciousness of the students.

### Carter's "Human Rights" Means Suharto Dictatorship

Before the March MPR gathering the *continued on page 11*

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*Marxism and the Jacobin  
Communist Tradition Part XII*

# The Dissolution of the Communist League

**I**n the concluding talks of this series I want to discuss why in the years 1850-52 Marx and Engels broke with what can be called the Jacobin communist tradition and how their break shaped the classical Marxism of the period from the founding of the First International in 1864 to the death of Engels in 1895. Specifically I want to take up the question of why classical Marxism, in contrast to the later Leninist tradition, is devoid of the principle of the vanguard party.

I want to argue that the year 1850 marks the critical watershed in the history of 19th century Marxism. It was during the year 1850 that Marx expressed at the most extreme his commitment to the Jacobin communist tradition. Not only did Marx make a bloc with the French Blanquists, but in the spring of 1850 he associated himself for the first time with the concepts of "permanent revolution" and "dictatorship of the proletariat"—terms which don't appear in Marxist writings before 1850 and only sparsely after that.

It's understandable, therefore, that the evolution of Marx's thinking during the year 1850 has become an issue hotly debated between Trotskyists on the one hand and Stalinists and Social Democrats on the other. Social Democratic historians such as the Menshevik Boris Nicolaievsky and the Kautskyan George Lichtheim contend that in 1850 Marx underwent a short-lived ultra-left aberration which he later repudiated. In contrast, Leninist-Trotskyists would argue that the Marx of early 1850 made an important *anticipation* of revolutionary communist conceptions which were to be fully formulated through the experiences of the First World War and the Russian Revolution of 1917. At the end of 1850 Marx made what I would argue was a decisive but not yet conclusive break with the Jacobin communist tradition represented by the split in the Communist League. And in that split, which actually was international in scope, was laid in embryo the theoretical conceptions which were to become the basis for the strategy embodied in classical Marxism of the period of the First International and the early years of the Second International.

So, in this talk I'm going to discuss some of the important developments in the Communist League during the year 1850. To grasp their full significance, however, one must backtrack a bit and briefly look at the preceding few turbulent years.

## Ambiguities In The Marxist Strategy

Beginning in 1846 Marx developed a unique revolutionary strategy that enabled him to assume the leadership of the German-centered Communist League. As codified in the *Communist Manifesto* this strategy projected that in continental Europe the proletarian-socialist movement could ride the impending bourgeois-democratic revolution to power. With this perspective in mind Marx proceeded to make a



Satirical cartoon depicts European rulers' suppression of the revolutions of 1848.

series of political blocs with the left wing of bourgeois democracy in France and Belgium and later in Germany as well.

However, for Britain the *Communist Manifesto* had an entirely different strategic orientation. Unlike on the continent, in Britain a mass working-class party already existed in the form of the Chartist movement. Marx believed that in Britain bourgeois democracy would directly and immediately lead to the political rule of the proletariat and the socialization of the means of production.

In this Marxian strategy elaborated in the *Communist Manifesto* there was an ambiguity which is central to properly understanding the subsequent course of Marx's thinking. What was ambiguous in the Marxian strategy was the time scale linking the bourgeois-democratic with the proletarian-socialist revolution. In formulating and defending his strategic conceptions Marx used different arguments which implied very different time scales.

Marx made two political arguments, both of which

did not imply a long period of time separating the bourgeois-democratic and the proletarian-socialist revolutions. First, and most decisive, was the argument that in continental Europe the masses had great illusions in bourgeois democracy, especially its radical wing, and consequently a period of bourgeois-democratic rule would be necessary for the masses to shed their illusions. Second, Marx argued that especially in France and Germany, where conditions of repression had significantly retarded the development of a mass proletarian movement, a period of bourgeois democracy would be needed for the socialists to gather their forces.

However, Marx also made an economic argument that implied a much more protracted historic time scale. In France and even more so in Germany the majority of the population was not proletarian, even if artisans were included in that category. Therefore, Marx regarded a period of capitalist economic development as necessary to qualitatively increase the numerical weight of the proletariat.

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

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

After dealing with events leading to the revolutionary upheavals of 1848, comrade Seymour in

this article turns to the organizational and political conclusions Marx drew from the defeat of mass democratic forces by the combined forces of absolutism and bourgeois democracy. This current article is based on a talk, "The Dissolution of the Communist League," given at an SYL West Coast Educational gathering in March.

Preceding articles in the series have covered: the Great French Revolution and how Jacobin communism was continued in the conspiratorial organizations and insurrectionary struggles of Babeuf and Buonarroti; the French democratic opposition and how it underwent a profound political differentiation from the Carbonari Conspiracy and the 1830 Revolution to the Blanqui putsch of 1839; British Chartism and how it reached its revolutionary climax; the origins of the Communist League and how it developed through factional struggle between the utopian millennialism of Weitling and the passive propagandism of Schapper;

the political development of Karl Marx before 1848 and how he formulated a unique strategic conception for pushing the bourgeois-democratic revolution to the prologue of the socialist revolution; the French revolution of 1848 and how the counterrevolution triumphed through a class differentiation within the victorious revolutionary-democratic forces; and the defeat of the German Revolution of 1848 through the capitulation of bourgeois democracy to monarchism.

The final presentation in this series will be given by comrade Seymour on the subject, "The Organizational Question in the Period of Classical Marxism."

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

What would appear to be ambiguous in the Marxian strategic perspective takes on a more algebraic character when one keeps in mind that Marx had a profoundly *internationalist* conception of revolution. Throughout this period Britain was key for Marx and Engels. If the workers party took power in Britain, then the interlude between the bourgeois-democratic and socialist revolutions in France and Germany might be enormously foreshortened. Conversely, if the revolution in Britain turned out not to be on the immediate historic agenda, then Marx accordingly would have expected a longer period of bourgeois democracy on the Continent.

**1848: The Radicalization of Marxism**

The projections and their underlying assumptions made by Marx and Engels in the *Communist Manifesto* didn't pass the test of the Revolution of 1848 in France and Germany. In Germany Marx was continually frustrated in his attempt to unite with the left wing of the bourgeois democracy to form an analogue of the old Jacobin party. As it turned out, his would-be bloc partners stood significantly to the right not only of Robespierre but also of Oliver Cromwell. In one of the final tragicomic acts of the German Revolution of 1848 Engels volunteered his military services to the Committee of Public Safety in the town of Elberfeld only to be red-baited out by the "revolutionary" democrats.

No less significant was that in Germany (but not in France) the artisan proletariat did not rally to the banner of bourgeois democracy but instead sought refuge in protectionist legislation, which despite its widespread popularity Marx correctly opposed as historically reactionary. As a result, one of his young disciples, a worker named Stephen Born, broke with him and formed a trade-union organization that had as its main program demands for protectionist measures which would prevent the artisans from descending into the industrial proletariat.

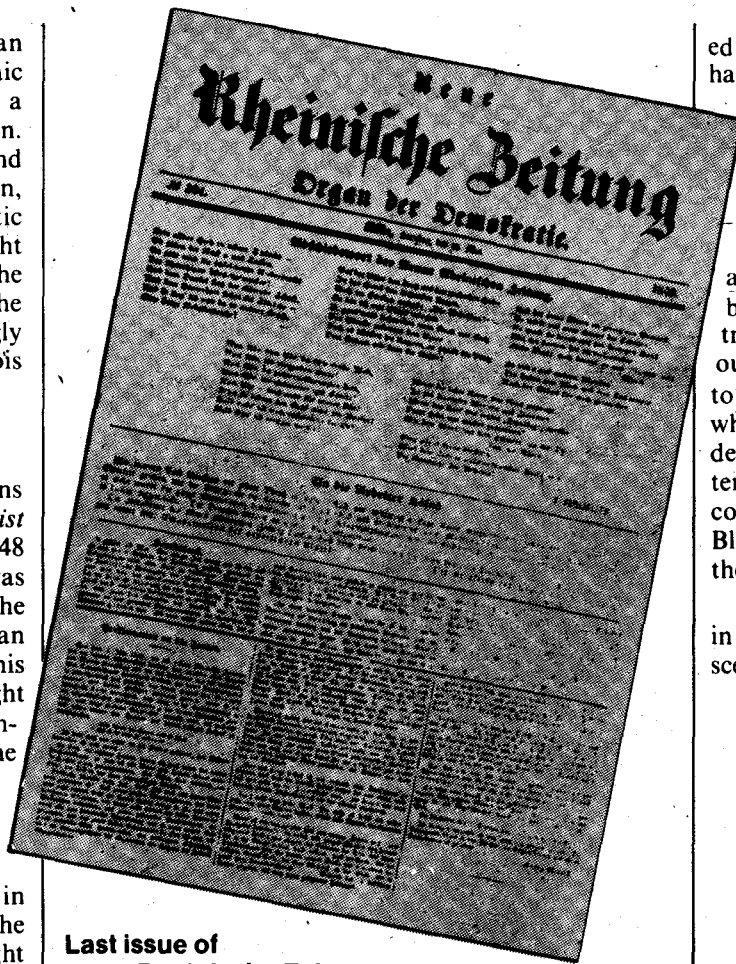
In France the revolutionary events were far more profound. The Parisian working class smashed monarchism, created organs of quasi-dual power in the National Guard, National Workshops and Luxem-



Karl Marx.

bourg Commission and wrenched considerable concessions from the popular-frontist Provisional Government in the form of the National Workshops. But the organ of dual power which the Parisian working class had created was crushed not by the forces of absolutism but by its democratic "allies." Unsuccessfully Blanqui tried to convince the Parisian workers movement that if universal elections to a constituent assembly (one of the most elementary demands of the democratic revolution) were held at that time, the peasants would vote back into power all the people who had been driven from power by the February revolution. And that was exactly what happened. The new reactionary bourgeois-democratic Constituent Assembly provoked the Parisian workers into the bloody massacre of June 1848, where the vanguard of the revolutionary proletariat was crushed.

Marx was considerably radicalized in his thinking under the impact of these events. With the final collapse of the German revolution Marx in the fall of 1849 made his way back to Britain, where most of the



Last issue of Neue Rheinische Zeitung.

surviving members of the Communist League as well as a large section of the French socialists including many Blanquists (Blanqui himself was imprisoned in France) gathered to regroup their forces and prepare anew.

**1850: Revolutionary Optimism**

It was in Britain during 1850 that Marx reached his most radical and revolutionary optimistic conclusions in the entire period. His activities both in theoretical and organizational work were profoundly internationalist. In March of 1850 Marx penned his famous "Address to the Central Committee of the Communist League," which while focusing on Germany in its specific conclusions states that the German revolution will probably be sparked by events in France and in any case its outcome will certainly be decisively shaped by the French revolution. Organizationally, Marx worked to cement a bloc between the Communist League, the French Blanquist exiles in Britain and the left wing of the Chartist movement. Its character was reflected in its rather engaging name: Universal Society of Revolutionary Communists.

With the benefit of historic hindsight it is clear that at the very time Marx reached his most optimistic and revolutionary conclusions revolution on the Continent was clearly off the historic agenda for the next period. But that wasn't at all clear to Marx and Engels in 1850. It is important to understand the context which shaped Marx's optimistic view.

After the German revolution had objectively been crushed the Communist League nevertheless continued to grow and organize. Despite the repression the Communist League was far stronger in the spring and summer of 1850 than it had ever been in 1848. The experience of the revolution tended to radicalize many of the activists who had supported the bourgeois democrats and even some of the workers who had supported Born came to realize that their trade-union activities were possible only because there had been a revolutionary situation and could not continue under an absolutist government. Marx was receiving glowing reports from Germany about how the Communist League was growing by leaps and bounds. Even former left-bourgeois democrats were joining. For example, the German bourgeois democrat Karl Schurz who returned to Germany in the summer of 1850 to reorganize the left bourgeois party complained, "most of the people I've contacted to be cadres for our party have joined the Communist League."

It is not a unique phenomenon that if the counterrevolution does not result in massive and immediate repression the revolutionary party will be able to reorganize and take advantage of the lessons which the masses learned from the betrayals and false policies of the more right-wing parties. Such was certainly the case with the Russian Social Democracy after the defeat of the 1905 revolution: In early 1907 both the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks were far stronger than they had been in 1905. And in his writings of 1906-07 Lenin was very much the revolutionary optimist; for example, he even advocat-

ed organizing peasant guerrilla warfare—a fact which has since been exploited for bad reasons.

Events in France during 1849-50 also gave Marx cause for considerable revolutionary optimism. The conservative French peasantry, which had voted into power the reactionary Constituent Assembly and then Louis Napoleon, by late 1849 was becoming disillusioned with the conservatives and was increasingly supporting the radical petty-bourgeois Democratic Socialist party. Peasant districts which two years earlier would have driven out socialist agitators were sending socialist deputies to the assembly. At the same time the urban proletariat which had supported either the petty-bourgeois democracy or reformist socialists like Louis Blanc was tending to become—and in the opinion of Marx, correctly so—Blanquists. A minority current in 1848, Blanquism had become the dominant tendency among the Parisian proletariat by 1850.

In a review of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* written in February 1850 Marx surveyed the French political scene in the following optimistic words:

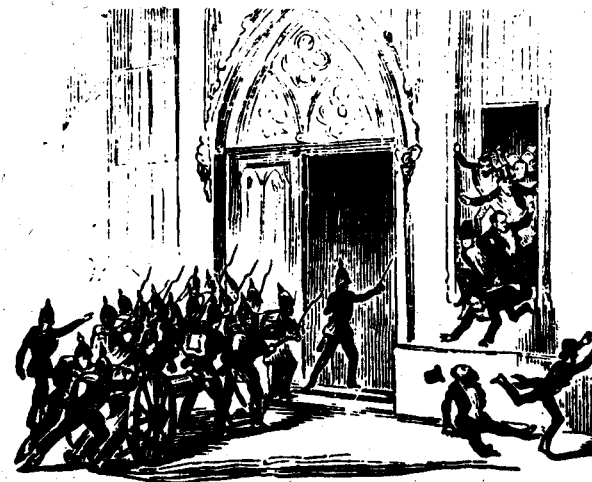
"To the same extent that the forces of reaction advance the strength of the revolutionary party naturally grows. Ruined by the fragmentation of landownership; by the tax burden and the narrow governmental character of most of the taxes which are detrimental even from the point of view of the bourgeoisie; disappointed by the promises of Louis Napoleon and the reactionary deputies, the mass of the rural population has embraced the revolutionary party and professes a form of socialism, albeit still very crude and bourgeois.... The position of the different classes toward each other—for which the opposition of the political parties is only another expression—is almost identical with that of 22 February 1848, except that other issues are at stake: the workers have a deeper consciousness of their strength and the peasants, hitherto a politically moribund class, have been swept up into the movement and won over for the revolution."

—reproduced in David Fernbach (ed.), *The Revolutions of 1848* (1973)

However, this radicalization was largely an optical illusion. It was certainly true that the French peasantry was becoming increasingly discontented; the only opposition to Louis Napoleon's coup in late 1851 occurred in peasant districts. But the peasants lacked any party organization and their temper was not so agitated that peasant insurrections could be anticipated. Similarly, the urban proletariat in its mass was turning to the extreme left but its radicalism remained essentially passive. Its revolutionary capacity had been broken by the bloodletting of the June Days of 1848 and further sapped by the cholera epidemic of the following year.

However, Marx was not wrong in anticipating that the next rising of the Parisian proletariat would take place under Blanquist leadership. But he did not and could not have foreseen that it would take a generation for the proletariat to recover from the defeat of the June Days. When the Blanquists finally did come to power 21 years later in the Paris Commune, Marx once again made a bloc with them, just as he did in 1850.

Perhaps what was the most important source of Marx's revolutionary optimism was his belief that through the left wing of the Chartist movement the communists had captured the mass party of the British



proletariat. Stirred out of its moribund slumber by the reverberations of the Revolution of 1848 the Chartist movement reawoke and in April of 1848 projected a massive militant demonstration demanding universal suffrage. Forewarned by the turn of events in France, the British bourgeoisie mobilized the army and special deputies and militarily overwhelmed the Chartist demonstration. In the aftermath of this humiliating defeat the masses became demoralized and the militant cadres, especially the socialists, became radicalized, launching agitation that led to further repression.

As a result the Chartist movement split. Feargus O'Connor, the bonapartist leader of the Chartist

*continued on page 8*

## Dissolution of the Communist League...

(continued from page 7)

movement, broke to the right, advocating a political bloc with the bourgeois liberals. It was the bolting of the O'Connorite right that enabled the socialist left wing to rapidly gain ground within the Chartist movement. Returning to Britain after these events Marx was understandably enthusiastic about how the socialists were taking over the mass organization of the proletariat.

From the vantage point of enormous historical hindsight the Chartist movement can be seen to have peaked as a revolutionary organization with the abortive general strike of 1842, that is, years before Marx ever became involved with the organization. It was not possible for Marx to recognize in 1850 that Chartism was on the decline and that its loss of its mass base through demoralization was the precondition for the lefts taking over the organization.

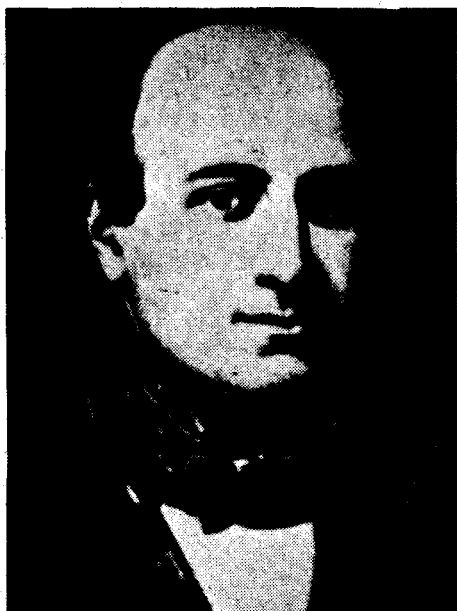
### The Marxist/Blanquist Bloc

When the Communist League was reconstructed in Britain during 1850, its leadership had a rather new configuration reflecting the impact of the experiences of the 1848 revolution. It was an unstable bloc made possible by the fact that Marx had moved to the left and August Willich, a lieutenant of Andreas Gottschalk, Marx's principal ultra-left opponent in the Communist League during the 1848 revolution, had moved one step to the right. Tactically a Blanquist but programmatically a Gottschalkite utopian socialist, Willich engaged in the radical-democratic putsch in the province of Baden and was driven into exile in France but returned to Germany in early 1849 to lead one of the revolutionary armies together with Engels. His authority was sufficiently great that upon his arrival in London Willich was co-opted to the Communist League Central Committee, even though his fundamental political views hadn't really changed.

In reuniting the leadership of the Communist League both Marx and Engels and their leftist critic Willich made certain political concessions to the other. Willich and also the left-Marxist Karl Schapper were very critical of the dissolution of the Communist League and Marx's activity in the Democratic Society. Marx and Engels accepted this criticism of their tactics in Germany and asserted that in the future they would fight for the complete independence of the workers party, namely, the Communist League. Thus, at the very beginning of his March "Address to the Central Committee of the Communist League" Marx states:

"...the former firm organization of the League was considerably slackened. A

large part of the members who directly participated in the revolutionary movement believed the time for secret societies to have gone by and public activities alone sufficient. The individual circles and communities allowed their connections with the Central Committee to become loose and gradually dormant. Consequently, while the democratic party, the party of the petty bourgeoisie, organized itself more and more in Germany, the workers party lost its only firm foothold, remained organized at most in separate localities for local purposes and in the general movement thus came completely under



Andreas Gottschalk.

the domination and leadership of the petty-bourgeois democrats. An end must be put to this state of affairs, the independence of the workers must be restored."

—reproduced in Rodney Livingstone (ed.), *The Cologne Communist Trial* (1971)

Of course, those unnamed members of the Communist League criticized here included none other than Marx and Engels. In this respect, the "Address to the Central Committee of the Communist League" was understood at the time to be a formal self-criticism by Marx and Engels making possible their bloc with Willich and Schapper.

But the significance of the March address goes far beyond this self-criticism. Before that time Marx had left somewhat open the particular periodicity linking the bourgeois-democratic and the proletarian-socialist revolutions and consequently had not committed himself to any specific tactical schema. However, under the impact of the experience of the revolution and his expectation of an impending new social revolution in a more radical framework, Marx made a leap in his strategic conceptions. What is most important about the March address was that for the first time Marx argued that from the outset of the revolution the Communist League must fight for military dual power and that consequently workers militias must be organized independent of any bourgeois formations to prepare for the revolutionary explosions to come:

"Alongside of the new official governments they must establish simultaneously their own revolutionary workers

governments, whether in the form of municipal committees and municipal councils or in the form of workers clubs or workers committees, so that the bourgeois-democratic governments not only immediately lose the support of the workers but from the outset see themselves supervised and threatened by authorities which are backed by the whole mass of the workers. In a word, from the first moment of victory, mistrust must be directed no longer against the conquered reactionary party, but against the workers previous allies, against the party that wishes to exploit the common victory for itself alone.



Stephen Born.

"But in order to be able energetically and threateningly to oppose this party, whose treachery to the workers will begin from the first hour of victory, the workers must be armed and organized. The arming of the whole proletariat with rifles, muskets, cannon and munitions must be put through at once..."

Thus, in committing himself to the perspective of an immediate military struggle for dual power with the bourgeois democracy Marx arrived at a tactical schema that was far more narrow and specific than his pre-1850 concepts, especially as expressed in the *Communist Manifesto*.

For his part Willich also made a concession to Marx and Engels. Willich agreed to abandon his putschist tactics and conceded that the petty-bourgeois radicals must come to power first so that they could be politically discredited. While adopting a more radical tactical perspective, Marx nevertheless did not go over to Blanquism or to Willich. Marx continued to insist that the Communist League could not immediately and directly overthrow and replace the absolutist government in Germany but must permit the petty-bourgeois democrats to come to power, even if only for a relatively short period of time. It was this Marxist conception that established the defining continuity between the March address and the *Communist Manifesto*.

### Marx and the Permanent Revolution

It was in the March address that Marx first used the term "permanent revolution," or more precisely, "revolution in permanence." Neither the term

nor the concept of permanent revolution was developed by Marx. It first appeared in French Blanquist circles during the 1840's. The concept, however, was clearly Babeuvist. It connoted a model of revolution based on the experience of the Great French Revolution. Permanent revolution for the Babeuvists implied successive radicalization: first the liberal monarchy comes to power, then the liberal bourgeoisie, then the radical petty bourgeoisie represented by Robespierre, and then—instead of Thermidor—Babeuf wins.

As adopted by Marx in 1850 the concept of "revolution in permanence" can be understood as a kind of proletarian Babeuvism. It expressed at the theoretical level what his insistence on a petty-bourgeois interlude implied at the tactical level. For Marx the "revolution in permanence" expressed his concept of successive radicalization: first the petty-bourgeois radicals come to power and carry out their democratic program; after the masses lose their illusions in the radicals and their program, then the communists come to power on the basis of their own program. Marx describes this revolutionary succession, in the March address as follows:

"The petty-bourgeois democratic party in Germany is very powerful; it comprises not only the great majority of the bourgeois inhabitants of the towns, the small people in industry and trade and the guild masters; it numbers among its followers also the peasants and the rural proletariat, in so far as the latter has not yet found a support in the independent urban proletariat..."

"That, during the further development of the revolution, the petty-bourgeois democracy will for a moment obtain predominating influence in Germany is not open to doubt."

Marx then continues:

"While the democratic petty bourgeois wish to bring the revolution to a conclusion as quickly as possible, and with the achievement, at most, of the above demands, it is our interest and our task to make the revolution permanent, until all more or less possessing classes have been forced out of their position of dominance, until the proletariat has conquered state power, and the association of proletarians, not only in one country but in all the dominant countries of the world, has advanced so far that competition among the proletarians of these countries has ceased and that at least the decisive productive forces are concentrated in the hands of the proletarians."

It is thus clear that the theory of permanent revolution developed by Trotsky in 1904-05 had several important points in common with the Marxist concept but the two were by no means identical. Both are based on a rejection of a stagist concept of the revolution, although the Marxist schema projects a definite succession of phases linking the bourgeois with the socialist revolutions. Moreover, both are internationalist in scope. For Marx, Britain held the same pivotal position as Germany did for Trotsky. Thus, Marx recognized that without a revolution in Britain the proletarian revolution on the Continent could only have an episodic character; an isolated French or German revolution

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## In Campus Elections

# SYL Campaigns As Revolutionary Alternative

The past year has witnessed an upsurge in campus protest activity, primarily centered around the issues of university divestment and the Bakke decision. Thousands of students have turned out to protest the racist apartheid practices of the barbaric South African regime and the justly perceived threats to minority students represented by the "reverse discrimination" backlash fueled by the Bakke case. But in contrast to the antiwar protests of a decade ago, at the vast majority of these demonstrations the American imperialist state is portrayed as friend rather than foe.

Time and again the anti-apartheid protests have become a rallying site for support to the sham "human rights" crusade of Jimmy Carter—the chief executive of the central imperialist menace in the world today, the U.S. bourgeois state. Similarly, the anti-Bakke protests raise as a central demand the implementation of court-ordered affirmative action schemes, i.e., the intervention of the bourgeois state into the labor movement in the name of redressing racial and sexual discrimination.

This month the SYL will be fielding candidates on five campuses across the country. In each case we have opposed every attempt to conciliate student protest to the intrigues of the bourgeois state. We have upheld the centrality of the strategically important black proletariat in South Africa as the force which alone can burst the chains of apartheid and open the road to a socialist society. We have pointed out how the liberals of yesterday, who preached that Congress and the Supreme Court would serve as the agencies of black advancement, have spinelessly retreated under the barrage of racist mobilizations such as in Boston, Louisville and Chicago—a clear example of the futility of reliance on the state to defend the interests of the oppressed.

On campuses across the country, the SYL organized support rallies for the striking mine workers. The Great Coal Strike of 1978 burst through all the illusions in the neutrality of the bourgeois state as scabs, cops, the National Guard, the coal bosses and Jimmy "Taft-Hartley" Carter tried to cripple the United Mine Workers of America. The demise of the "labor reformer" Arnold Miller, who had been put into office by the Labor Department, confirms once again the need for the independence of the working class from the bourgeois state and the crucial role of a workers party committed to the struggle for a workers government.

Most of all, however, on each campus the SYL slates were distinguished by their insistence on the need to link the

struggles of student youth to broader social issues and the class struggle against capitalism. For the SYL, the campus elections serve as a forum for our political program and the struggle to win students to the cause of proletarian socialist revolution.

## Wayne State University

At Wayne State the SYL is running Roger Shaheen and Jimmy Stillwell for the Student-Faculty Council. At Wayne, our opposition to every manifestation of race and class bias in education takes on particular importance. Unlike many universities, Wayne State does not even appear to be walled off from the grim reality of capitalist society. Sitting in the middle of Detroit's miserable slums where sixty percent of ghetto youth are unemployed and frozen out of the job market and where others are chained to the vicious grind of the auto plants, the demand for open admissions, remedial programs and a state stipend offers the only prospect of educational opportunity.

Detroit is also one of the sites where fascist bands have attempted to secure a foothold in urban centers. The opening of a Nazi recruitment office in this heavily black and proletarian city was an ominous signal of the increasing boldness of these scum whose program is that of genocide against blacks and Jews and destruction of the trade unions. While some fake-leftists prated on about "free speech" for these marauders, the SYL put forward a program addressing the need for a mass mobilization centered on the trade unions and black community organizations to smash these racist provocateurs.

## University of Chicago

At the University of Chicago the SYL is running David Kellogg for President and Ian Horst for Vice President of the Student Association against the fake-leftist Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and various liberal student careerists. The contrast between the YSA and SYL has been particularly sharp this year over the questions of the miners strike and the demand for open admissions. While the SYL initiated a successful united-front demonstration against Carter's invocation of Taft-Hartley and in support of the miners, the YSA opposed militant demands such as the

hot-cargoing of scab coal and two-day protest strikes and even *opposed* the proposal for a miners support rally on campus! Meanwhile the ivory tower "socialists" half-heartedly raise the call for open admissions at the plebeian University of Illinois Chicago Circle campus but refuse to do so at the elite University of Chicago (UC).

The issue of South Africa has gained interest on campus and the SYL has been active in raising a revolutionary strategy for fighting apartheid. As the SYL election leaflet stated:

"When anti-apartheid leader Stephen Biko was murdered by Vorster's cops, the SYL organized protests on the East and West coasts. Here at UC, the SYL organized a united-front demonstration against Vorster representative Gert Grobler when he came to a "debate" on apartheid, while the YSA, ever on the lookout for a chance to prove its "respectability," built not the demonstration but the platform for this spokesman of the regime that killed Biko and thousands of Soweto youth."

## University of Illinois Chicago Circle

In the face of the administration's arrest and prosecution of SYL spokesman Sandor John as an "outside agitator," the SYL is running a slate of candidates in the Student Government (SG) elections at the University of Illinois Chicago Circle (UICC) campus May 3 and 4.

Emily Turnbull, candidate for SG president, and Keith Manning and Bruce Hillman, both candidates for SG Steering Committee, dedicate themselves to only one thing in this campaign: to continue the revolutionary socialist political activities that have won the SYL the wrath of the UICC administration. Foremost, the campaign demands that the criminal trespass charges against John be dropped and that the armed defenders of capitalist rule (the real "outsiders")—the cops, military recruiters and ROTC—be thrown off campus, and not the left.

The SYL election program points out that the SYL has been singled out for special harassment because it is the most active and vocal left-wing organization on campus. When the administration announced plans last spring to cut minority and working-class admissions through a "Selective Index" it was the SYL which organized the protest demonstrations, fought for open admissions and put forward a strategy of uniting students, teachers and campus workers against all layoffs.

## Boston University

At Boston University (BU), SYL candidate Claude Ethe is the only leftist candidate in the race for Student Union president. Coming in the wake of the outburst of student militancy following a recently announced \$400 tuition hike (see "Madman Silber Strikes Again," *Young Spartacus* No. 63, April 1978), the elections have centered on the question of BU's despotic university administration. While other candidates debate what constitutes "justified" and "necessary" tuition hikes (and one vice-presidential candidate has even offered to testify in court against a student arrested in the March 16 building occupation), the SYL has presented determined opposition to the race and class bias of the university by demanding open admissions with a state-paid living stipend and remedial programs.

At a candidates' night debate on April 18, Ethe drew warm applause (including from the other candidates) when he cut through the usual drudgery of endless debates on the application of the \$20 student activities fee. Pointing to the unrelenting administration attacks on students and campus unionizing drives and newspaper revelations of Silber's corruption, Ethe put forward the need to abolish the administration and Board of Trustees and place the university under the control of students, teachers and campus workers. Ethe added that only an open admissions policy will afford "the working class and oppressed minorities the basic right to higher education. Tuition only reinforces the discriminatory character of educational opportunity in bourgeois society." In conclusion Ethe drew the basic line of distinction between the SYL and all the other slates: "We are running to put forth communist politics. We are revolutionaries, and we want to destroy the capitalist system, which only brings unemployment and inflation. It has nothing to offer the vast majority of the people in the world."

## UC Berkeley

Steve Hamilton is running for president of the Associated Students of the University of California in a campaign focusing on the SYL's work around the miners strike and the Bakke decision. The campaign seeks to underscore the central role of the working class as the vehicle for social change and the necessity for a Marxist program and party.

During the miners strike it was the SYL which organized a support rally and brought several Bay Area trade unionists on campus to speak on the treachery of the Miller bureaucracy and the importance of oppositional caucuses in the trade unions based on a class-struggle program. In opposing the Bakke ruling, the SYL has emphasized the general assault on the trade unions and the democratic rights of women, homosexuals and oppressed racial minorities. But rather than support government "affirmative action programs" which threaten to undermine historic union gains such as the seniority system and the union hiring hall, we call for union-run minority recruitment and upgrading programs with a union-run hiring hall run on a first-come, first-served basis. ■

Young Spartacus

Young Spartacus



Wayne State—Jimmy Stillwell and Roger Shaheen; UICC—Emily Turnbull, Keith Manning and Bruce Hillman.

## Protests...

(continued from page 1)

Biko's "suicide." It is precisely the white bourgeois liberals and their black allies such as Biko that the imperialists count on to forestall black insurgency, primarily by trying to enlarge the currently tiny black urban petty bourgeoisie as a buffer between the viciously oppressed black masses and the white *laager*. While the American bourgeoisie sheds only crocodile tears over the brutal murders of Soweto youth or African National Congress members, it sees Vorster's suppression of the bourgeois opposition as potentially self-destructive.

The liberal divestment milieu has been given a shot in the arm by the arrival in exile of Donald Woods, the former editor of the white South African English-language newspaper, the *Daily Dispatch*. Since fleeing South Africa on New Year's eve, Woods has installed himself as spokesman for every sort of economic and cultural sanction against Pretoria. Noting that "Indeed, for many years I myself opposed the breaking of international links with South African associations," Woods now argues that "There are many pressures that can be applied in many fields, economic, diplomatic, strategic, financial and social. And they all add up to one word—ostracism" (*New York Review of Books*, 4 May 1978).

Even the *New York Times*, in its capacity as spokesman for the American bourgeoisie, has taken time out from whitewashing the Shah of Iran and Chile's Pinochet to support economic sanctions. In an editorial entitled "Heading for the Exit in South Africa" (2 April) it supports the notion of ending collaboration with apartheid to "cleanse the American conscience." But before taking its new-found idealism to lofty heights, the *Times* adds that a number of U.S. corporations have "concluded pragmatically that unrest in South Africa and protest in the United States have diminished the attractiveness of South African ventures." Manufacturers Hanover recently spelled this out in dollars and cents when it explained that a growing "risk assessment" meant an impaired credit rating for South Africa (*New York Times*, 22 April).

But the same *Times* editorial gives away the real divestment game: lining up behind the "human rights" pretensions of the American imperialist state. "Logically," says the *Times*, "the protesters should be addressing the officials whose task it is to meld the domestic and foreign interests of Americans...." And since the "national will and tactics" should be "ideally" determined by the government, the *Times'* concern for the plight of blacks in South Africa reduces itself to the plight of Washington in dealing with its South African junior imperialist partner. And this is precisely what the Bible-spouting Baptist in the White House has been grooming himself for. The "human rights" campaign is nothing more than the attempt of the imperialist state, damaged by Watergate and Vietnam, to restore its tarnished credentials as representing the "national will" in the name of "democracy."

### "Human Rights": GM-Style

The divestment demonstrations stand four-square on the bandwagon of U.S. capitalism's campaign to "clean up" apartheid. Despite the thousands of students who genuinely wish to protest white-supremacist rule, the divestment movement looks to the bourgeois university administrations, corporate giants and the imperialist state which devastated Indochina as the guarantors of "democracy" and "human rights." Insofar as the divestment protests are not simply outpourings of liberal moralism, they quickly take on the character of mobilizations demanding that the "democratic" imperialists more

actively police the lesser capitalist powers.

The divestment "strategy" of pressuring the bourgeoisie leaves its supporters wide open to co-optation by the most token bourgeois gambits. Among the "successes" purported to aid the black masses of South Africa by the divestment drive are the decision of Hampshire College in Amherst, Massachusetts, to sell its stock in four companies with South African investments last October; the University of Massachusetts at Amherst's dumping of \$600,000 worth of stock and the sale of \$8 million worth of stock in 16 corporations by the regents of the University of Wisconsin.

More recently, however, the pro-divestment forces have latched onto an even more insignificant ruse, the "Sullivan Principles." Cooked up by another Baptist preacher, the Reverend Leon Sullivan (a black figurehead on the board of General Motors), these "Principles" ask companies operating in South Africa to end segregation in eating and work facilities, provide equal employment opportunities and equal pay for equal work, to train blacks and other non-whites for administrative and clerical jobs and "improve the quality" of workers' housing, transport, educational and health facilities.

In terms of vagueness and tokenism these "Principles" resemble the directive issued last October by the European Common Market Council of Ministers for their companies. To expect their application from GM, whose Detroit black workers could speak volumes about "equal opportunity" and "quality facilities," would be simply naive. But needless to say, these "Principles" are a godsend to university administrators seeking to match the pro-divestment demonstrators with their own pious expressions of "concern."

Insofar as the Reverend Sullivan's commandments have any bearing to the real world, they will be employed by corporations seeking to do away with the petty aspects of apartheid which hinder the efficient utilization of black labor, while resting securely on the pass-law system and, above all, the industrial color bar and the super-exploitation of black labor which guarantee low wages and high profits. But even these fig-leaves for continued imperialist exploitation have thrown the divestment camp into disarray.

As several universities endorse the "Sullivan Principles," a number of protesters have rushed to their defense as a "step forward." At Oberlin, for example, the student newspaper argued that applying such "minimum standards" was "politically more realistic than total divestment" (*Oberlin Review*, 7 April). And while the Kremlin-loyal Young Workers Liberation League volunteered the services of the UN in South Africa, a member of the so-called "Anti-Imperialist Support Committee for the Liberation of Southern Africa" rushed into the fray with a bit of Mao-babble explaining that "the longest journey begins with a single step."

### Divestment, the Davis Cup and Anti-Apartheid Protest

The current wave of divestment protests comes in the wake of a 4,000-strong demonstration at the Davis Cup tennis competition held on March 17-18. But while the divestment protests clamor for "responsible" capitalist investment and a "moral" foreign policy, this protest was directed at a particular display of apartheid's segregationist policies. Thousands of black college students marched on Vanderbilt University to drive South Africa out of the Davis Cup and to show their repulsion at the vicious apartheid system.

The South African participation in the Davis Cup matches has been a focus for protest for those opposed to the policies of apartheid for some years now. South Africa has always fielded an exclusively white team in this competition. This year, in a token attempt to

deflect opposition the South Africans at the last minute added a Coloured (mixed race) player to the team—a Vanderbilt student, Peter Lamb. As revolutionists we oppose apartheid in all aspects of South African society—economic, social and cultural. The all-white composition of this team, despite the tokenistic inclusion of Lamb, is a detestable and arrogant display of apartheid policy which bars blacks from international athletic competition and as such is an obvious and legitimate target of protest against the murderous regime.

Moreover, this competition—as is often the case with sports events like the Olympics—is an occasion for breast-beating national chauvinism. In the context of a diplomatic move by South Africa (which was picked up and pushed by the U.S. government) to refurbish its image and recoup international respectability by this tokenistic "integration" in sports, the match itself becomes an appropriate focus for the outrage of anti-apartheid protesters.

However, many of the participants, and certainly the main organizers of the protest saw this protest as part of a broader campaign to boycott all things South African. Marxists do not support the demand for a total economic and cultural boycott of South Africa. Such a strategy while soothing to the consciences of its liberal proponents does little to aid the South African masses in their struggle against the apartheid system. The moralistic desire to destroy the South African economy if realized, would actually increase the oppression of blacks and undermine their capacity to fight apartheid. It is as urban workers, not desperate inhabitants of the impoverished Bantustans that South African blacks have economic and social power. It is through their potential power as organized labor in the mines and industries of South Africa that the black masses can challenge and overturn the apartheid system.

In general, the cultural isolation of South Africa does not aid the struggle against the racist apartheid system. Boycott by foreign scientists, academics, artists and athletes is likely to enhance rather than undermine the attitudes of extreme Afrikaaner nationalism. When Arthur Ashe beats white South African tennis players it does not strengthen apartheid. Similarly, when Jesse Owens dashed his way to four gold medals in the '36 Munich Olympics it not only personally humiliated Hitler but resoundingly debunked Nazi theories of the Aryan "master race." And, white South African athletes as individuals should not be made objects of anti-apartheid protest. We do not support chasing Gary Player around the plush Palm Springs golf course as the embodiment of the evils of apartheid.

### Imperialist Sanctions and Labor Solidarity

Revolutionary socialists refuse to prostrate themselves before the "human rights" facade of the American bourgeoisie and its political henchmen. We recognize that the pressure for divestment and sanctions currently sweeping the campuses is a reflection of the moral posturings of U.S. imperialism, which insofar as they are acted upon will only be an attempt to create an "apartheid with a human face."

By contrast the SYL advocates concrete actions of international solidarity based on the power of the working class. Rather than open-ended calls for imperialism to "reform" apartheid, international labor action should be organized around slogans which point the way to the breaking of apartheid's chains: free all victims of apartheid repression, rescind all restrictions on black trade unions and political organizations, abolish the pass system and all racist legislation, end the industrial color bar, equal pay and working conditions at the highest existing level

and for the right of trade-union organization.

Unlike those who would tie the fate of blacks to the Fords and GMs our strategy is aimed at forcing concessions which assist the class organization of the future gravediggers of apartheid, the black proletariat in South Africa. Above all it seeks to aid the ability of the black working masses to organize and forge organizations capable of breaking down apartheid rule, rather than expecting white supremacism to simply collapse under the impact of economic catastrophe or the intervention of Western imperialist powers.

It is the international working class which has the social power to come to the aid of its South African class brothers. Class-struggle measures wielded by organized labor in a campaign of international labor solidarity can really strike a blow against the oppressive apartheid system. ■

## "People's Mayor"...

(continued from page 2)

amongst the fake left. For years Hongisto enjoyed the reputation of "progressive" cop obligingly provided by the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA) and the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP). Back in 1974 the University of California trustees attempted to purge radical professors and abolish ethnic studies programs, focusing on the Berkeley campus at the Crim School, UC's contribution to the "science" of cop training. At a rally called by the Committee to Save Crim, dominated by the RCP's predecessor, the Revolutionary Union, the featured speaker was one of the Crim School's most distinguished alumni—Sheriff Hongisto! Moreover, both the RU and the SWP/YSA consistently opposed our demand for cops and cop training off campus.

The RCP's support to Hongisto has already caused them more than a moment of embarrassment. Last September the RCP was heavily involved in a struggle against the eviction of elderly residents from San Francisco's International Hotel only to find the subsequent brutal cop attack led by Richard Hongisto himself.

The law-and-order socialists of the SWP/YSA, who themselves ran a candidate for sheriff of Houston in 1975, have also supported Hongisto. Unlike campaigning for parliamentary office, socialists on principle do not run for elected posts in the repressive apparatus (such as sheriff or district attorney) since this entails direct responsibility for defending the bourgeois order. But for the SWP/YSA sheriffs can also be "progressive." Thus, after Hongisto's opposition to Anita Bryant's reactionary anti-homosexual crusade last fall sparked a recall drive, prominent SWPers signed a campaign statement opposing new elections for sheriff, mayor and district attorney in San Francisco. The leaflet was appropriately entitled "Save our Sheriff." Hongisto was also billed as featured speaker for an SWP-called rally against the death penalty.

The real "scandal" in Cleveland is that self-proclaimed socialists find themselves lined up with one or another bourgeois spokesman. Marxists give no support to any bourgeois politician, no matter how "progressive" the image or "radical" the verbiage. The Democrats and Republicans alike, backed up by the armed police force, exist only to administer and oversee the effective rule of the capitalist class. If the Kucinich/Hongisto scuffle proves anything, it is that the "anti-monopoly coalition," in whatever form, serves only to put off the day that the working class, led by a revolutionary vanguard party, will establish its rule on the corpse of corrupt and rotting bourgeois society. ■

## Indonesia...

(continued from page 5)

security chief, Admiral Sudomo, decreed a "Silent Week": "essentially an appeal and suggestion to the people to help secure the situation and make the MPR session a success." Lest this "suggestion" be misunderstood, the military regime banned all political rallies and meetings for the duration of the MPR and flooded the streets of Jakarta with troops.

The MPR itself was a stage-managed farce. Of the 920 assembly delegates most are government appointees, while the 360 elected assemblymen are mainly army and GOLKAR (the official party) men who won their seats in last May's grossly fraudulent elections. Among them are 165 officers with the rank of general or equivalent. But even the puppet MPR was temporarily unsettled by the announcement, shortly before the opening session, that Hamengku Buwono, the sultan of Jogjakarta and an important civilian leader of the regime would not continue as vice-president. His replacement by former foreign minister Adam Malik rather than a military hardliner was probably intended as a sop to the anti-corruption, reformist elements of the regime, although immediately following the MPR Suharto increased the number of military men in the cabinet from four to eleven.

But, fearful that the slightest genuine relaxation of repression may unleash the seething hatred of the Indonesian masses, the junta has kept tens of thousands of leftists imprisoned without trial in prison camps throughout the country. While the regime claims that only 21,461 political prisoners remain, Amnesty International estimated that there were between 50,000 to 100,000 detainees in 1977. And the junta has made it clear that many thousands of "die-hard" prisoners, including PKI members, trade-union militants and many of Indonesia's outstanding post-war cultural and artistic figures, will rot away in the "New Order" jails for the rest of their lives.

In response to international criticism and as a gesture to international bourgeois public opinion, the regime "released" some 10,000 "B-category" political prisoners in late December, only to send them off to remote "resettlement" areas, subject to "control and guidance by the government until their loyalty is assured." Yet this sham "amnesty" was sufficient "improvement" in the Indonesia "human rights situation" for Carter to promise hefty new arms shipments to his Indonesian clients, once again illustrating the fundamentally anti-communist character of Carter's "human rights crusade."

Only by repudiating the PKI's reliance on "progressive" bourgeois forces in favor of the Trotskyist pro-

gram of permanent revolution can the Indonesian toiling masses break the chains of reaction and poverty. Indonesia is incapable of tapping its vast natural riches to develop industry and agriculture while under the yoke of imperialism. Only a workers and peasants government can break this stranglehold. But a revolutionary Marxist leadership would also warn against the dead-end of Stalinist socialism in one country, and seek to extend proletarian revolution to the economic powerhouses of Asia—Japan and Australia. ■

—adapted from *Australasian Spartacist*, April 1978

## Dissolution of the Communist League...

(continued from page 8)

tionary regime would certainly soon be crushed by an alliance of British finance and the Russian tsarist army.

But the points of commonality really end there. Unlike Marx's schema, Trotsky's theory of the permanent revolution is based on the premise that in backward Russia the workers party was the only political force capable of carrying out the tasks of the belated bourgeois-democratic revolution. Trotsky denied that in Russia a petty-bourgeois democratic party akin to the Jacobins would emerge that could be capable of overthrowing tsarism and carrying out a bourgeois-democratic program (and here he differed with Lenin, who left the question open as a possibility).

As it turned out, the petty-bourgeois democratic parties—the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries—came to power for a period of time before the Bolsheviks. But the ascendancy of petty-bourgeois democracy from February to October had a largely accidental character which neither Trotsky nor Lenin could have foreseen in 1905. It was only because the peasantry had been mobilized and organized through the tsarist army during the First World War that the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries were able to exploit a ready-made base which otherwise would never have existed. Thus, in his 1924 essay *Lessons of October* Trotsky argues that if the mass strike wave of 1914 had not been cut short by the war but instead had developed into a revolutionary crisis, then the Bolsheviks would very likely have come to power directly, without

any interlude dominated by the Russian petty-bourgeois democracy.

In contrast, Marx based his revolutionary prognosis on the recognition that the petty-bourgeois democracy *could* come to power and carry out important parts of their program but that in so doing they would betray the masses who still had illusions in the democratic party and program. So, unlike the Trotskyist theory, the Marxist schema projected that the workers party would come to power not because it was the only political force capable of carrying out the democratic tasks but rather because the radicalization of the masses under the impact of the betrayal of the petty-bourgeois democrats placed the socialist tasks on the order of the day.

This key difference between the Marxian and the Trotskyist concepts of permanent revolution is perhaps most clear on the agrarian question. For Trotsky the smashing of the absolutist state in Russia would certainly unleash the agrarian revolution. Once in power the workers party would begin to carry out a *bourgeois-democratic* agrarian reform: only after the development of the class struggle in the countryside would the proletarian vanguard pass over to implementing socialist measures of agricultural collectivization.

On the other hand, Marx *opposed* the classic bourgeois-democratic demand, "land to the tillers." Instead, he advocated the immediate statification of agriculture in the service of the rural proletariat. Marx argued that the bourgeois-democratic revolution in the countryside of Germany would only create a conservative peasant mass, as in fact had occurred in France.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

## Iranian Students...

(continued from page 5)

all military goods to the Iranian police state. For the ISA (in all its many forms), however, the selection of tactics represents the commitment to the illusory popular-frontist conception of a trans-class democratic opposition to the Shah. Thus the power of working-class protest is held to be, if not less important, fundamentally no different than appeals to bourgeois liberals.

An example of this is to be found in the attempts to pass off the current protests in the traditional trappings of Islamic custom. The Maoist publication

*Resistance*, for instance, writes of the ISA's calls for action on the fortieth day commemoration of the Tabriz uprising:

"The political significance of the 40 day period is not new in Iran; a tradition of commemorating the death of a loved one after 40 days of mourning has long ago become a form of political struggle among the Iranian people."

—Supplement Two, April 1978

That religious commemorations have become bound up with the struggle against the Shah is indisputable. But while the 1905 Revolution in Russia initially threw to the fore a "progressive" priest (Father Gapon), this did not deter the Bolsheviks from continuing their struggle against religious obscurantism, rather than adopting its forms.

While the Shah and the bourgeois press have tried to paint all protest in Iran as a conspiracy of Muslim clerical reaction and Communism against the sham "white revolution," this does not mean that the massive protests in Qom and Tabriz did not include clerical elements who oppose the Shah and U.S. imperialism on reactionary religious grounds. Particularly given the broad influence of the clergy among large sectors of the working masses, anti-Shah militants must be ever vigilant against joining forces with those who consider even the token improvements in the conditions of women and the minimal land reform as the work of "infidels." Iranian militants must be extremely wary of mixing their banners with those of the clerical right—the rise of a revolutionary proletarian movement would quickly drive such erstwhile opponents of the Shah to the Pahlavi side of the barricades.

The conditions of exile in the U.S. and Europe afford revolutionaries the potential for open political debate and the forging of the cadres of an Iranian Trotskyist party, the key element in the struggle for workers revolution against the Pahlavi dictatorship.

Despite our political disagreements with the ISAers currently carrying on hunger strikes, we stand for their unconditional defense from the U.S. imperialist state acting in collusion with SAVAK. Such repression is far from uncommon. ISAers who were on a hunger strike in Logan, Utah in February were harassed by police. At Ann Arbor, where striking ISAers were threatened with SAVAK identification, they face arrest on the charge of wearing masks in public! In July 1975 the SYL was the only group at the University of Houston to defend the ISA's hunger strike and we will continue in our non-sectarian class-struggle defense of all anti-Shah Iranian militants. ■

certainly no exception. Kitchen workers present at an SYL-initiated strike-support meeting, for instance, spoke of their sentiment to join the strike but were fearful of being victimized since their contract has an explicit no-strike clause. And Harvard University Press workers were working right through the campus strike despite the fact that their contract expired last November! Clearly, there must be one campus-wide union built to defend all university workers under attack.

The university's determined union-busting drive must be defeated, and this requires the mobilization of the entire campus in defense of the embattled unions. During the four-day strike, the SYL marched on the union picket lines and attempted to rally student support for the strikers. In an April 6 letter to the student newspaper, the *Harvard Crimson* (which the administration-loyal editors refused to print), the SYL outlined its strategy, including the key question of organizing a campus-wide shutdown. Ultimately, these anti-union attacks will be decisively ended by the abolition of the bourgeois administration and the Board of Trustees and by placing the university under the control of those who work and study there. Nationalize Harvard under student/teacher/campus-worker control! ■

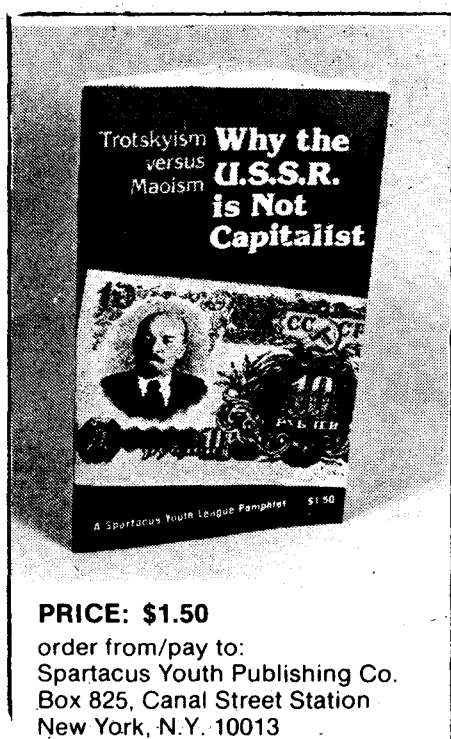
## Union-Busting Drive at Harvard

BOSTON, April 23—The union-busting drive at Harvard University has continued unabated in the aftermath of last month's campus workers strike. The university administration has announced that all building and grounds workers who participated in the March 21-24 work stoppage would be suspended for two days without pay. One steamfitter, Russell Sidebottom, has already been fired and Harvard has threatened to take the entire union to court for striking without the contractually-stipulated thirty days notice.

Since the strike was called off contract negotiations have not moved forward one iota (the last contract expired in December) and one sell-out agreement was rejected by a membership vote. Meanwhile, the university has again attempted to reclassify workers out of their job classifications (and thereby break the unions) by ordering four carpenters to work as painters or face suspension.

Harvard has a long and sordid history of union-busting, primarily aimed at replacing union labor by part-time student work and outside contractors. In addition there have been attacks on individual union militants such as the 1976 attempted firing of Sherman Holcombe, a shop steward in the kitchen workers union. The administration has tried to isolate campus workers in separate craft unions and pick off different sectors of the workforce at different times. Thus, for example, the 1974 "merger" with Radcliffe stipulated that Radcliffe employees (which were organized in one union) would have their union broken up along the lines of the Harvard craft constituencies.

Harvard has traditionally found little opposition in its drive to weaken the relatively marginal campus unions from the craft-centered union bureaucracy—which set the unions up for defeat by signing contracts with the thirty-day notice proviso—and this past strike was



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# Young Spartacus

## Affirmative Action: A Liberal Union-Busting Scheme

# 10,000 Protest Racist Bakke Ruling in D.C.

On April 15, 10,000 demonstrators marched through the streets of Washington, D.C. in protest of the reactionary Bakke decision now being reviewed by the Supreme Court. The thousands of black and minority students, many from the City University of New York system where open admissions went down to bitter defeat two years ago, bore witness to the direct threat to minority admissions represented by the Bakke case. Ever since Alan Bakke launched his "reverse discrimination" suit against the University of California (UC) Davis Medical School, it has been the incremental advances in access to higher education for blacks and other minorities that have been in question. And it was precisely those whose access to education is at stake (as well as the college admissions of their younger brothers and sisters) that mobilized in Washington against the racist Bakke backlash.

For the liberal and reformist leftist organizers of the march, "united" in the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision (NCOBD) and the Anti-Bakke Decision Coalition (ABDC) opposing the Bakke ruling was subordinate to staging a spring jamboree around the maypole of government-supervised, union-busting affirmative-action schemes. The organizers drew thousands of young black students, most with little prior political experience, who went to Washington to protest what they correctly saw as an undisguised threat to their chance at a college degree. For them there was little difference between the government granting access to education through quotas and the government "guaranteeing" them jobs through affirmative action suits against the unions.

Despite the impressive turnout the demonstration was overwhelmingly liberal in tenor and devoted itself to pressure politics vis-à-vis the "friend-of-the-people" Democratic administration. Marchers repeatedly chanted such inanities as "We won't go back, send Bakke back," "We're fired up, can't take it no more" and "B-à-k-k-e, what's that mean to me, nuthin', absolutely nuthin'!" And while some leftists drummed up the spurious old standby "the people united will never be defeated," the vast majority of the crowd seemed far more absorbed by the disco beat given this all-purpose, class-neutral chant.

The newspapers of the reformist left uniformly hailed the Washington turnout as the largest since the antiwar movement—and even engaged in gross overestimations of the crowd size to back up their political affinity for the NCOBD (*Workers World*, for example, claimed 35,000 demonstrators). But to anyone involved in the protests a decade ago, many of which took place along the same march site to the Capitol, the contrast was striking. Ten years ago masses of radicalized youth declared

their defiant, though partial, opposition to U.S. imperialism. Although unable to see the working class as the decisive force against the "military-industrial complex," a large segment of a whole generation came to identify with the heroic Vietnamese masses against the political leaders, generals and financial elite in the U.S. Angry antiwar activists publicly burned Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon in effigy. But at the April 15 anti-Bakke protest no burning effigy of Carter was to be found. On the contrary, it is Carter, the Congress and the Supreme Court that the assembled anti-Bakke forces looked to as their protectors.

As hundreds of pro-affirmative action banners fluttered in the breeze, and

maintain and expand affirmative action in education and employment epitomize the answer offered by these forces to the threat to minority gains represented by the Bakke decision."

—"Defeat Bakke!" *Young Spartacus* No. 63, April 1978

While the NCOBD, ABDC and others staged their appeals to the bourgeois state (and in Detroit even held a candlelight vigil demanding "affirmative action" into the police force), it was the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League which alone upheld a class-struggle program against racial oppression. The Bakke decision handed down by the California Supreme Court is an open attack on the real, though limited, gains made by blacks, other minorities and women in access to education

busting. Despairing of the possibility of forging a class-struggle leadership in the trade unions which would fight racial oppression, the reformists thus throw in their cards with the government.

The NCOBD, ABDC and other forces gathered in Washington preach reliance on the state, and in the process are willing to throw the independence of the labor movement to the greedy hands of the courts and Labor Department. But it is precisely the organizations of the working class (i.e., the trade unions) which can and must lead the struggle to overturn the Bakke decision and smash the entire system of racial and sexual discrimination in education and employment. A class-struggle leadership in the unions would institute minority

Young Spartacus



SYL contingent protests Bakke, takes stand against government union-busting "affirmative action."

as a black preacher sermonized about his latest "vision," the demonstrators were told that of the nine Supreme Court Justices "three are with us" and "six are against us" and their task was the "neutralize the six." While the apolitical speeches drove away protesters by the hundreds, each speaker nonetheless returned to the theme of the need for state-enforced affirmative action in the workforce as the central focus of the demonstration.

This is hardly new; before the scheduled April protests (which fizzled out everywhere but Washington) we wrote:

"No doubt these demonstrations will continue the already established pattern of supporting the American bourgeois state as the vehicle for social advancement for blacks and other minorities. Across the U.S. the demonstrations organized by the umbrella NCOBD and the myriad liberal and fake-left organizations clustered around it have sought to make 'anti-Bakke' a rallying point for support to union-busting government intervention into the trade unions. NCOBD's demands to 'implement,

during the 1960's. The SL/SYL defend these partial gains and demand that they be extended to grant educational opportunity for all through open admissions with state-paid stipends for all. Although these quotas are in no sense our program, they must be defended against all attempts to re-establish lily-white, middle-class enclaves in the universities and professional schools.

What truly separates the SL/SYL from the host of liberal and fake-left organizations at the Bakke rallies is our irreconcilable revolutionary opposition to the bourgeois state. After years of liberals and reformists posing the issue of racial integration as a choice between union-busting and racism, it is no accident that all have now harped upon government intervention into the trade unions as the medium for "progress." Applying these quotas to the workplace and the unions, and thereby giving the capitalist government the power to regulate and abrogate such fundamental gains as the union hiring hall and seniority is simply outright union-

training and upgrading programs at company/government expense and would undertake recruitment drives to assure blacks equal access to available jobs. In addition, such a leadership would fight for 30 hours work for 40 hours pay so as to create more jobs, and for massive public works programs at union scale.

The failure of the Civil Rights movement to fundamentally alter the condition of blacks in this country, and the rapid demise of black nationalism which attempted to write off all whites as incorrigibly racist, show that it is only integrated working-class struggles under a revolutionary leadership that can win significant gains for black people. While we oppose Bakke and defend all the partial gains that blacks have made, the final eradication of racial oppression will not take place under capitalism. Only a workers government and a planned economy can provide jobs for all and create the material basis for ending racial oppression. ■