

Young Spartacus

NUMBER 65

25 CENTS

SUMMER 1978

Behind the "Human Rights" Veneer

Carter Mounts Cold War Drive

Imperialist sabre-rattling reached an ominous crescendo in recent weeks. While the United Nations sat wearily through the latest round of "disarmament" talks, the most vociferous Cold War ravings in over a decade rang out from the White House. Imperialist kingpin Jimmy Carter led off with his customary anti-Soviet refrain and a chorus of red-scare hysteria resounded from virtually all the Western European capitals.

Occupying center stage in these developments is the "born-again" war monger, Jimmy Carter. Having completed a series of rabidly Cold War speeches in the midwest, the U.S. president told a Washington meeting of the assembled heads of NATO countries that "in the effort to rearm, the United States will play its part across the spectrum of conventional, theatre and strategic nuclear forces" and that "the United States is prepared to use *all* the forces necessary for the defense of the NATO area." The emphasis on "all" (Carter's own) was a deliberate reaffirmation of the imperialist chief's recourse to a nuclear armageddon.

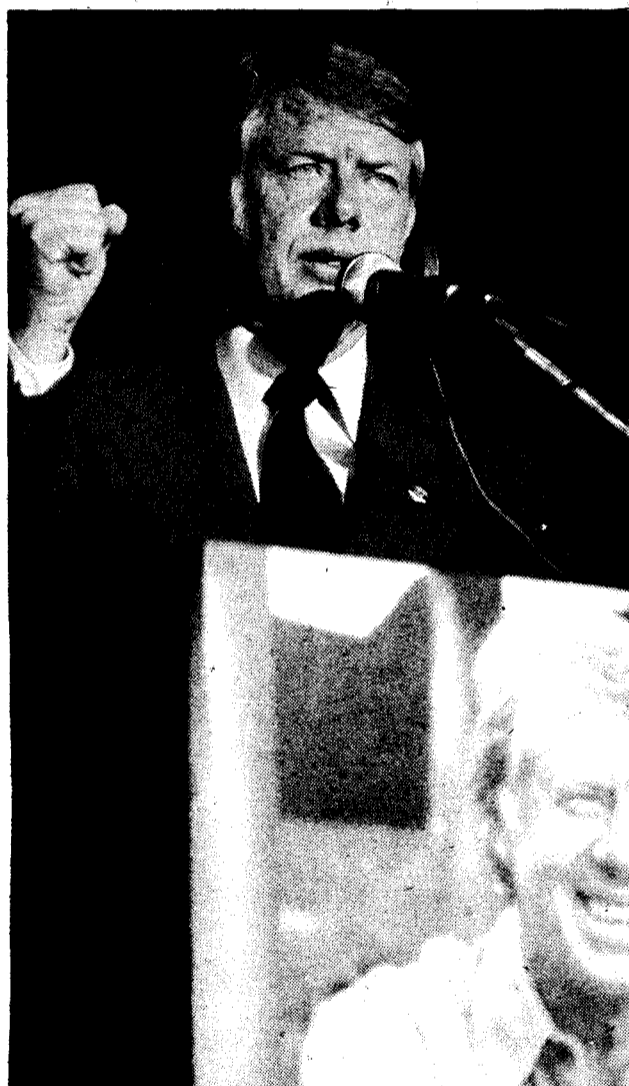
The NATO chiefs promptly approved an \$80 billion plan to bolster the war forces in Northern and Central Europe and pledged to increase their arms budgets by three percent a year. Meanwhile, in Paris a five-nation meeting plotted the formation of an "All-Africa" mercenary army to guarantee the property holdings of the Western powers. And in New York, U.S. negotiators spurned a strategic arms limitation (SALT) proposal advanced by Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko in favor of Pentagon pressures for the unimpeded pursuit of nuclear first strike capability.

In his address to the commencement exercises at the Annapolis Naval Academy, Carter railed, "The Soviet Union attempts to export a totalitarian and repressive form of government resulting in a closed society." Carter of course compared this to "our democratic way of life [which] warrants the admiration and emulation by other people throughout the world" (as in Vietnam!), before laying down imperialism's terms: "The Soviet Union must choose either confrontation or cooperation" (*New York Times*, 8 June).

This recent burst of naked anti-Sovietism, designed in large part to bolster an unpopular and vacillating presidency, lays bare the true nature of the much vaunted "human rights" campaign. In the wake of the Vietnam war, Watergate and subsequent revelations of widespread lying, spying, criminality and corruption in high government circles, the "human rights" push of the Carter administration was aimed at refurbishing the considerably tarnished image of the American bourgeois state. From the onset the Spartacist tendency has maintained an unblemished record of opposition to this vulgar attempt to pass off the world's central counterrevolutionaries as the liberators of the downtrodden and oppressed. For the campus activists who beseech U.S. imperialism to intervene in the name of "human rights" in South Africa, the latest Cold War ravings should make clear the anti-Soviet essence of the Carter presidency's "moral rearmament."

The Mask Comes Off

The immediate focus of Carter's denunciations of Soviet "aggression" is the fighting in the Shaba province of Zaire. As drunken Zairean troops, backed up by French legionnaires, murdered and looted to protect imperialist mine holdings and prop up the



Economist

Jacques Tiziou/Sygm

Clockwise from left: "Trilateralists" Carter and Brzezinski; NATO forces on field maneuvers.

corrupt despot Mobutu Sese Seko, Carter accused the "atheistic" and "racist" Russians of fomenting the violence. Carter's national security advisor and resident Doctor Strangelove, Zbigniew Brzezinski, appeared on national television to threaten that "this kind of Soviet-Cuban involvement" ought not to "be cost-free."

At first glance, the attempt to spark a hysterical red scare on the basis of wild allegations (not even believed by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee) about the Cuban role in Africa seems far removed from the Carter who rode a wave of moral fervor into the White House. Interspersed amid the populist campaign rhetoric of 1976 was the promise to "de-Kissingerize" American foreign policy—a statement understood to mean a move away from running foreign governments directly from the Secretary of State's "shuttle." In its place Carter was to reestablish the "morality" of U.S. imperialism while vowing throughout to launch an "aggressive foreign policy."

Carter's efforts to erase the image of the U.S. as a predatory international power were soon rendered absurd by the September 1977 visit of such bloody-handed dictators (and U.S. puppets) as Chile's Pinochet, Argentina's Videla, Bolivia's Banzer and

Brazil's Geisel. Together they came to the White House to celebrate Carter's "deal" with Panamanian strongman Torrijos over the Panama Canal and declared their "full agreement" with the Carter "human rights" drive. In November, thousands of Iranian demonstrators drew national attention to Carter's wining and dining of the butcher Shah and to Carter's testimony that "the cause of human rights is one that is shared deeply by our people and by the leaders of our two nations." Carter's first year in office ended unceremoniously with the February publication by the State Department of a report on the status of "human rights" around the world, completely absolving the tyrannical regimes of South Korea, the Philippines and (of course) Iran.

Similarly, in Europe Carter unfurled the banner of red-blooded American anti-Communism. With the fall of the Italian government in January and the probability of Communist Party participation in the next coalition, Carter quickly forgot his plea to overcome any "inordinate fear of Communism." Carter and Brzezinski jumped waist-deep into European politics with the State Department announcing in

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UC Yellow Journalism: "Divestor's" Fantasy

CHICAGO The "all-inclusive" divestment swamp at the University of Chicago (UC) includes some rather sordid currents these days. The "movement" has long welcomed rightist business students concerned that UC get the maximum return on its investments and the preachers who prayerfully sermonize for divestment at the Chicago Theological Seminary. But even the most cynical "left" phonies were embarrassed when the May 12 issue of the *Maroon*, UC's pro-divestment student newspaper, ran a front-page smear job on the Spartacus Youth League's intervention at the national divestment conference held at Yale March 31-April 2.

No simple run-of-the-mill anti-communist distortion, the preposterous piece accuses the SYL of advocating increased repression and immiserization of the black population of South Africa, thereby seeking to impugn the SYL's integrity as an organization that champions the cause of the oppressed. The article's slurs against "ruffians agitating for violent street revolution" are punctuated with grossly chauvinist caricatures of women as either "gushy co-eds" or husky-voiced, outlandish SYL amazons "screaming Marxist neologic."

One sample of bizarre fabricated quotations that make up the substance of the article reads:

"As blacks are thoroughly brutalized, she ["the Spart"] explained, they will comprehend their oppression, revolt, then establish 'paradise on earth, on the tip of Africa.' ...

"In the meantime, the important thing," she continued, puffing her corn-cob pipe, "is that we have to make blacks feel wrenching agony and excruciating pain. ..."

To this end, the article claims, the SYL argued that "US investment in South Africa actually should be accelerated to speed capitalism's maturation into a deadlier, more oppressive force."

The response to the *Maroon's* scurrilous "reportage" was immediate. Letter after letter expressing outrage at Biernacki's "slander," "lies" and "silly fiction" poured in from professors at UC and Roosevelt University, from SYLers and other students who had attended the Yale conference and from UC students angered by the *Maroon's* anti-communist and sexist smear job. The initial response of Biernacki and his editors was to stonewall it—with Biernacki asserting that "the article's quotations are accurate. ...". As protest letters continued to fill the *Maroon's* mailbox, however, the paper's editors were compelled to back down and to retract Biernacki's fabrications. "The *Maroon* apolo-



gizes for the misrepresentation," they wrote, "and for printing the article on the front page instead of as an opinion column."

This, of course, did not stop the final semester edition of the *Maroon* from hailing Biernacki's "extraordinary contribution to the paper" and his "professional work" as a "fairminded reporter." Biernacki's libelous scribbles were no more than consistent with the tradition of the *Maroon*, which baits homosexuals as "fruits," opposes "wholesale minority recruitment" and fawns on Milton Friedman, UC's braintruster for the Chilean junta. But for the pro-divestment milieu on campus the article was a severe embarrassment. Biernacki, a member of the UC

Action Committee on South Africa, has been UC's No. 1 journalistic advocate of divestment. This aspiring bourgeois journalist, in fact, sparked the divestment furor on campus last fall with his exposés in the *Maroon* of the UC "investments in apartheid." The endless series of pro-divestment articles he has authored have won uncritical praise from the campus fake leftists. Now that he has exposed his naked anti-communism, unrestrained dishonesty and obscene male chauvinism, his left-wing friends just look the other way, although they themselves were attacked as "old New-Leftists from the dozen or more embittered sects."

The reason for their silence, of course, is that the divestment strategy supported by such groups as the reformist Young Socialist Alliance, Maoist Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB) and New American Movement is designed precisely to attract anti-communist liberals just like Biernacki. When Biernacki warns about the danger of the divestment campaign becoming "snared in leftwing rhetoric" or "used as a rallying point for other, more radical demands" these reformists can only nod in agreement. The pro-divestment left has been distinguished from Biernacki's mainstream liberalism on this only by infantile stunts such as the RSB's parade of a papier-mâché apartheid dragon which ate black paper dolls while excreting paper plate "Krugerrands."

Rather than an expression of opposition to imperialism in South Africa, the divestment movement represents only a campus reflection of the phony anti-apartheid rhetoric peddled by imperialist spokesmen like Andrew Young, who view the blatantly racist apartheid system as unnecessary and even dangerous to the survival of bourgeois rule in Africa. This political current is based not on militant opposition to symbols or actual acts of apartheid repression but rather on a prevailing current of liberal opinion and the cues of those like the *Maroon*.

Biernacki himself revealed his deeply pro-capitalist sentiments and his contempt for the gut-level hatred of the American ruling class once expressed by thousands of radicalized students. Raving about "far out communists" and "disruptive fanatics," he approvingly quoted another "vaguely liberal, energetic Ivy League student" to the effect that "capitalism is, for me—and, I

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UICC Admin Does SAVAK Dirty Work

CHICAGO—On Tuesday, May 16, 200 Chicago police viciously attacked an anti-Shah demonstration held by a wing of the Iranian Students Association (ISA) in downtown Chicago, arresting 173 protesters—virtually the entire demonstration. Following a pattern that has become all too familiar, pro-Shah Iranian provocateurs provided the pretext for the mass arrest by entering the demonstration, cursing at the demonstrators in Persian and attempting to start fights. The cops then swarmed in as if on cue.

The despicable pro-Shah provocateurs have roamed Chicago for months, attacking and threatening anti-Shah Iranians with the protection and cooperation of the local police (see "Chicago Cops Arrest 173 at ISA Demo," *Workers Vanguard* No. 207, 26 May 1978). But the Chicago police department has not been alone in aiding attacks on left-wing foreign students. The University of Illinois Chicago Circle (UICC) administration has stepped up its ongoing policy of harassment aimed against campus political activity by threatening foreign students who attend UICC with disciplinary actions exposing them to the prospect of deportation hearings.

On April 21, the UICC Office of Foreign Student Affairs, in a blatant display of chauvinism, sent a threatening letter to every Iranian student on campus. This letter warns that because of incidents in which "Iranians... threatened other Iranians," any future "violations" of campus regulations could result in "police or legal action," involvement of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) or Iranian Consul and a review of UICC's admissions policy regarding foreign students. The "incidents" which were the official pretext for this letter were once again the work of well-known pro-Shah provocateurs who came on campus and attempted to provoke left-wing Iranian students.

The Circle administration knows full well what its thinly disguised threats of expulsion and deportation mean for anti-Shah Iranians. Deportation to Iran for

political activity abroad means almost certain incarceration in the Shah's dungeons and torture chambers.

Arab Students Victimized

In another vicious attempt to further repress political activity at Circle, vice chancellor Richard Ward (an ex-New York City cop) announced that the administration will arrest Arab students and others involved in a May 11 anti-Zionist protest held on campus during an "Israeli Independence Day" celebration.

Prior to the Zionist rally, over a hundred demonstrators gathered in Circle Center lobby carrying signs and Palestinian flags. Left-wing and Arab students began to chant anti-Zionist slogans and attempted to enter the pro-Israel rally but were blocked by campus "security" cops and plainclothes police. At one point, protesters managed to force open a side door and enter the rear of the auditorium, where they chanted Palestinian nationalist slogans. Scuffles broke out and several Arab students were injured when campus and city police charged their contingent. As protests outside continued for several hours (until a squad of uniformed Chicago police were called onto campus and the Zionist rally concluded), some Arab students were assaulted by plainclothes cops and dragged into a nearby room for identification.

Although no arrests were made then, in a subsequent issue of the *Illini*, the campus newspaper, Ward announced that arrests would be made "pending identification." A number of Zionist organizations also placed an ad in the *Illini* demanding that Arab organizations participating in the demonstration have their campus registration revoked.

Smash the Intimidation Campaign!

The administration's despicable attacks are especially ominous given the recent revelations of

police/FBI spying on campus and close collaboration between the Chicago police and the Iranian SAVAK. Yet for the administration, which is intent on crushing political activity on campus, the use of police measures is indispensable. (In fact, Ward revealed in the May 22 *Illini*, arrests are frequent at UICC; about one hundred took place this school year!) This is after all the same administration that arrested and is prosecuting SYL activist Sandor John in the "outside agitator trial" that has been the focus of wide protest and considerable press coverage; that is purging Julia LeSage and other left-wing faculty members; and that plans to wield the axe against minority student admissions with the notorious "Selective Index" scheme.

Upon hearing of the planned arrests, a loose conglomeration of foreign students, student government bureaucrats and campus "leftist" groups organized a demonstration on May 24 to protest the arrests,

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Young Spartacus

Young Spartacus is the newspaper of the Spartacus Youth League. The Spartacus Youth League, youth section of the Spartacus 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, Marc Rogier, Michael Weinstein

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Nine issues yearly; published monthly except December/January and June/July/August, by the Spartacus Youth Publishing Co., 260 West Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10013. Telephone: 925-4295 (Editorial), 925-5665 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 825, Canal Street Station, New York, N.Y. 10013. Domestic subscriptions: \$2.00 per year. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y.

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



Antiwar demonstrators confront ROTC cadets at Kent State, 1971.

AP

The Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC), the target of militant student protest during the 1960's and 1970's, is currently enjoying a quiet yet marked resurgence on numerous U.S. campuses. Driven from more than 100 universities between 1967 and 1969 when ROTC presence was a prime focus of protest by students outraged with the atrocities committed by American imperialism's armed forces in Vietnam, the military has now attempted to streamline the program in an effort to maximize its attractiveness to potential recruits.

In line with its new "career" image, some of the more onerous requirements have been dropped in favor of the "new ROTC." Gone are the strict regulations governing uniforms and drill time. Recruits are now subjected to less regimentation, the curriculum has been made more flexible and women are eligible to join the program. But the role of this "modernized" ROTC remains the same as always: to train the future leaders of the American juggernaut, the men and women charged with the brutal and frequently genocidal maintenance of the most rapacious of the world's imperialist powers.

While ROTC members still carry their uniforms in brown paper bags at more left-wing campuses such as Berkeley, at other schools the recruitment drive is much more overt. Claiming that "recruiting is one of the biggest functions of a professor of military science," students are induced to take ROTC courses in "leadership training" which amount to nothing more than military proselytizing. In addition, each branch of the military allocates scholarships, and all ROTC students are given \$2,600 over the course of their junior and senior years (*New York Times*, 1 May 1978). At Ohio University alone the number of ROTC enrollees has increased almost tenfold over the last two years as a result of a new tuition-scholarship program sponsored by the Ohio National Guard—the still-at-large murderers of four Kent State students eight years ago!

Since the end of the Vietnam War, which regularly featured atrocities committed by "our boys" (such as My Lai) on the evening news, the American army has felt itself hamstrung by the lack of popular support for military expeditions abroad. The widespread unpopularity of the war and the crushing military defeat of U.S. imperialism by the NLF/DRV forces made the direct intervention of troops a

Military Recruiters Off Campus! No to Conscription!

"New" ROTC: As American as My Lai

temporarily inexpedient method of guaranteeing imperialist hegemony.

When the three-cornered Angolan civil war became transformed into what the *Economist* aptly dubbed a "proxy war" between the Soviet-backed/Cuban-led MPLA and the South African-spearheaded FNLA/UNITA forces, the U.S. was forced to content itself with the training of pro-South African mercenaries and the surreptitious funneling of CIA aid to UNITA and FNLA forces. Similarly, in the recent imperialist power play in Zaire's Shaba province, Belgian and French forces grabbed up the white colons while the U.S. contribution to the propping up of imperialist frontman Mobutu was restricted to the export of troop transports to the Zairean air force.

But the factors curtailing a more blatant show of military force are conjunctural—when the time is deemed right, the bourgeoisie will once again attempt to stage invasions of the future Vietnams and Santo Domingos. Keeping its options open, the American military machine is attempting to revitalize ROTC to insure an effectively-led armed force capable of drawing upon college-trained officers in future imperialist adventures.

Volunteers and Draftees

Alongside the resuscitation of ROTC, the bourgeois state is currently testing the waters of public opinion to see whether it is safe to raise the thorny issue

of conscription. The volunteer army has been a considerable source of dissatisfaction, having caused critics from the army brass to the *New York Times* to pass suspect judgement on its "efficiency."

The bourgeois critics of the volunteer army point to its higher costs, high turnover and decline in "quality," noting that today's soldier is poorly educated and far less likely to be a high school graduate than the inductee of ten years ago. Also in question is the army's ability, in its present state, to adequately defend imperialism's interests abroad. The *New York Daily News* (29 May), for example, bemoans the army's personnel crunch which, it maintains, "in the event of a wartime mobilization to support NATO forces" would be short by at least 500,000 men within 60 days after the outbreak of hostilities.

But behind the debates on beefing up the Navy and the cost efficiency of the volunteer army, what is of greatest worry to Carter and the Pentagon is the high percentage of blacks currently in the armed forces. The *New York Times* (13 May) writes, "With the sons of the middle classes deferred for college, Vietnam became a poor man's war, with disproportionate numbers of blacks serving... the draft was ended but the imbalance was only accentuated." The *Times* also points out that blacks constituted about 13 percent of the army in 1971, a figure roughly proportional to the black population in the country, but

that the percentage of black army recruits has since doubled.

Former secretary of the army Martin Hoffmann openly voiced his worries that any "single group" be considered dominant in the combat arms. Hoffmann cited the "danger" of concentrating large numbers of blacks in maneuver battalions and noted that army policy was to seek "an effective mix" in combat troops (*New York Times*, 11 January 1977). Despite the selection of a new secretary of the army who is "black and proud of it," the worry continues under the Carter administration.

One can safely assume that "ethnic purity" Carter and the Pentagon tops are not plagued by a sense of injustice that their cannon fodder is largely poor and black. Rather, the bourgeoisie questions the reliability of black troops in colonial wars. In Indochina, for example, a popular saying among black soldiers was "No Vietnamese ever called me nigger."

Active black support for the war was practically nonexistent and army fears about the high proportion of blacks in the "combat sector" of even the draft army were given weight by the well-publicized refusal of black GIs such as James Johnson of the "Fort Hood Three" and Private Ronald Lockman to serve in Vietnam. There is also the specter of ghetto uprisings and the fear that black soldiers could not be counted on to suppress the black communities of urban tinderboxes. In fact, the bourgeoisie need only recall the attempts of black soldiers stationed at Fort Custer to seize arms and march 140 miles to Detroit in order to protect their families from mobs of white racists during that city's infamous race riot of 1943.

ROTC and the Campus "Left"

It is significant that the re-emergence of ROTC, only a decade ago a widely-despised symbol of American imperialism, is meeting little resistance from the post-Indochina era of campus activists. The predominant issue in the current wave of campus political activity, the movement for university divestiture of stock in corporations dealing with South Africa, has ignored altogether the presence of officer recruitment on campus. Whereas the student protests of the New Left opposed ROTC as one of many pernicious manifestations of the American "military-industrial complex," the pro-divestment movement explicitly accepts the "progressive" role

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Federal Troops "Not My Protectors"

Editor's Note: This spring the Spartacus Youth League ran candidates on numerous campuses across the country. At Wayne State University in Detroit, the SYL slate featured Jimmie Stillwell and Roger Shaheen, who received 113 and 121 votes respectively. We print below a letter from comrade Stillwell on the reasons for his decision to join the SYL.

Letter

24 May 1978

To the editor:

Over the past year I have had extensive contact with various American left organizations, particularly at Wayne State University where I am a student. As a result of this contact, I decided to join the Spartacus Youth League after having investigated the

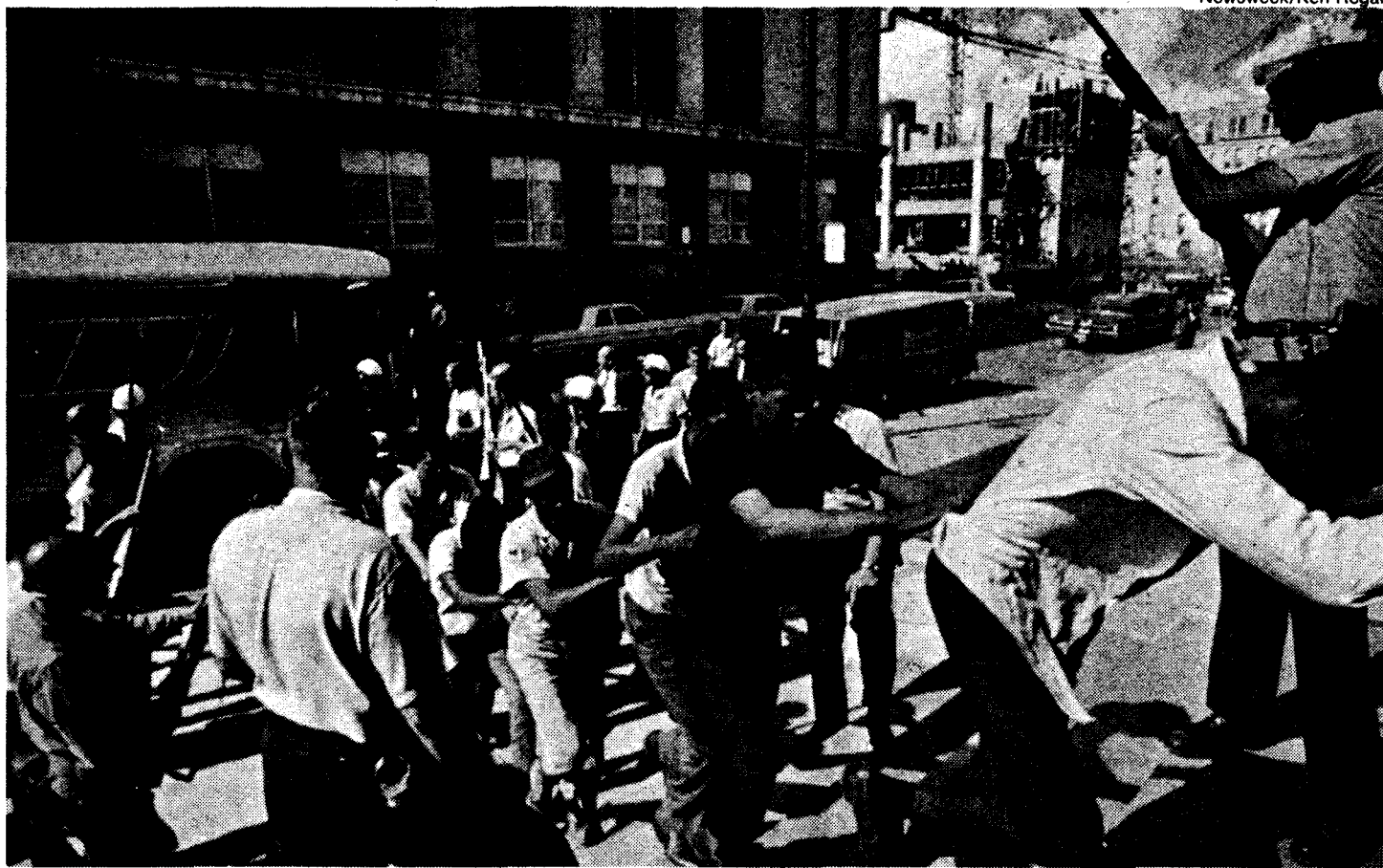
troops" question. Being born and raised in Detroit, police officers, National Guardsmen and federal troops were not ones I considered to be my "protectors." These feelings were continually reinforced through everyday experiences and out of awareness of the general state of relations between the black community and the police department. The experiences of the ghetto uprising of 1967 did not aid in improving the image I had of the police and the National Guard. Even though the events of 1967 were basically acts of social desperation and exasperation over the failure of the civil rights movement to win anything more than token demands, the sending in of riot-gear-clad National Guardsmen and the military occupation of the black neighborhoods was a signal that the social problems that caused the uprising would not be addressed. Childhood memories of squad cars riding "four deep" through black neigh-

that won me over to the Trotskyist politics of the SL/SYL. Even though personal experiences taught me that federal troops and cops were not the defenders of the black community, I felt that a subjective revulsion against settling the question. A more profound theoretical and/or historical analysis was called for.

The key question became what attitude to take toward the bourgeois state. Marxists view the state as an organ of class rule, as a "machine for the oppression of one class by another" and as an "engine of class despotism." From these considerations, it should become clear that the class that holds power will want to continue holding power.

For the SWP/YSA to maintain that through "mass pressure" the capitalist class can be forced to defend the interests of blacks, came to represent to me a flight from Marxist proletarian

Newsweek/Ken Regan



Detroit, 1967: police and national guard "protection" after ghetto uprising.

other "revolutionary" organizations, specifically the Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA). As a young black from Detroit, the realities of urban ghetto living made clear that the politics pushed by the SWP/YSA simply could not stand up against the Trotskyism of the Spartacist League and the SYL.

Very early in my political education I dismissed the Stalinist-Maoist groups as unrevolutionary, as reformists. Their political lines were determined by the interests of either the Moscow bureaucracy, the Peking bureaucracy or the bureaucracy of one of the smaller of the deformed workers states. These Stalinist bureaucracies and their American lackeys are not interested in international revolution but in the "progressive" reform of capitalism, in continuing the betrayals of the international working class started by their mentor Stalin.

Over time, Trotskyism appeared to me to be the only expression of revolutionary Marxism today. Of the organizations claiming to stand in the revolutionary tradition of Trotsky, the Socialist Workers Party and the Spartacist League were the two that I came into contact with. It was not long before I realized that my choice would be one or the other.

The central issue in deciding between the SWP and the SL was the "federal

borhoods, looking back from today, served no purpose but to make sure that we were obeying "law and order," i.e., passively capitulating to the racist status quo.

The black neighborhoods of the "Motor City" of the late '60's were typical of America's ghettos. Not only did we have to live through the almost daily police provocations and attacks, but we were also forced to put up with high unemployment and underemployment, low quality education, a high crime rate, and poor housing and living conditions.

With these realities of living in Detroit and the experiences of 1967 and its aftermath all around me, the crucial issue in choosing between the SL and SWP was around what methods and whose forces to use in defending the black community and the interests of black people!

The position of the SWP/YSA is that through "mass pressure" federal troops can be used to "protect" black people from racist mobs. To me, calling upon the forces of the capitalist state to "defend" blacks was asking that we entrust our welfare to the state that forces us to live in slums, to accept inferior education, low wages and unemployment. To demand this is like standing on the edge of a cliff and asking that someone push you over.

It was the Boston busing situation

task was to implement the busing plan and to defend the bused children. My feelings were that if troops could be effective in implementing the busing plan—so be it. The black community in Boston was small, as was the labor movement and so it appeared to me that implementing labor/black defense was nearly impossible. Therefore it was with reluctance that I looked to the only other force that could seemingly defend busing—federal troops. Clinging to the point that the most important task was to implement the busing plan, I felt it was necessary to take a closer look at the history of the relationship between blacks and government troops.

It was the events of Detroit 1943, Little Rock 1957 and Birmingham 1965 that illustrated to me what "defense" by federal troops was like in action. In each case, troops did not come until the black masses, suffering the repeated attacks of racist vigilantes and tiring of waiting, organized community self-defense. Once this was underway, the troops came—but they "defended" the black people by suppressing their self-defense efforts. In Boston despite daily attacks by racist mobs, the troops never came. It became clear to me that they would come only when the black masses had set up self-defense, and then only to crush these efforts. Upon considering the fact that the troops were not sent anyway, in spite of the appeals of the black Democrats and the NAACP, I came to view a policy of relying upon the federal troops or authorities to defend the black masses as suicidal, as leaving the black community defenseless.

I concluded from this that the black masses and the working class must develop and use their own organizations in defending themselves. Furthermore, the SWP policy of relying upon federal troops to defend blacks fails to aid in the struggle to uproot the capitalist system. It does not seem likely that federal troops are going to aid the working class in becoming a "class for itself"—in becoming politically independent of the bourgeois state. A call for federal troops can only serve as a brake on the development of class consciousness and as an obstacle in pointing out who the real enemy is—the bourgeois government and its cops and troops.

I chose the politics of the SL/SYL over the SWP/YSA because the Spartacist League's demand for labor/black defense is the only way the working class can develop the necessary organizations and consciousness needed for taking on the capitalist state. It is only by the independent mobilization of the working class and the oppressed for socialist revolution that the needs and the interests of blacks and the working class can be ensured.

Comradely,
Jimmie Stillwell

Workers Vanguard

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Students Protest SEEK, Ethnic Studies Cutbacks

Police Riot at Brooklyn College

Swarms of riot police setting upon black and Latin students have charged the political atmosphere at Brooklyn College this spring. The College administration turned to naked repression as students and teachers demonstrated against massive budget cutbacks designed to exclude thousands of minority and working-class students from higher education. The most brutal police violence on a New York City campus in many years culminated in a vicious police assault when riot cops invaded the campus on May 3, leaving three students in jail and four in the hospital.

The Brooklyn College events took place against the backdrop of an ongoing offensive being waged by the municipal government against the poor and working people of New York City. City workers have suffered the loss of 60,000 jobs and a three-year wage freeze while vital city services and the general quality of life in the largest city in North America have purposefully been reduced to a level more closely resembling that of a backward country, giving rise to derisive references to the "Big Apple" as "Calcutta West."

Education in the City University of New York (CUNY) system has been devastated. Open admissions are gone, tuition reinstated and "unqualified" students threatened with expulsion. Mayor Ed "death penalty" Koch plans still further cuts, projecting \$22 million less in the city's subsidy to CUNY in his 1978 budget and \$54 million less by 1982 (Brooklyn College *Rook*, 12 May). SEEK, a remedial program which affects 40 to 45 percent of all black and Latin students in the CUNY system, is scheduled for "dismantling" by the Board of Higher Education while ethnic studies programs won in the student struggles of the 1960's are being steadily eroded.

Given these conditions students have protested in defense of their access to a college education, and a frightened administration has responded with calculated brutality. On January 12 Puerto Rican studies professor Richard Perez and two students, Indio Alejandro and Roger Williams, were viciously beaten in the student cafeteria by city cops called on campus by the administration. Perez and Alejandro, both well-known militants on the campus, required stitches to close head wounds and all three were charged with "assaulting police officers."

This crude attempt to intimidate student and faculty militants failed miserably. On March 15 a coalition known as the "United Front," including the Puerto Rican Alliance, the Caribbean Students Union and the Maoist Revolutionary Student Brigade, confronted college president John Kneller. The group demanded an end to cutbacks in ethnic studies and SEEK, cops off campus, abolition of the "proficiency tests" designed to purge minority and working-class students and an end to attacks on "revolutionary students and progressive faculty."

Although Kneller flatly refused to reply to these demands he quickly realized that the administration needed to defuse the tense situation. On March 29 he issued a statement denying the existence of any cutbacks while offering to schedule administration meetings with the United Front. Two days later the assault charges against Perez, Williams and Alejandro were dropped. These concessions, however, failed to achieve the administration's desired aim of quelling campus protest.

Tension on the campus escalated markedly after the predominantly Jew-

ish Student Assembly voted to grant \$1,000 for a bus trip to Skokie, Illinois, to protest a Nazi march. While revolutionists support the anti-Nazi demonstration in Skokie, among the three campus groups receiving the allocation were the right-wing Zionist thugs of the Jewish Defense League (JDL)—a group which has a notorious history of attacks on left groups, black student groups, Arab students and Soviet diplomats. In response, the United Front leaders asked for \$2,000 to pay for buses carrying students to the national demonstration against the racist Bakke decision in Washington D.C. on April 15.

At a special meeting called on April 6 the Student Assembly flatly refused to allocate any funds for the anti-Bakke protest despite the fact that \$9,000 in unspent student activities money was available to them. At this point angry minority and radical students attempted to prevent the meeting from being adjourned. A scuffle ensued in which both punches and chairs were thrown. The next day outside Kneller's office a fight broke out after a white student assemblyman reportedly spit on Indio Alejandro of the United Front.

The results of these incidents were the re-arrest of Alejandro and the suspension and banning from campus of Perez for "conduct unbecoming a staff member." In an attempt at appeasement, the Student Government president managed to find \$1,000 for the anti-Bakke buses but the crisis at Brooklyn College intensified as cops began appearing everywhere on campus.

Hundreds of students turned out on April 12 for a United Front forum addressed by Perez in defiance of the order banning him from campus. Fourteen carloads of uniformed cops and a swarm of plainclothesmen kept their distance as student protesters painted slogans on the wall underneath Kneller's office and safely escorted Perez off campus.

The climax of this escalating confrontation between minority students and the administration took place on May 3. More than 100 students occupied Whitehead Hall and set up a picket line outside the building. After the protesters had dispatched a negotiating team to vice president Gold's office, plainclothes cops, campus security officers, four Brooklyn College football players and (according to the United Front) members of the JDL broke into the building and began assaulting students with billy clubs and blackjacks. Some students were forced to leap from second story windows to escape these thugs, who had attacked completely without warning.

At this point a squad of helmeted riot police lined up and charged the students who had been cleared out of Whitehead Hall. Demonstrators were chased and beaten indiscriminately and at least six students were injured. Four were hospitalized with one woman requiring 13 stitches to close the cop-inflicted wound in her scalp. Three protesters were arrested, and the two brought to Brooklyn's 63rd precinct were beaten while handcuffed and left bound and bleeding at the hospital until after 10:00 p.m. One of these protesters will need plastic surgery and could possibly lose sight in one eye.

This bloody and unprovoked police riot was countered with a protest demonstration the following week. On May 10 the United Front attracted 250 mostly black and Latin students to a rally demanding "Cops Get the Hell Off

Campus, Reinstate Richie Perez, Drop All the Charges and Hands Off Ethnic Studies." The Spartacus Youth League unreservedly supports these demands and solidarizes with the struggles of the Brooklyn College protesters against administration harassment and the wanton cop brutality.

Predictably, the Brooklyn College administration tried to camouflage its responsibility for the police brutality on campus by spreading tales, which were faithfully repeated by the bourgeois press, about student "violence" and "vandalism." The administration's smear campaign against the student protesters also included attempts to exploit the high level of racial tension on the campus to its advantage. The press coverage of the Brooklyn College events, obviously inspired by police and administration sources, sought to portray minority students' confrontations with the administration and student government as "race riots" while implying that the protesters were motivated solely by anti-semitism.

Ethnic animosity at Brooklyn College does in fact exist, exacerbated by the existence of a student population which is 65 percent Jewish and largely middle class and 17 percent impoverished black and Puerto Rican. The blame for any escalation of racial tension, however, must be laid squarely at the feet of the administration. In 1965 90 percent of Brooklyn College students were white and today the administration seems bent on restoring that level of educational exclusivity. Tuition, higher admission standards, "proficiency" tests and cutbacks in remedial programs and ethnic studies are all calculated blows against minority students.

Without the remedial programs most students from the inner city schools have no hope of being able to academically function at the college level. The Board of Higher Education and the CUNY administrators play on the fear of white students that their diplomas will become increasingly worthless to push through the high-handed cutbacks in the name of university "academic integrity." As socialists we object not to the maintenance of academic standards but to the elimination of the programs which allow all students access to a full university education and to the re-imposition of "flunk-outs" along the way. In one of our basic documents, *Youth, Class and Party*, we write,

"We believe in the value of education and professional training as it reflects the development of man's productive capacity. Therefore, our focus of attack is not on grading systems and technical standards in themselves—indeed, the future socialist society will require some means of measuring competence. Rath-

er, our target is the class divisions which are institutionalized through the educational process."

The all-out assault on remedial programs intensifies the campus racial polarization. Brooklyn College's black and Latin students come primarily from dilapidated ghetto schools where student-teacher ratios can range as high as 50 to 1, where the emphasis is on "discipline" and where graduates are often functionally illiterate. The Jewish students are graduates of academically more stringent schools—in many cases private or parochial schools (yeshivas). Black and Puerto Rican students see themselves as a besieged minority, and all too often the predominantly Jewish student government places itself at the service of the administration's crackdown—as in the question of the anti-Bakke funding. But the cutbacks and reimposition of tuition affect the Jewish students as well. Rather than fight for the remaining spoils at a gutted university, Jewish students must join in united struggle against the axe-wielding administrators and their bosses in the Board of Higher Education.

Students at Brooklyn College and throughout the CUNY system are up against the same enemy facing the entire working and minority population of New York City: the austerity program dictated by the banks to the city government. Together with the New York labor movement, students must either move forward to challenge the entire financial structure erected by this capitalist onslaught or face still further cutbacks. Transit and city workers have the power of strike action to make the banks pay for the "crisis" which these parasites themselves created. Cancel the City Debt! Expropriate the Banks!

The threat to students, particularly black and Spanish-speaking, posed by the city's cutbacks must be answered with a program that can cut across all racial divisions and guarantee equal access for all to education. Strengthen SEEK and Remedial Programs! Restore Open Admissions! No Tuition! Government Stipends for All Students! ■

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BY ANDREW SHEPP

On June 1, 1966 the so-called Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was launched throughout China when Mao Tse-tung personally directed that a *dazibao* (big-character poster) at Peking University be broadcast to the whole country. The wall poster, criticizing the president of the university for suppressing a "literary debate," was written by Nieh Yuan-tzu and several other members of the Philosophy Department.

A little over a month ago, Nieh Yuan-tzu, whose *dazibao* Mao Tse-tung had praised as "China's first Marxist-Leninist big-character poster" (*Peking Review*, 11 August 1967), was arrested in Peking along with around ten other former Red Guards, including K'uai Tafu, initiator of the "Hundred Day War" at Tsinghua University, and Tan Houlan, a former member along with Nieh and K'uai of the "Revolutionary Committee" which ran Peking during the Cultural Revolution. The three Red Guard leaders, arrested on April 26, are charged with having "martyred" professors (beaten them with iron rods) during the Cultural Revolution (*Le Monde*, 27 April).

It was the Cultural Revolution, including the establishment of a seemingly egalitarian educational system by Red Guards like Nieh Yuan-tzu, which in the late 1960's attracted many radicals in the United States and made them "Friends of China." U.S./China "People's Friendship Associations" became popular, William Hinton's *Fanshen* was required reading for many college courses and the Little Red Book of quotations from Chairman Mao was a common possession among leftist students. The sight of Chinese student youth (the Red Guards) dragging party/government establishment officials through the streets in dunce caps was viewed by Western radicals as the very essence of the Cultural Revolution, as proof positive that Maoist China was an egalitarian society dedicated to wiping out all forms of elitism and privilege.

But the myth of a "non-authoritarian" China built by hard-working peasants, students and workers—a myth revolutionary Trotskyists fought against from the beginning—is wearing thin. China's reactionary alliance with U.S. imperialism is common knowledge. Today, only the most politically dishonest or naive can still insist that the never-ending cycle of purges and bureaucratic clique wars that convulse the Forbidden City represent a "two-line struggle" between proletarian-revolutionaries and "capitalist roaders."

And in education, too, it now seems that daily life in Maoist China is not what it was cracked up to be. The round-up of former Red Guard leaders in Peking is part of a recent national campaign of "educational reform" in China following the purge of the "Gang of Four." The old entrance examinations for the universities have been brought back, "tracking" is being tried out in the middle (high) schools and special schools have been restored for privileged ("bright") students. Teachers have been returned their ranks and titles, the textbooks are being completely rewritten and postgraduate work is being reestablished.

The reimposition of entrance exams touched off a war of *dazibaos* at Peking University, according to foreign correspondents. The last classes selected under the "Cultural Revolution" methods have taken to hailing "the last worker-peasant-soldier students" while the new "proven merit" students praise the examination system and refer to upperclassmen as "uncultivated ignoramuses" ([Toronto] *Globe & Mail*, 23 March). In all, some 20 to 30 percent of the entering college students will now come directly from the middle schools without any "education in the country-

Bureaucrats Squabble Over Chinese Universities

Maoist Education: Neither Cultural Nor Revolutionary

Der Spiegel



side." And from all indications the "educational reforms" are dedicated to the de-Maoification of the university system.

"Walking on Two Legs"

The most controversial of the recent "educational reforms" has been the establishment, on a trial basis, of separate classes for "fast" and "slow" learners. The establishment of this "double-track" system is seen by "China-watcher" Fox Butterfield as "the sharpest departure yet from the egalitarian policies of Mao Tse-tung" (*New York Times*, 14 May). According to Butterfield's articles, the return to "normal" academic life under Hua Kuo-feng and Teng Hsiao-ping is a happy sign that "China's political revolution" is over: "Mao's successors... have now decided to usher China into its post-Mao, postrevolutionary era" (*New York Times*, 17 May).

But tracking is not "an entirely new program in China," as Butterfield asserts. In 1958, during the "Great Educational Revolution" which accompanied the disastrous Great Leap Forward, a program was launched in China called "walking on two legs." This grew out of a typically convoluted directive issued by the "Great Helmsman":

"If the school should launch a factory and the factory should launch a school, if the school maintains a farm, if

communes develop schools for half-work and half-study, then both study and labor will be coordinated."

—quoted in Peter J. Seybolt (ed.), *Revolutionary Education in China*

The result was that "full-day schools and work-and-study as well as after-work schools... developed side by side, thus bringing about the phenomenal growth of educational enterprises." This program was hailed by "friends of China" as an example of local initiative and "popular participation" in People's China: everyone was supposed to be left to develop their own schools.

While the Mao bureaucracy was engaged in the most reactionary/utopian economic dislocation in the history of Stalinist bureaucratism, the education system as a whole did not take on the "self-reliance" of the Great Leap Forward. It is clear that the growth of full-time schools alongside half-work, half-study schools was designed to preserve at a rudimentary level the technical/scientific intelligentsia necessary for the existence of any modern state. Despite the Maoist egalitarian claptrap, however, these schools were clearly a form of tracking—not only separate classes, but entirely separate schools. The elite schools prepared China's future party/state leaders and professionals for a university education and other full-time schools prepared teachers and engineers mostly for jobs in the countryside, but the half-work, half-

study schools "were there to provide a minimal education for China's future peasant and working classes" (*Monthly Review*, July-August 1969).

The central function of the "walking on two legs" was made clear by Minister of Education Yang Hsui-feng in a speech to the Second National People's Congress in April 1959:

"We must use the method of developing half-day and spare-time schools together with the organization of educational institutes by factories and mines to meet the needs for popularizing education, and on the other hand, we must raise the quality of the full-day schools as well as raise the quality of a selected group of these schools to a particularly high level so as to enable them to become the backbone of our educational undertakings."

—quoted in Shj Ming Hu and Eli Seifman, *Toward a New World Outlook: A Documentary History of Education in the People's Republic of China, 1949-1976*

During the Cultural Revolution, the half-work, half-study schools were criticized "because, as the full-time schools continued, they amounted to setting up the 'double-track' system of capitalist countries" (*China Quarterly*, April-June 1970). But this tracking system was not abolished and in fact was extended. Furthermore, given the chance to scapegoat Liu Shao-chi for establishing what would seemingly run counter to Maoist egalitarianism, the heads of Chinese education chose instead to accuse him only of claiming the great idea as his own: supposedly, Liu "advanced... two kinds of educational system and two kinds of labor system," thus regarding half-study and half-work as his own innovation... Liu Shao-chi tried to usurp other people's merit" (quoted in Seybolt [ed.] *op. cit.*).

There is another aspect to the recent institution of separate classes based on "ability." This is the long-time existence in China (again, as a product of the 1958 "Great Educational Revolution") of what could be called discriminatory tracking on a regional basis. Due to the decentralization of education during the Great Leap Forward, there grew up immense regional inequalities. Thus, in a recent interview with *China Quarterly* (December 1977), Chang Hsueh-hsin of the Ministry of Education explains that while there is universal senior middle school education in the major cities and thus no high-school examinations are required there,

"In other cities, however, we have only universalized junior middle school education. In such places, only primary school graduates can move directly to junior middle school without having to sit for an entrance exam. But the junior middle graduates must take an entrance exam for admission to senior middle school... So that while entrance exams at the secondary level are not formally part of the system, they do occur in actual life."

Maoist "Special Admissions": Purging the Universities

One of the first acts of the Cultural Revolution was the decision, made on 13 June 1966 by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) Central Committee, to abolish the existing entrance-examination method of enrolling university students, which was said to "place school marks in command":

"Before the Great Cultural Revolution, when the revisionist line held sway in education, the old university entrance examination system served as an important check-post for bourgeois intellectuals to dominate the campus. Ostensibly paraded as 'equality before marks,' actually it was cultural autocracy of the bourgeoisie. The aim was to keep the university gates closed to workers, peasants and soldiers and their children."

—*Peking Review*, 21 September 1973

The CCP Central Committee decision established instead the following admissions policy: middle-school students would no longer take entrance exams for the universities, but upon graduation would go to the countryside or the factories for two years "and in the first place get 'ideological diplomas' from the

working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants." Then, "the Party will select the best from among the fine sons and daughters of the proletariat... and send them on to higher education" (*Peking Review*, 24 June 1966).

Superficially, choosing the university freshman class from among the entire proletariat rather than from the graduating middle-school seniors seemed highly egalitarian and "Friends of China" like William Hinton were enamored with this innovation of the Cultural Revolution. But Hinton himself in his *Hundred Day War: The Cultural Revolution at Tsinghua University* hints at the real meaning of this "revolutionary" decision when he reports that those young people entitled to enter the university gates were to be selected, by the CCP, on the basis of "how well they studied and applied Mao Tse-tung Thought on the job and in daily life!"

Thus, the university gates were opened, not to "workers, peasants and soldiers and their children" in general, but *only* to supporters of the Mao wing of the bureaucracy. In fact, with the recent reversal, university administrators are admitting that during the Cultural Revolution (as before) "in practice offspring of party officials and army officers usually managed to get the few openings available" (*New York Times*, 14 May 1978).

This replacement of a phony objective standard for admissions which favored the children of high Party officials ("marks in command") by an equally phony egalitarianism—giving the CCP even fuller "command" over university admissions—fit into the larger objective of Mao and his backers in the Cultural Revolution: the attempt (ultimately unsuccessful) to institute a massive purge of the economic and administrative apparatus associated with Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping.

Politically, Liu and Teng came together in opposition to the Great Leap Forward which in 1958-59 led to an economic collapse whose severity was unique in the history of the Sino-Soviet states. Despite almost universal recognition by the Chinese bureaucracy of the disastrous consequences of the Great Leap Forward and his own loss of authority in the CCP because of it, Mao Tse-tung continued to defend the program. As we have pointed out before, the Cultural Revolution was largely Mao's attempt to lay the political basis for a second Great Leap Forward (see "Mao's 'Socialism': No Electricity, No Soviets," *Workers Vanguard* Nos. 118 and 120, 16 and 30 July 1976).

The campuses, particularly in Peking, were a center of opposition to the Great Leap Forward and an important base for Liu/Teng. Besides fearing the economic consequences of giving the disastrous program a second chance, the academics had their own particular gripes against the Great Leap Forward. There had been a "leap" in education too, in which foreign-language students, for instance, had to learn the dictionary by heart (*China Quarterly*, April-June 1970)! And more importantly, the combination of schooling with productive labor during the "Great Educational Revolution" of 1958 no doubt alienated the university professors.

Thus, it is not surprising that in 1959 when Mao dismissed Minister of Defense P'eng Teh-huai for having denounced the Great Leap, support for P'eng (in various disguises) came largely from academic circles. The best-known example is the play *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office*. Written by Wu Han, then Deputy Mayor of Peking and a former history professor, the play is a not-so-veiled allegorical attack upon Mao's "dismissal" of Marshal P'eng. Wu Han has Hai Jui telling the emperor:

"...labor levies are abnormally high... these ten years or more have been chaotic.... You think you alone are right, you refuse to accept criticism and your mistakes are many.... This is

the most serious problem in the country."

quoted in *Monthly Review*, July-August 1969

In fact, Nieh Yuan-tzu's famous big-character poster which blew open the Cultural Revolution was a call to reopen the "literary debate" directed at *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office*. And the satire and ridicule aimed at his cherished program for transforming China into a great power in one generation was not Mao's only complaint against the academics. In 1964 there was a "two-line struggle" between Liu Shao-chi and Mao's supporters over control of the "Socialist Education Movement" launched in 1963. Liu personally toured nineteen provinces and made over twenty reports to publicize and win support for "tracking" (Seybolt [ed.] *op. cit.*). His group came out with the upper hand and in 1965 Ho Wei, a supporter of Liu Shao-chi, became Minister of Education.

During this period, Liu and others tried to drive Mao's supporters off the

strong among the teachers (most of whose training dated to before 1949). Bowing to the pressure from the teachers, the exams were restored by a directive of the Chinese State Council in April 1973—only to be condemned and abolished again later that year as the "cultural autocracy of the bourgeoisie."

"Revolutionaries are Monkey Kings"

In its unsuccessful fight to transform the universities from training grounds for the party/government apparatus into centers of national messianic fervor preparing for a second Great Leap Forward, Mao had another weapon: the Red Guards. The period of "revolutionary exchanges" in Fall 1966 when the Red Guards ran amok through China was seen by many Western radicals as yet another installment in the worldwide radicalization of youth. Support for the Red Guards with their slogan "It Is Right to Rebel!" extended beyond the usual "Friends of China"; even several

efforts ("self-reliance") in any politically meaningful time period was inconceivable. Thus the transition to socialism was redefined as the product not of industrial/technological progress and international expansion of the revolution, but of "cultural revolution" (see "The Poverty of Maoist Economics," in the SYL pamphlet, *Trotskyism Versus Maoism—Why the USSR Is Not Capitalist*). The following passage from a big-character poster at Tsinghua University really summarizes the Red Guards' schema for "hewing out a proletarian new world":

"Revolutionaries are Monkey Kings, their golden rods are powerful, their supernatural powers far-reaching and their magic omnipotent, for they possess Mao Tse-tung's great invincible thought. We wield our golden rods, display our supernatural powers and use our magic to turn the old world upside down, smash it to pieces, pulverize it, create chaos and make a tremendous mess, the bigger the better!"

—*Peking Review*, 9 September 1966

As the social program for the proletariat in power, what the "Monkey Kings" advocate is a blueprint for disaster. This program for a second Great Leap Forward could never be implemented in the economy, but it began to take hold in science and education, as all scholarly endeavors were subordinated to Mao Tse-tung Thought ("putting politics in command")—and in fact the only directive which really came to fruition was that of making "a tremendous mess." For instance, in a mathematics textbook in use in 1969, every paragraph is introduced by an excerpt from Mao (*China Quarterly*, April-June 1970)!

Today, after purging the "Monkey Kings" led by the "Gang of Four," the Hua/Teng regime has "revealed" what Trotskyists have said all along: that the period of the late 1960's and early 1970's was not a "cultural revolution" at all, but a terrible setback for the Chinese workers state. Viewed not long ago as having prevented an attempted restoration (by leading Party members no less) of capitalism in China, the Cultural Revolution is now repudiated by the institutors of China's "educational reforms" as a period of "10 lost years" (*New York Times*, 22 October 1977).

A speech by Fang Yi, CCP Politburo member and Vice-President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, while scapegoating the "Gang of Four," testifies to the effect of the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution":

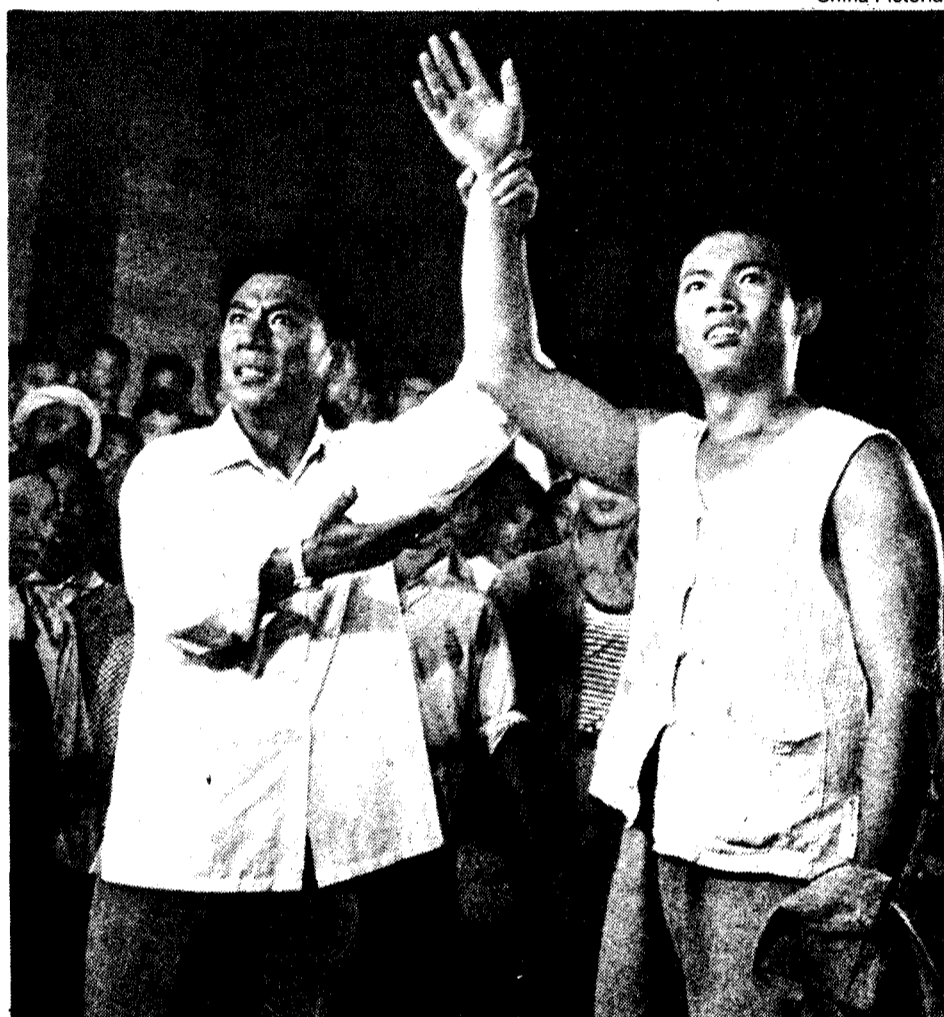
"Large numbers of universities, colleges and scientific research institutes were disbanded. The gap between China's level of science and technology and the world's advanced levels has widened... basic scientific and theoretical research in particular has been virtually done away with. The quality of education has declined sharply.... Science and education are lagging so far behind that they are seriously hindering the realization of the modernization of agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology....

"The repeated struggle around scientific and educational work between us and the gang has been a struggle between the building of a modern socialist country and the reversion to a primitive life of cave society, between the building of a highly civilized New China and the reversion to old China, a land of gloom and ignorance."

—*Peking Review*, 13 January 1978

Mao's successors, in following his great-power ambitions (anti-Soviet and at the same time modeled on Stalin's "socialism in one country"), now want to restore a modicum of sanity to China's scientific/educational policy and aspire to construct a large and unified government apparatus "to bring about the modernization of industry, agriculture, national defense and science and technology by the end of this century" (*Peking Review*, 11 November 1977—emphasis ours). According to Teng Hsiao-ping's speech to the recent National Educational Work Conference held in Peking, the goal is "to create

continued on page 14



In a scene from "Breaking with Old Ideas," hero raises a worker's hand to show callouses as qualification for entering the university. Film covers for purge of universities where hand-raising, not callouses, was the real qualification.

campuses. One of the charges leveled by the Red Guards at the president of Wuhan University, for example, was that he had reorganized the school CCP apparatus "to eliminate the cadres who had come to power during the Great Leap Forward" (*Monthly Review*, July-August 1969). A pro-Red Guard account, similarly, makes clear that Liu's supporters "used the Socialist Education Movement to get their own people into office," and that "the Cultural Revolution was an attempt to replace them with appointees of the Mao group" (Neale Hunter, *Shanghai Journal: An Eyewitness Account of the Cultural Revolution*).

In the end the attempt to purge the universities failed; Mao's expectation that the Liu-loyal university apparatus could be driven out and replaced by Red Guards was not fulfilled. In his book on the Cultural Revolution at Tsinghua University, William Hinton notes that while the movement of radical student youth "held de facto power for brief periods, it never was able to set up a legitimate University administration" (*Hundred Day War*). When the universities reopened in 1970 after four years of no classes, resistance to the abolition of entrance examinations was still

ostensibly Trotskyist organizations took positions of "critical support to the Cultural Revolution," characterizing it as a mass mobilization against the bureaucracy.

In fact, it was precisely the seemingly "anti-establishment" stand of the Red Guards which Mao's wing of the bureaucracy required, for in the period between the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution, the group around Liu Shao-chi gained broad support not only on the campuses, but throughout the entire apparatus. Mao Tse-tung's own August 1966 big-character poster called on the students to follow the example of Nieh Yuan-tzu and "Bombard the Headquarters!"

The Red Guards fought for Mao Tse-tung Thought to take the place of technical knowledge and scientific investigation in the college curriculum. They so easily embraced the utopian/voluntarist vision of the Great Leap Forward in part because, as the future government bureaucrats, they wanted that government to be great and powerful and its subjects hard-working and frugal. But Maoist China was qualitatively more backward than even Stalin's Russia of the 1930's, and catching up to the West by its own

China Pictorial

A popular theme among social-democratic and various academic historians is that in the aftermath of Marx's fight against ultra-leftist currents in the Communist League, he and Engels underwent a steady de-radicalization culminating in Marx's retreat into the library of the British Museum. From Boris Nicolaievsky to Isaac Deutscher (who used this to justify his own career and his opposition to the founding of the Fourth International in 1938), the theme goes as follows: with the defeat of the revolutions of 1848, Marx re-evaluated his revolutionary predictions and withdrew from active political life into an extended period of theoretical study. For these accounts, however, the question of Marx's activities in 1850 pose a thorny problem, for not only was this the period of his bloc with Auguste Blanqui and his followers, but it was the time of Marx's first formulation of the term "the dictatorship of the proletariat."

There is probably no single term that has generated as much violent political controversy, extending to this day, as this formulation of Marx's for proletarian state power. For both the revisers and would-be refuters of Marx, rejecting this term is central to the debunking of Marx's credentials as a revolutionist. So what I want to do in this part of the talk is discuss the evolution of the concept of the proletarian dictatorship for Marx. I also want to deal with Marx's political activism in Britain following his exile from Germany.

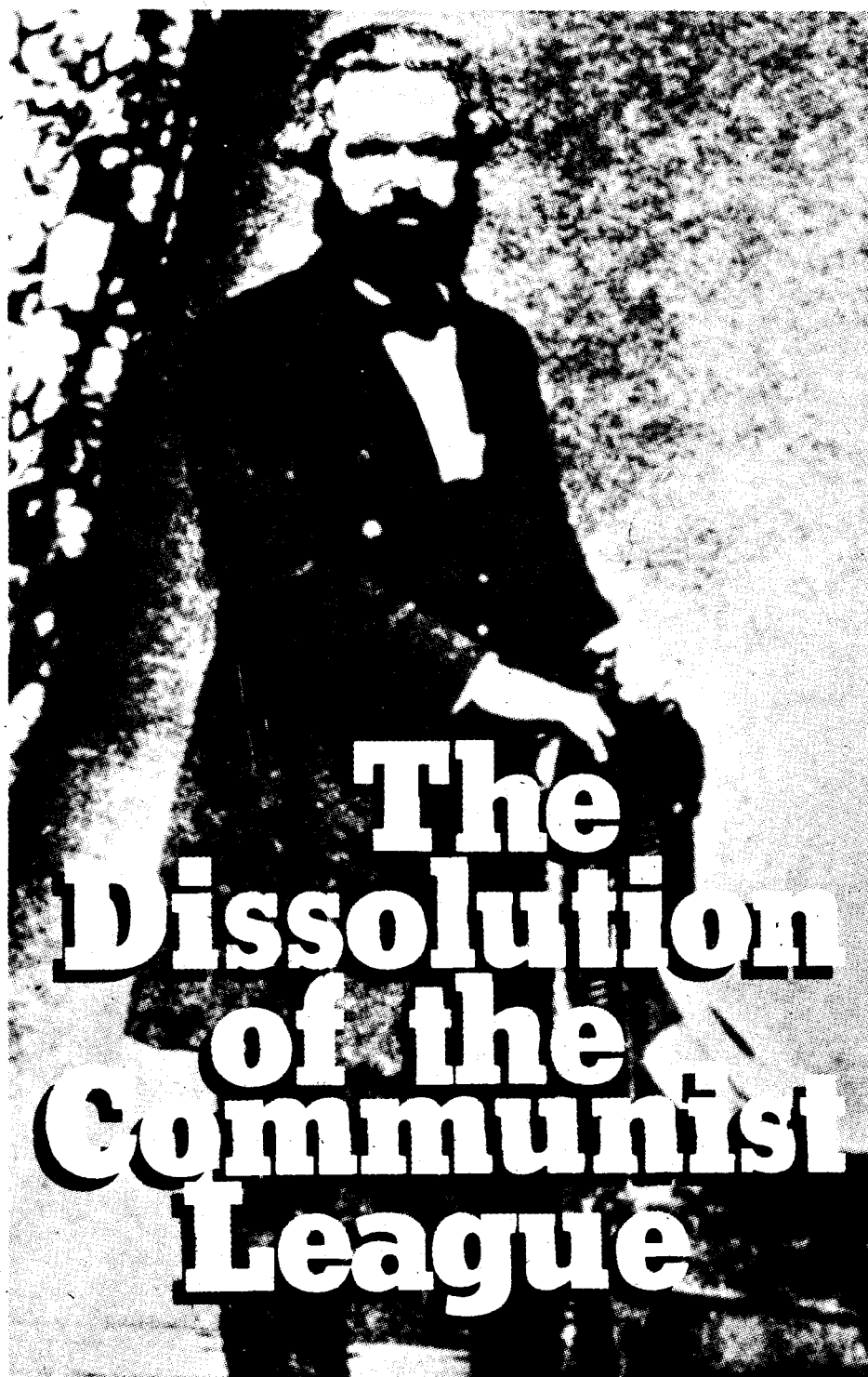
It was in the spring of 1850 that Marx first used the term "the dictatorship of the proletariat" in his articles on the revolution of 1848 in France, published as *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850*. The term is also used in the April 1850 agreement which established the Universal Society of Revolutionary Communists, consisting of the German Communist League, the French Blanquists and the left wing of the British Chartists. The first paragraph of this agreement states:

"The goal of the association is the overthrow of all privileged classes, their subjugation to the dictatorship of the proletarians in which the revolution is to be maintained in permanence until the realization of communism, which will be the ultimate form of organization of the human family."

—Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 7 (1960) [our translation]

This statement was not written by Marx, but rather by his left-communist colleague August Willich. Nevertheless, this was the core document of Marx's political work in that period, and there is no doubt that it fully reflected his views.

There are a number of ways of approaching what Marx meant in 1850 by the term that has since been a key component of Leninism. There is in existence, at least in the English-speaking world, what is purported to be the definitive work on this subject. This is Hal Draper's 1962 article, "Marx and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" (*Cahiers De L'Institut De Science Economique Appliquée*, No. 129, September 1962), which is also the primary



The Dissolution of the Communist League

Marxism and the Jacobin Communist Tradition Part XIII

basis for Draper's claim to be a Marxist scholar. Therefore, a good place to start would be by discrediting Draper's work which is in fact a social-democratic falsification. Although the falsification is achieved mainly by omission, there is also an actual historical distortion which is central to an understanding of this period.

The Marxist-Blanquist Bloc of 1850

What Draper falsifies outright is Marx's relation to the Blanquists. He states:

"Marx's attitude toward Blanqui and his movement remained essentially the same from 1844, when Marx first became a socialist, to the end of his life.... This attitude combined complete rejection of the Blanquist putsch, to be made by a conspiratorial group,

with great admiration for Blanqui as a devoted and honest revolutionist; it combined great respect for Blanqui as a socialist militant with no respect for his ideas on how to make a revolution. In time of revolution, therefore, Marx sought joint action with the Blanquists—a 'united front'—in spite of their political disagreements. Such united-front contacts took place especially in 1850 and again after the Paris Commune...." [emphasis in original]

What was this so-called "joint action" which Marx and the Blanquists agreed to in 1850? It is stated in the first paragraph (quoted above) of the founding agreement of the Universal Society of Revolutionary Communists—the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a transition to communism. This is hardly what one could characterize as a joint action! It is rather a statement of *programmatic* agreement

concerning the goals of the *post-insurrectionary* period.

Marx, incidentally, was quite well aware of the difference between military joint action (a united front) and political collaboration (a bloc). In his March 1850 "Address of the Central Committee to the Communist League," he insists on the political independence of the workers organizations while recognizing the need for temporary military alliances with the bourgeois democrats:

"...the workers, and above all the League, must exert themselves to establish an independent, secret and public organization of the workers' party alongside of the official democrats and make each section the central point and nucleus of workers' societies in which the attitude and interests of the proletariat will be discussed independently of bourgeois influences.... In the case of a struggle against a common adversary no special union is required. As soon as such an adversary has to be fought directly, the interests of both parties, *for the moment*, coincide, and, as previously, so also in the future, this connection, *calculated to last only for the moment*, will arise of itself. [our emphasis]

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

The Marxists and Blanquists could not have envisaged joint military action in 1850 in any case. The Communist League had few supporters in France (where despite the 1848 defeat the Blanquists were centered) and the Blanquists had no known organizational followers in Germany—nor is there any record of Britain-centered "united-front" activity as Draper suggests. The relation of Marx's Communist League to the Blanquists in 1850 was not that of a military united front (logistically improbable in any case), but rather that of a political bloc embodied in a common organization, the Universal Society of Revolutionary Communists.

Following the discrediting of the petty-bourgeois opposition in France during the June Days of 1848 and 1849, Marx believed that the Blanquists had won the support of the majority of active elements of the French proletariat. A Blanquist-led insurrection in Paris would therefore *not* have been a putsch. Furthermore, Marx upheld that peasant support for Louis Napoleon had been sufficiently eroded that the peasantry would have, at least passively, supported a Paris-centered proletarian insurrection. This provided the basis for Marx's political collaboration with the Blanquists in 1850, despite their very different theoretical worldview.

To anyone familiar with Marx's political history, Draper's analysis of his relation to the Blanquists (which is held not to have changed in forty years) is manifestly false. Draper's position cannot explain why Marx formed a bloc with the Blanquists *only after* the revolutions of 1848 had been defeated. *Before* 1848 Marx had formed a bloc with Blanqui's *opponents*, the petty-bourgeois radical Alexandre Ledru-Rollin and his socialist ally, Louis Blanc. The experience of the revolution of 1848, notably the betrayals of the left bourgeois democrats such as Ledru-

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 focuses on the social-democratic revisions of Marx's political activities and programmatic conclusions following the decisive defeats of the revolutionary wave of 1848. This current article is the second of two 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 victori-

ous revolutionary-democratic forces; the defeat of the German Revolution of 1848 through the capitulation of bourgeois democracy to monarchism; and the post-1848 radicalization of Marx's political worldview leading to the formation of the Universal Society of Revolutionary Communists.

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 Co., Box 825, Canal Street Station, New York, N. Y. 10013.

Rollin, radicalized Marx and drew him closer to the Blanquists.

Marx and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

Marx first used the term "dictatorship of the proletariat" with reference to the Paris June Days of 1848. While Draper spends pages on the meaning of the term "dictatorship" in ancient Rome and other scholastic asides, he says nothing about what happened in the June Days. For Marx the key demands of the proletariat in the June Days were: "Overthrow of the bourgeoisie! Dictatorship of the working class!" To this Draper makes the fatuous comment that there is no record of this slogan being used, and as Marx was not even in Paris at the time he could not be speaking from personal knowledge.

In the June Days the Parisian working class attempted the overthrow of a bourgeois-democratic parliamentary government elected by universal suffrage. Marx not only defended this action, but maintained that the workers were right to attempt a seizure of power against bourgeois reaction. In *The Class Struggles in France 1848 to 1850*, he wrote:

"The workers were left no choice; they had to starve or let fly. They answered on June 22 with the tremendous insurrection in which the first great battle was fought between the two classes that split modern society. It was fought for the preservation or annihilation of the *bourgeois* order." [our emphasis]

The Parisian June Days represent one of the pivotal events of modern history. For the first time the working class found itself on the barricades fighting reaction not in the form of absolutism but of bourgeois democracy. The revolutionary overthrow of the monarchy by the urban proletarian masses led to a situation of dual power, and then universal suffrage was used to restore a conservative bourgeois government which set about crushing the working-class organizations. What occurred in France in 1848 anticipated the events of Germany in 1918 and in some ways Portugal in 1975. Russia in 1917 would have gone the same way, except that Lenin and Trotsky, having learned the lessons of 1848, led the Soviet power in dispersing the Constituent Assembly. The Blanquist-led Paris proletariat attempted this in 1848 and failed; the Bolshevik-led Russian proletariat in 1917 succeeded.

Parisian June Days, 1848, "on which the first great battle was fought between the two classes that split modern society. It was fought for the preservation or annihilation of the bourgeois order."

—Karl Marx, *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850*



"Of late, the Social-Democratic philistine has once more been filled with wholesome terror at the words: Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Well and good, gentlemen, do you want to know what this dictatorship looks like? Look at the Paris Commune. That was the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

—Frederick Engels, *Introduction to The Civil War in France, 1891*

Draper falsifies Marx's position by not indicating that the June insurrection was directed against a bourgeois-democratic government. First he quotes the following passage from *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850*:

"The French workers could not take a step forward, could not touch a hair of the bourgeois order, until the course of the revolution had aroused the mass of the nation, peasants and petty bourgeois, standing between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, against this order, against the rule of capital, and had forced it to attach itself to the proletarians as their protagonists. The workers could buy this victory only through the tremendous defeat in June."

Draper then gives the following interpretation to this passage: "The

'dictatorship of the proletariat' is here firmly linked to majority support." Of course the term "linked" is extremely and perhaps deliberately vague. To most people Draper's statement would indicate the need for a parliamentary majority. This was certainly not Marx's position. He did not say that the workers should not take power without the support of the peasantry; he said that they could not do so. For Marx this was not a question of principle, but rather a strategic and tactical evaluation of the revolution's capacity to consolidate proletarian state power. Marx was, after all, calling for a revolution directed against a government elected by the majority of the population. He believed

that once the proletariat took power in Paris, it would have the benign neutrality of most peasants and the active support of many. But he was not waiting for the revolutionary proletariat to secure a parliamentary majority. The difference between Draper and Marx on this question is the difference between Lenin and Martov in 1917 and between Luxemburg and Kautsky in 1918. It is the difference between revolutionary and reformist socialists.

Draper essentially presents the following deceptive argument. He states (correctly) that Marx did not have the Blanquist conception of revolutionary dictatorship—the rule of a relatively small revolutionary party without any democratic sanction. He, therefore, implies that Marx had the latter-day social-democratic (Kautskyan) conception: the dictatorship of the proletariat requires the democratic sanction of the majority of the population.

But Marx had neither a Blanquist nor a Kautskyan conception of proletarian class rule. For Marx (from 1850 until his death) the dictatorship of the proletariat meant a government capable of suppressing bourgeois counterrevolution during the transitional period to communism. How such a government was to be established and its precise, formal relation to the petty-bourgeois population was for Marx/Engels an open or algebraic question. As is well known, Marx entertained the possibility that in Britain and the United States the working class could achieve governmental power through parliamentary means. But for Germany and most of continental Europe he and Engels believed proletarian socialists would have to forcefully defeat bourgeois counterrevolution, including perhaps its petty-bourgeois supporters.

The algebraic relationship of proletarian class rule to the petty-bourgeois masses is well illustrated in Engels' letters to Bebel on revolutionary strategy in Bismarck's Germany. In November 1884 he observed:

"As the military situation is at present, we must not open the attack as long as we have an armed force against us. We can wait until that armed force ceases to

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Dissolution of the Communist League...

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be a force against us. Before that any revolution, even a successful one, would give the power, not to us, but to the most radical of the bourgeois, namely, the petty bourgeois."

But a month later he added:

"An unarmed populace against a modern army is in the military sense only a negative quantity. Suppose, however, that our reserves (men of twenty to twenty-five who do not vote but are trained soldiers) side with the revolution, the period of pure democracy might be skipped."

—quoted in Gustav Mayer,
Friedrich Engels (1936)

For Engels the proletarian party had to win over the strategically decisive sections of the petty bourgeoisie, especially the largely peasant youth in the army, in order to come to power. He would have dismissed the notion, which Draper endorses, that proletarian revolution required gaining a formal majority of the entire population as bourgeois-liberal philistinism.

The Split in the Communist League

In an attempt to reexamine the revolutionary upheavals of 1848, Marx returned to his economic studies in the summer of 1850. He discovered that since 1830 every revolutionary uprising had come during an economic depression. The artisan-proletarian-masses, finding their wages being forced down or themselves forced into the ranks of the unemployed, took to the streets. In the summer of 1850 Marx observed that the European economy was in the full flush of rapid expansion. The suppression of the revolutionary wave had restored bourgeois confidence and capital investment was booming.

Writing in November 1850, Marx concluded:

"With this general prosperity, in which the productive forces of bourgeois society develop as luxuriantly as is at all possible with bourgeois relationships, there can be no talk of a real revolution. Such a revolution is only possible in the periods when both these factors, the modern productive forces and the bourgeois productive forms come in collision with each other.... A new revolution is possible only in consequence of a new crisis. It is, however, just as certain as this crisis." [emphasis in original]

—The Class Struggles in France,
1848 to 1850

In the fall of 1850 the Communist League underwent what was to be the decisive split in its history. At issue were two separate questions of the revolution's periodicity, and it is important not to confuse them. First was the question of whether the bourgeois-democratic revolution was imminent; was its outbreak to be measured in months or years? Second, was the proletarian-socialist revolution to follow immediately on the heels of the bourgeois-democratic, or was there to be a much longer time period separating the two?

Had Marx simply changed his assessment of when the renewed bourgeois-democratic revolution was to occur, the split with the impatient leftists in the Communist League might have occurred anyway, but it would not have a profound historic significance. However, Marx not only re-evaluated his position on this question but in a sense reverted to the open-ended time scale concerning the relation of the bourgeois-democratic to the proletarian revolution which he had held prior to 1848.

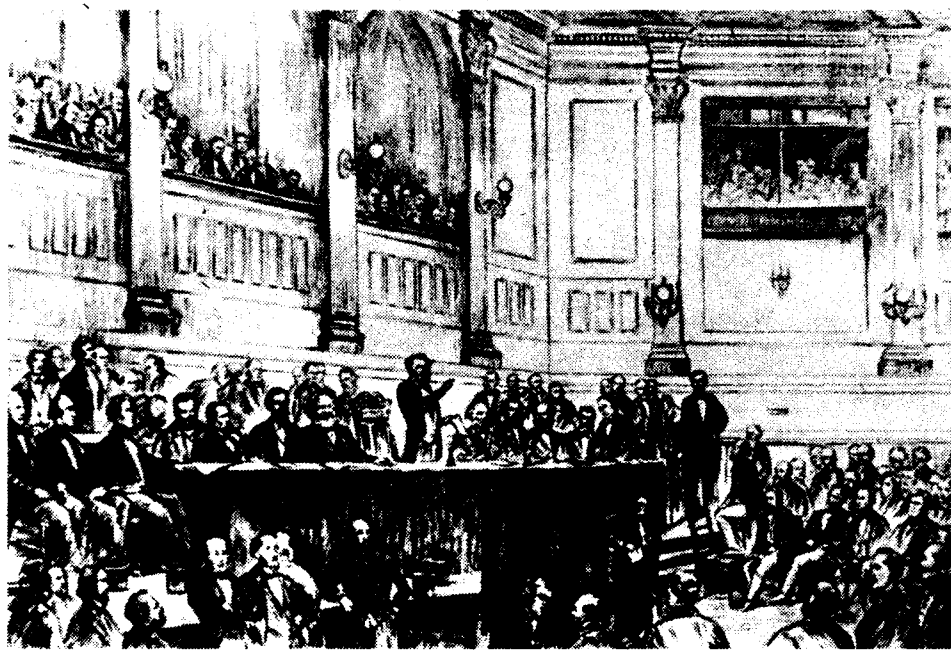
Marx evidently reconsidered the revolutions of 1848 and concluded that it was unrealistic to believe that the German or even the French workers could come to power immediately

following the seizure of power by bourgeois democracy. This position represented Marx's fundamental break with the Jacobin communist tradition—occurring through a split in the Communist League which pitted Marx and Engels against August Willich and Karl Schapper. At the decisive split meeting in September of 1850, Marx summarized his position thus:

"What we say to the workers is: 'You will have 15, 20, 50 years of civil war and national struggle and this not merely to bring about a change in society but also to change yourselves and prepare yourselves for the exercise of political power.' Whereas you say on the contrary: 'Either we seize power at once, or else we might as well just take to our beds.' While we are at pains to show the German worker how rudimentary the development of the German proletariat is, you appeal to the patriotic feelings and class prejudice of the German artisan...."

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

This was not an offhand remark or



Founding meeting of the First International, London, 1864.

polemical exaggeration. Marx cited it a few years later in his pamphlet on the Cologne Communist trial. So it is an important statement of his views.

From the standpoint of revolutionary perspectives, the difference between 15 and 50 years is not quantitative but qualitative. If the proletariat can come to power 15 years after the bourgeois-democratic revolution, we are still, broadly speaking, on the terrain of the permanent revolution. The proletarian revolution will be carried out by this generation of workers and this generation of revolutionary cadre. We are still speaking about the tasks of the present Communist League although projected sometime into the future. But if the proletarian revolution is 50 years hence, we are no longer talking about the present generation of workers nor even about their children; we are then dealing with the grandchildren of the present generation.

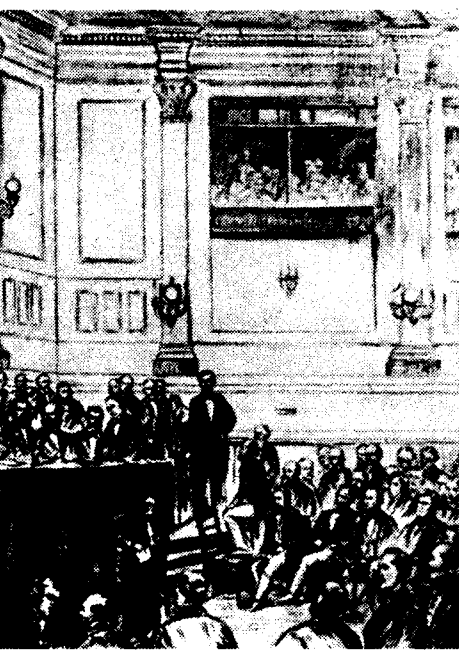
It is not possible to have a mass organization whose basic programmatic aims can only be realized 50 years hence. People will simply not join such an organization—a mass organization must have a program which in large measure can be realized in the effective lives of its members and supporters. The acceptance of this long-term periodicity serves as the embryo of the classic social-democratic separation of the minimum and maximum program: 50 years of struggle to achieve the socialist revolution implies that there must be a minimum program which can be realized before then.

Marx's presentation caused the ultra-left members of the Communist League to insurrect—resulting in the formation of an anti-Marxist faction led by Willich, himself a rather extraordinary character. With a concept of political struggle apparently based on Arthurian legend, Willich was so offended by Marx's position that he challenged him to a duel. While this is perhaps more sporting than Stalin's

assassination of Trotsky, the effect would have been the same: Willich, a former Prussian officer, was a crack shot. Marx declined. (One of Marx's young followers, Konrad Schramm, felt that the party's honor was at stake and accepted Willich's challenge. The initial report to Marx that Schramm—who was knocked unconscious—had been killed by a bullet in the head turned out to be untrue. Willich later claimed that his aim was so true that he deliberately only grazed Schramm.)

After parting ways with Marx, Willich proved himself to be something more than a quixotic adventurer. He soon emigrated to the U.S. where, like most German "red 48ers," he became involved in the radical wing of the Republican Party. During the Civil War he was a general in the Northern Army, had a very distinguished military career and was wounded during Sherman's march through Georgia.

While Marx won a narrow majority of the previously-constituted central



August Willich.



August Willich.

committee, the Willich/Schapper faction had the support of the majority of League members. Most of the Communist League organizations in Germany, including the strong Cologne branch, supported Marx; but the emigres resisted Marx and Engels. The ultra-leftists' strength in London was partly a product of Schapper's historic leadership, going back to 1840. But mainly it reflected the fact that the exiled "red 48ers" could entertain illusions about an imminent revolution in Germany, while the communist cadre on the spot could not. The Willich/Schapper group soon discredited itself completely in Germany by attempting to organize an insurrectionary conspiracy.

Immediately following the split, Marx transferred the formal leadership of the League to his supporters in the Cologne branch, believing this was the most politically effective and reliable arrangement. In the few months before they were effectively suppressed the German Communist League maintained propaganda-circle activities under conditions of deepening repression.

In May 1851 the Communist League leadership was arrested, prosecuted in a widely publicized trial and sentenced to prison. This marked the end of the Communist League (Marx/Engels formally dissolved it right after the trial) and the definitive end of the 1848 revolutionary epoch in Germany.

The Grey Eminence of British Chartism

The split in the Communist League had repercussions outside the German movement. Of the two movements with which the Communist League was closely associated in 1850, the left wing of the Chartists, led by George Julian Harney and Ernest Jones, more or less supported Marx, while the Blanquists (predictably) wholeheartedly backed the Willich/Schapper group.

There has long been a serious misrepresentation of Marx's political activity in Britain—beginning with a systematic underestimation of the importance of the British workers movement for nineteenth century Marxism. Marx and Engels devoted much of their organizational activity to winning a base in the British workers movement, only they did not succeed. Throughout all of Marx's life he regarded the British working class as central (the founding address of the First International, for example, deals almost entirely with Britain). It was only after Engels' death that the membership of the German Social-Democratic trade unions exceeded that of the British trade unions. Only in the last five years of Engels' life was it even theoretically conceivable that a proletarian revolution in Germany could survive for any significant length of time if Britain remained capitalist.

A common biographical understanding of Marx is that after the dissolution of the Communist League he retired to the British Museum library for the next twelve years. He then emerged and, by some inexplicable process, took over the leadership of the Workingman's International. A number of writers—for example, E. H. Carr—have considered it a historical mystery that Marx (presumably a reclusive, little-known scholar) was elected to the General Council of the International Workingman's Association in 1864.

The explanation is that in the 1850's Marx was in fact the best known foreign socialist in the British labor movement. The conventional view of Marx's political history ignores his active, important and in some ways decisive intervention into the Chartist movement from 1850 through 1858. Many of the trade-union leaders who supported Marx in the First International first came to know him and trust his leadership through his involvement in Chartism.

The nature of Marx's intervention into the Chartist movement also belies the social-democratic revisionist notion of Marx's progressive de-radicalization after 1850. As I previously noted, social-democratic writers (e.g., Boris Nicolaievsky, George Lichtheim) have regarded Marx's politics in early 1850 as an ultraleft, Blanquist aberration. Most biographies (e.g., Nicolaievsky) make much of Marx's fight against the ultraleftists in the Communist League. It is little publicized, however, that in the same period Marx waged another faction fight, in the Chartist movement, this time from the left against the class-collaborationist Harney.

In 1851-52 a major factional struggle broke out in the Chartist movement. Its principal leader, Julian Harney (hitherto Marx's closest British collaborator), became demoralized at the rapid loss of the Chartists' base and came out for a political alliance with bourgeois radicalism. Had it not been for Marx's intervention it is likely that Harney would have liquidated Chartism at that time. However, Marx's follower, Ernest Jones, successfully opposed Harney's

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Cold War Drive...

(continued from page 1)

January that "we do not favor such [Communist] participation and would like to see communist influence in any Western European country reduced."

"Human Rights"

The origins of the Carter "human rights" campaign lie in imperialism's Vietnam debacle. Its military defeat and concomitant economic crisis removed the U.S. from its position of absolute world dominance. This loss of hegemony had more than economic consequences (such as the 1971 devaluation of the dollar). A general indifference and cynicism toward the goals of U.S. foreign policy permeated public opinion. Thus, the involvement of Cuban troops to repel the CIA-supported/South African-led offensive in the Angolan civil war, which would undoubtedly have triggered direct military intervention a decade earlier, was met with widespread apathy. In fact, the Congressional response to Angola was to pass the Clark amendment forbidding U.S. involvement.

The decay of U.S. imperialism's moral credibility became the *bête noire* of advocates of a more heavy-handed world policy, with figures such as Henry Kissinger bemoaning the "defeatist consensus" and "loss of nerve." From Wilson's "war to preserve democracy" to Kennedy's "Alliance for Progress," the U.S. was held to act as a liberating influence on the world. Carter's 1976 presidential campaign was designed to restore this damaged moral credibility.

The media portrayed Carter as an "outsider"—a Georgia peanut farmer-cum-Governor far removed from the sinful Washington den of iniquity. In fact, Carter was the presidential choice of the "Trilateral Commission," about as "inside" a cluster of bourgeois politicians as is imaginable. This imperialist think tank was set up by David Rockefeller in 1973 and included, alongside Carter, the current vice president, the secretaries of state, treasury and defense and the ambassador to Italy, under the leadership of the Commission's director, Brzezinski. The Commission's central plank was the beefing up of NATO alliance in preparation for a military showdown with the USSR over Europe and Japan.

Not surprisingly the principal targets of Carter's moral crusade have been the degenerated and deformed workers states of the Soviet bloc. It is truly tragic that the mass murderers of Hiroshima and Vietnam are able to muster considerable credibility by exploiting the very real crimes of the Stalinist bureaucracies of these states. But it is significant that the bourgeoisie does not choose to make an issue out of the repressive policies of the Peking bureaucracy, which are every bit as harsh as the Soviets, since Peking pursues a rabidly anti-Soviet policy and is currently in a de facto foreign policy bloc with the U.S. against the USSR.

The overwhelming majority of the left either openly capitulated or adapted to Carter's campaign. Both the Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA) and the New Left/Maoist spectrum actively undertook campaigns to "clean up" U.S. imperialism. Joining with the pro-Carter liberals, the fake socialists have demanded that the bourgeois universities adopt "moral" investment policies and divest themselves of stocks of companies with holdings in South Africa. The SWP/YSA also hailed the pro-imperialist Soviet dissidents (such as Solzhenitsyn!) as representatives of a "democratic opposition." The Communist Party (CP), while apologizing for Moscow's crimes, urged Carter to adopt a more "balanced" policy and spend more time denouncing the right-wing dictatorships



Brezhnev and the Kremlin brass.

propped up by U.S. finance capital.

From the beginning the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League have opposed the fraud of imperialist "human rights." As we explained in a major statement last summer,

"We repeat the warning we have sounded since the beginning of Carter's 'human rights' ploy: behind the liberal rhetoric stands the threat of imperialist war, principally directed against the Soviet Union. We are no friends of the Kremlin bureaucracy, which murdered thousands of Left Oppositionists, including Trotsky himself, and suppressed soviet democracy for all dissidents, socialist or otherwise. But in the face of this imperialist propaganda blitz aimed at undermining the Soviet degenerated workers state, we insist that the incomparably greater danger is the restoration of capitalism through bloody counterrevolution."

—"The Main Enemy is at Home!"
Workers Vanguard No. 163,
24 June 1977

Carter Hardlines It

The sudden increase in the administration's fulminations has considerably less to do with Africa than with the widespread sentiment among the bourgeoisie that Carter is indecisive, if not downright inept. As the opinion polls continued to slip and only a third of those polled thought Carter was performing "adequately," *New York Times* columnist James Reston, among many others, queried, "Is anybody in charge?" Carter was increasingly seen as surrounded by mediocre, provincial advisors more noted for their adeptness at financial chicanery (Bert Lance), or lack of adeptness in trying to drunkenly cavort with the Egyptian ambassador's wife (Hamilton Jordan).

Particularly irksome was Carter's waffling on the B-1 bomber, the neutron bomb and "linkage," tying the SALT negotiations to Soviet disengagement in Africa. In the very same speech, for example, Carter called for the "reaching of successful agreement" in the talks (the "soft" position advocated by Secretary of State Vance) while simultaneously warning that Soviet activity "made it much more difficult to conclude a SALT agreement" (Brzezinski's "linkage" position).

Some of the more right-wing commentators even transformed Carter's vacillations into "softness" on the Soviets. Conservative pundit William Safire worried in his *New York Times* column (8 May) that Washington's "pacifism, paralysis, and appeasement" vis-à-vis the Horn of Africa, Afghanistan and Rhodesia would drive the Chinese Stalinists, appalled by U.S. weakness, into a rapprochement with the USSR! One administration official even complained to *Newsweek* (12 June) that, "It was beginning to appear for a while that we had elected George McGovern as president."

The dissatisfaction with Carter is as much a reflection of the general right-moving consensus in the bourgeoisie as it is of Carter's suspected ineptitude. With groups like the Committee on the

Present Danger and the American Security Council screaming about the advancing Red Army in Europe, with Daniel Moynihan and Henry Kissinger denouncing the "defeatist consensus" plaguing U.S. foreign policy, hesitation on any weapons program, no matter how dubious, is viewed as near treason.

Carter's hardline prompted a flurry of "red menace" analyses in the bourgeois press. The 12 June issue of *Newsweek* borders on the rabid as it tells its readers that,

"Soviet military doctrine on how to use this power [nuclear arms] makes frightening reading for Westerners...the Soviets insist they can survive and win a nuclear conflict. Even in conventional warfare, the Russians aim to overwhelm their enemies with one lightning thrust."

Such doomsday prophecies are not limited to magazines intended for popular consumption. If anything, the rhetoric in bourgeois journals with more restricted and influential audiences is more hysterical. Thus, Senator Sam Nunn writes in a recent issue of the *Atlantic Council Quarterly*,

"What confronts NATO across the inter-German border is not 935,000 Pact troops, but 935,000 Pact troops organized, deployed, trained and equipped for blitzkrieg, and governed by a doctrine based on surprise and a postulated rate of advance of 70 miles a day."

Imperialism Rearms

The rediscovery of the "red menace" across the Eastern frontier coincided neatly with the efforts of the major imperialist powers to refurbish not only their propaganda barrage but their military arsenals as well. Beginning with the defeat of American imperialism in Vietnam, each new armaments program was couched in the terms of warding off the increased military prowess of the Soviet Union.

In 1976, on the front pages of daily newspapers across the U.S., the CIA "admitted" to having underestimated Soviet military expenditures by as much

as fifty percent for years—rearmament, needless to say, was therefore the order of the day. At the same time a gaggle of notorious reactionaries under Harvard Kremlinologist Richard Pipes was set to work to produce the "Team B" edition of the National Intelligence Estimate, which, considering the authors, surely ranked as one of the least surprising documents of 1976: "Team B's" conclusion was that the Soviet drive for military superiority had to be forestalled.

The measures which the Carter administration views as necessary to respond to this "threat" are contained in the still unpublished Presidential Review Memorandum-10 and in several subsequent National Security Council directives. These documents, inspired by Brzezinski and his assistant, Vietnam war architect Sam Huntington, called for movement away from detente and for a massive rearming by NATO. Thus the president who campaigned with the promise to cut arms spending by \$7 billion now boasts that "we have the highest defense budget in history" (*New York Times*, 8 June).

While most of the focus of this rearmament is on conventional weapons for European application, the most ominous aspect of the buildup is contained in the Pentagon's strategic program (which belies imperialist claims to a "defense" against Soviet aggression). The featured aspect of this program is the development of extremely precise missile accuracy (measured in several dozen yards after a flight of 6,000 miles!). The conventional fiction has it that the U.S. strategic arsenal of nuclear weapons exists solely as a "deterrent" to be used in response to an attack. But to destroy 75 percent of Soviet productive capacity would require strikes by several hundred non-too-accurate missiles, according to military analysts. The several thousand highly accurate warheads that the Pentagon will have deployed by 1985 are designed solely for the imperialists coveted dream, nuclear first strike capability aimed at wiping out Soviet missiles in their silos.


Pacifist Antics

This spring has seen a mild resurgence of protests against nuclear weapons reminiscent of those of the late 1950's and early 1960's. On April 29, a demonstration occurred at Rocky Flats, Colorado against a plant manufacturing "triggers" for hydrogen bombs. On May 21, 5,000 people turned out against the Trident nuclear submarine at Bangor, Washington. Six days later, "Mobilization for Survival" held a march against nuclear weapons outside the UN conference on disarmament, which some 15,000 people attended.

Naturally, the SWP/YSA praised this "largest peace demonstration in the United States since the end of the Vietnam War" (*Militant*, 9 June). These

continued on page 12

Here is the true story of the Great Coal Strike of 1978—from the miners' side of the barricades. Details the bankruptcy of Arnold Miller, picket lines in Harlan and Stearns... and much more besides.



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Jim Crow RCYB Squirms

SYL Debates Maoists at UCLA

It is indeed a rare day when the political cowards of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB) are forced to put their politics on the line for open political debate. This youth group of what was once the largest Maoist organization in the country, Bob Avakian's Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), has always been known for its easy recourse to gangsterism in warding off political foes on the American left. With the acute factional warfare in the RCP over the succession crisis in the Heavenly City (i.e., choosing sides between the "Gang of Four" and the Hua/Teng regime), the political phobia of these "critical Maoists" only increased.

In the months following the major split in the RCP which took out more than a third of the membership and virtually the entire youth organization (for details see *Workers Vanguard* Nos. 181 and 199 and *Young Spartacus* No. 63) the die-hard Avakianites intensified their attempts to seal off their organization by drawing a blood line against all opponent tendencies. Not only did a baseball bat swinging incident with the former "comrades-in-arms" of the RCP minority take place in Cincinnati, but the RCP/RCYB engaged in a thug attack on the Spartacus Youth League at the Berkeley campus of the University of California in January.

Thus, when the opportunity presented itself for political debate at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) campus on May 11, the SYL eagerly seized upon it. The Avakianites' nightmare came true to life in the course of an innocuously billed "panel discussion" on the Bakke decision. Originally slated to provide a platform for the RCYB, a speaker from Avakian's recently-created African Liberation Support Committee and an RCP-sympathizer in the National Lawyers Guild, the panel became a forum for a lively debate on racial oppression and black liberation when the discussion's moderator solicited the participation of a spokesman from the SYL.

The RCYB speaker led off with the usual liberal politics one finds in the assorted anti-Bakke demonstrations—in this case pushing the Anti-Bakke Decision Coalition (ABDC), a reformist hodgepodge into which diverse Maoist groups have thrown their two bits. But despite her hackneyed tribute to "building unity of all nationalities" and her pretentious "anti-capitalist" exhortations, the RCYB was unable to dispel the unsavory stench of government-sponsored union-busting which pervades the affirmative action demands of ABDC. SYL spokesman Crystal Chemris counterposed the steadfast opposition of revolutionists to any government intervention into the labor movement, while putting forward the sole democratic alternative to the flawed and inherently limited quota systems championed by the RCYB, open admissions to the universities with a full state-paid stipend for all.

In a flourish of poetic license, the RCYB spokesman likened ruling-class attacks on democratic rights to a vampire that must "suck blood or die," concluding with the thundering refrain, "From the movies we've learned that we must drive a stake in the heart of the capitalists and stuff." What stuff? Least of any group in the entire spectrum of the American left are the RCYB and its paternal forebears in the RCP to counsel anybody about extirpating the anti-democratic "ruling-class Dracula."

It was precisely Avakian & Co., those hearty advocates of separate-but-equal socialism, who opposed busing in 1974 and again in 1975 when surging mobs of racist vigilantes took to the streets of Boston and Louisville under the leadership of the South Boston Marshals and the Ku Klux Klan. It was Avakian and his cronies whose headline demanded that "People Must Unite to Smash Boston Busing Plan" in the midst of lynch-mob hysteria on that city's streets. And it was Avakian & Co. again who cheered the white-hot racist hysteria as if it were the storming of the Winter Palace in Petrograd in 1917: "When

school opened in Louisville under a new court-imposed busing plan, the spontaneous fight back was tremendous—a powerful school boycott, street demonstrations, a first day protest strike at several area plants and determined resistance to police attack" (*Revolution*, October 1975). Why? Because busing is purportedly an "issue which heightens the contradiction of people of different nationalities."

These Jim Crow Maoists are now fancying themselves the fighters of racism "from USA (Union of South Africa) to USA (United States of America)." Of course when it came to China's bloc with apartheid South Africa and U.S. imperialism during the Angolan civil war, the RCP didn't seem to care a whit about "driving stakes" into the heart of racist ruling classes. While revolutionists called for the resolute defeat of the Vorster/CIA cabal, the RCP chose to concentrate its fulminations against "superpower" intervention!

In her presentation, comrade Chemris pointed out that the Bakke decision has in fact become a referendum on racism—a referendum in which the RCP/RCYB's new-found "anti-racist front" rings hollow. In exposing the hypocrisy of the Maoists' latest discovery of a "material basis" for the "national" oppression of ghetto blacks (this time in high rents and food prices), Chemris described how revolutionists are in fact the most consistent advocates of democratic rights for blacks. Citing the RCP's history of "action blocs with rampaging racism," Chemris stated:

"You oppose busing because you say it's divisive. Well, there is certainly much division on the Cal campuses over Bakke. If you oppose busing, you should also oppose special admissions. Both are minimal attempts at granting minorities access to a slightly better education."

In the trade unions, Chemris continued, Trotskyists put forward a program to fight racial and sexual oppression in the job market as part of our fight against the encrusted trade-union bu-

reaucacy. But unlike the reformists, the SYL does not look to the union-busting, racist government with their "preferential hiring" and "affirmative action" schemes to ensure the equal access of minorities and women to the workforce. As instruments of capitalist rule, the courts and the labor department intervene in so-called "job bias" cases solely as a means to more effectively control the trade unions. Government attacks on union seniority rights and other hard-won gains of the labor movement can only weaken the defense of all workers against the bosses and expose militant unionists to arbitrary victimization.

After attempting to silence the SYL speaker, the moderator "compromised" by allowing both the RCYB and the SYL a five-minute summary. Confronted with some touchy political questions, the RCYB prudently chose to remain silent after putting in one last pitch for an upcoming ABDC demonstration. But Chemris used her time to discuss the crippling split recently suffered by the RCP.

Certainly some of the RCYB's membership had been shocked by the Avakian group's capitulation to racism "from the USA to the USA." But it was the awarding of Peking's American franchise to the slavish Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) of Mike Klonsky and Avakian's subsequent break with the post-Mao Chinese bureaucracy that put the specter of impending political demise before the eyes of the RCP and RCYB ranks. Today, wandering in a no-man's land of economist workerism, with no Stalinist "fatherland" to call its own, the RCP must either continue on its road to oblivion or face the questions posed over half a century ago by Trotsky in his struggle against Stalinism. And, as comrade Chemris concluded, that is the real issue in this debate: the revolutionary program of Trotskyism versus an endless succession of Stalinist betrayals. ■

Cold War Drive...

(continued from page 11)

reformists, who have remembered everything, but learned nothing from the antiwar movement of the 1960's, apparently believe that this motley collection of aging hippies, pacifists and Stalinists, with a sprinkling of "leftist" union bureaucrats can force the richest, most powerful and arrogant bourgeoisie on the globe to give up its nuclear arsenal. Of course, Wall Street and the Pentagon are hardly quaking in their boots before the onslaught of Mobilization for Survival's unicyclists, stiltwalkers, brass band War Resisters League members carrying large papier-mâché doves, not to mention its street theater and the May 26 "pray-in"!

While the worldwide outcry against the neutron bomb was somewhat more serious, the theme remained the same. All these protests share a common belief that massive weapons spending is the result of a conspiracy by the "military-industrial complex," the "monopolies" or some other section of the bourgeoisie which is artificially separated from the rest of the capitalist class so as to justify an alliance with the liberal bourgeoisie. This search for "progressive" Democrats is also at the root of the campaigns which target only one weapons system as morally objectionable, as though the neutron bomb were qualitatively worse

than any other "tactical" nuclear weapons.

Campaigns against a particular weapon by the liberals and reformists, especially when they are posed in terms of their "wastefulness," simply feed into the imperialists' desire to "get more bang for a buck." The B-1 bomber and the ABM system were not rejected in favor of more welfare spending, but in favor of what the bourgeoisie felt were more effective weapons: the Cruise missile and the MIRV missile system.

Revolutionary socialists approach the struggle against war from the standpoint of the class struggle. The Trotskyist slogans of "Not one man and not one penny for the bourgeoisie government!" and "Not an armaments program but a program of useful public works!" are based on a struggle for the independence of the working class and its organizations from the twin parties of capital and the imperialist state, not on vacuous pacifism or Stalinist class collaboration. As Trotsky wrote on the eve of World War II:

"Disarmament?"—But the entire question revolves around who will disarm whom. The only disarmament which can avert or end war is the disarmament of the bourgeoisie by the workers. But to disarm the bourgeoisie the workers must arm themselves."

The Transitional Program

Kremlin Preaches Détente, Peking on War Footing

The response of the bureaucracies of the deformed and degenerated workers

states to this ominous imperialist war-mongering only confirms the Trotskyist tenet that an integral part of the defense of those states is the call for political revolution to oust their misrulers. Faced with an aggressive thrust by the U.S. to reassert its global domination, the Kremlin redoubled its efforts on behalf of the "détente" farce while Peking unabashedly goads the imperialists on.

The despicable class collaboration embedded in détente is made all too clear in the 1 June issue of the *Daily World*, mouthpiece of the Kremlin's U.S. lackeys. Never daunted in their efforts to waltz with the butchers of Vietnam, the CP polemicizes against "enemy of détente" Brzezinski while

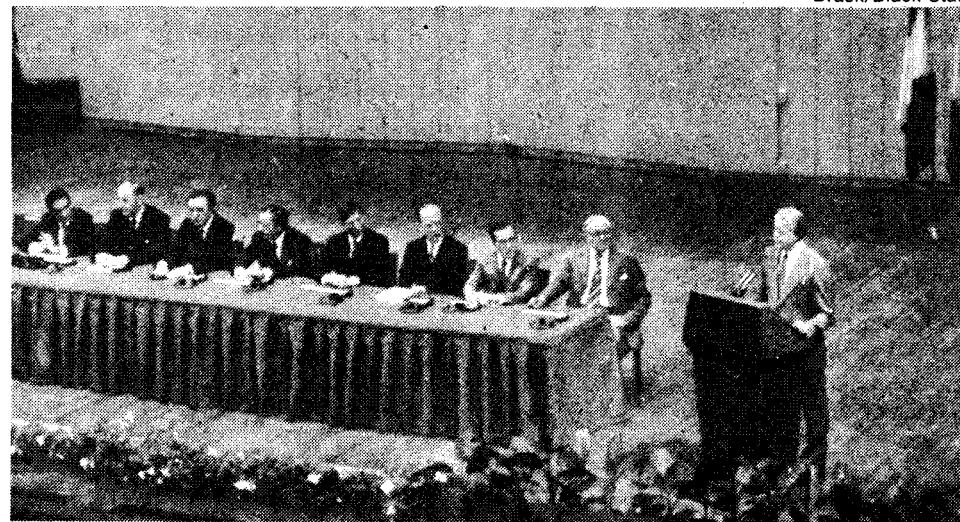
going to great lengths to spare Carter. Neither the CP nor Moscow are ready to write off Carter or his genocidal class as "friends of the Soviet Union":

"The struggle for a different foreign policy continues, not only outside the administration but within it. There are also realistic big interests which are disturbed by the reckless and harmful trend toward cold-war politics."

One might simply ask, where?

Here in a nutshell is expressed the absolute paralysis of the Stalinists before an offensive by the class enemy. Confronted with what is an obvious and deadly threat to the foundations of the Soviet state, the Kremlin bends over backwards to find a bourgeois, any bourgeois to cuddle up to. This is not so

Brack/Black Star



Carter addresses NATO heads of state.

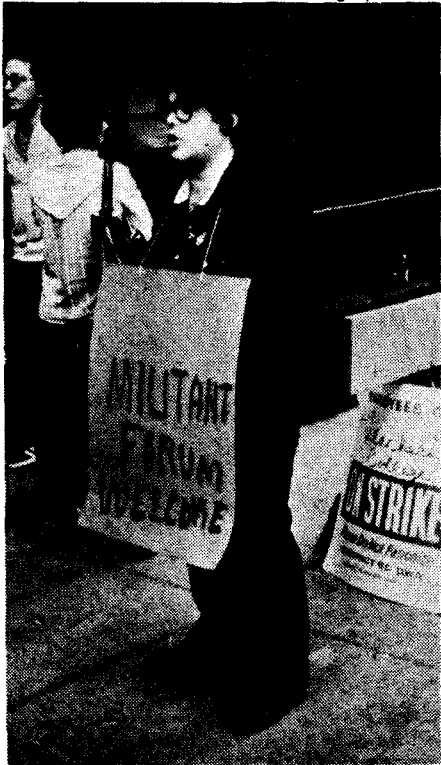
SWP: Picket Lines No Barrier

Young Spartacus

At 5:30 a.m. on May 17 picket lines surrounded Teachers College at Columbia University as secretaries and clerical workers, members of the Teachers College Employee Association (affiliated with District Council 65 of the Distributive Workers of America) walked out on strike. After two months of negotiating without a contract, District Council 65 workers struck for better wages, health and pension benefits and job security.

While the Columbia chapter of the Spartacus Youth League walked the picket lines from the first day of the strike, the "socialists" of the Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA) once again brazenly disregarded the most elementary principle of trade unionism: *honor picket lines!* On May 19 the SWP/YSA sponsored a "Speakout Against the Cutbacks," featuring Ray Markey from District 3 of AFSCME and Henry Lewis of the Coalition of Concerned Transit Workers, *inside* the struck Teachers College facilities. Although Lewis had the good sense not to show up, the shameless strikebreakers of the SWP/YSA stood directly in front of the pickets, and one let slip: "Militant Forum people welcome—no other scabs allowed!"

When informed of the strike by the SYL and encouraged to relocate their forum, the SWP muttered something about "permission" from DC 65 to go ahead with their meeting. But the sight of an SWPer "welcoming" people across the picket line made a mockery of any "militant" advice the SWP/YSA might offer New York City labor which is desperately in need of



SWP fouls things up.

coordinated strike action against Koch and the city's bank overlords.

But crossing picket lines is simply "business as usual" for the ex-Trotskyists of the SWP/YSA. Two years ago at Columbia, when the maintenance workers organized by the Transit Workers Union waged an eleven day strike, SWPer Ruthann Miller crossed the picket line twice a day to work in the struck facilities and then ran as the SWP's candidate for State Assembly as a trade-union "activist" fighting for the interests of Columbia workers!

During campus strikes, the class line is drawn at the picket line and genuine socialists do not cross!

much a question of simple political short-sightedness; rather the Stalinist bureaucracies fear the revolutionary proletariat as much as they do the neutron bomb. Instead of relying upon the one force capable of permanently laying imperialism to rest in its grave, these bureaucracies seek out the "progressive" bourgeois forces with which to sign illusory diplomatic alliances.

Moscow's time-tested recipe for defeat—as much guarantees of "peace" as the Hitler-Stalin pact, the "partial Test Ban Treaty," and the SALT I agreements—seems to pale however beside the despicable exhortations of the Great Helmsman's heirs in the Heavenly City. Faced with a monumental anti-Communist drive by the central imperialist power in the world, Peking has done nothing less than unambiguously ally itself with the right wing of the U.S. bourgeoisie.

In a speech as rabid as anything to be uttered in the halls of NATO, Chinese foreign minister Huang Hua told the UN Special Session on Disarmament:

"The Soviet Union is increasing its military threat to Western Europe, striving to expand its influence in the Middle East and carrying out a series of military adventures in Africa. 'Facts show that this superpower, flaunting the label of socialism, is more aggressive and adventurous than the other superpower; it is the most dangerous source of a new world war and is sure to be its chief instigator.'

In a direct call for imperialists to arm to the teeth, Huang (who later pledged his full support to Mobutu in Kinshasa) added,

"There are some people in the West who are cowed by Soviet military threats and are afraid of war or who indulge in a false sense of security and deny the existence of a serious danger of war. Politically they seek peaceful cooperation to accommodate the Soviet hoax of détente."

For Proletarian Internationalism!

The imperialist drives of one's own

bourgeoisie have always been the decisive historical test for those claiming to be proletarian revolutionaries. It was Karl Liebknecht's bold affirmation that "the main enemy is at home" which separated him from the German Social Democrats' capitulation to German nationalism in World War I. Today, in the era of Carter and the "human rights" crusade, it is only the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League that again raise this banner of proletarian internationalism.

For Moscow-loyal Stalinists the class line is obliterated amid constant searching through the pages of *Pravda* to find if this week it is the "progressive" Vance who should be hailed against the "reactionary" Brzezinski... or vice versa.

For the Maoists, however, this should be one of the periods which severely tests the depths of their servility. When Nixon was fêted in Peking as B-52's carpet-bombed Hanoi and Haiphong, many New Leftists broke with Mao-thought Stalinism in disgust—some going so far as to reexamine the historic divisions between Stalinism and Trotskyism.

Now again, after the convulsive purges which rocked the Peking bureaucracy, Maoists in the U.S. will have to face up to Hua/Teng's open support to imperialist anti-Sovietism. Having been recruited to left politics on the basis of an inchoate opposition to a social order which thrives on Vietnam, but having attached themselves to a grotesque parody of Marxism, these Maoists have but two choices: either openly supporting the American bourgeoisie's foreign policy or breaking with Stalinism in the direction of revolutionary Trotskyism.

As Carter's Cold War rhetoric intensifies, as the "human rights" veneer chips away to reveal naked imperialist anti-Sovietism, the SYL declares once more: *The Main Enemy is at Home!* ■

Chicano Law Students Sit-in at UCLA

LOS ANGELES, 26 May—Chicano law students at UCLA yesterday ended their nine-day strike against cutbacks in the Legal Education Opportunity Program (LEOP) having run up against an intransigent school administration dead set on slashing minority-student enrollment. The strike and class boycott, which drew four hundred law students and their supporters at its peak and included a 32-hour occupation of the law school library, concluded without a single one of the strikers' demands having been met. The strike was called in protest of the law faculty's endorsement of a decision by the Admission Committee to cut Chicano admissions up to 50 percent by accepting only 33 Chicano applicants through LEOP (compared to 45 the year before) and by eliminating the school's waiting list for Chicano applicants which normally fills several vacated slots.

The administration attack on Chicano admissions programs comes in the wake of the announcement of drastic cuts by the UCLA Registration Fee Committee—including the elimination of all funding for the Women's Resource Center, a 50 percent cut in the Committee's share of the Child Care Center's

budget and a 5 percent reduction in the remedial Academic Advancement Program.

Although the strikers explicitly limited their demands to maintaining the present, abysmally low level of Chicano admissions—and even allowed for cutbacks if the Supreme Court upholds the reactionary Bakke decision!—the law school protests deserved the support of all left-wing campus political organizations. The Spartacus Youth League participated in these demonstrations, calling for student support to the strikers and for a united-front protest against all the impending cutbacks. The SYL pointed to the need to defeat the racist Bakke backlash, which has set the stage for the reversal of special admissions programs across the country, and demanded open admissions with state-paid stipend to the universities and professional schools to open up these elite institutions to the masses of working-class and minority youth. Unlike the other protesters, who for the most part were satisfied with counseling a more "reasonable" policy for the administration, the SYL demands the abolition of the administration and student/teacher/campus worker control of the university. ■

Maroon...

(continued from page 2)

hope, the campus generation of the 1980's—a hollow, dead word tied to the 1930's and late 1960's."

To the ideology of pro-imperialist divestment enthusiasts, the SYL counterposes a revolutionary working-class program to fight apartheid. The Trotskyist critique of the pro-divestment movement was ably summed up in a letter printed in the *Maroon* from a Wesleyan University student who had attended the Yale conference and wrote to express her outrage at Biernacki's "pernicious slander" of the SYL:

"I am not a member of the SYL or the SL but... I have become familiar with their position on this volatile issue.... 'The SYL does not rally round the slogan of 'Divest Now' because they feel it is a reflection of the kind of liberal moralism expressed by Carter's Human Rights campaign, one which is aimed at refurbishing world-wide support for U.S. imperialism and for anti-Communist sentiment. Divestment represents a call for the bourgeoisie and its maidservants—from university administrators to corporate executives—to conduct their affairs in a more reasonable or 'moral' fashion. The SYL challenges the efficacy of those attempts to undermine, or at least 'Clean up', the capitalist system by appealing to the progressive or moral instincts of the American bourgeoisie.... Let's face it: the destruction reaped by U.S. capitalism all over the world—the 1973 coup in Chile, the Vietnamese disaster, and the

Bay of Pigs invasion to name only a few including those which occur right under our noses... are no less monumental than the blatant oppression of blacks under the Vorster regime. The SYL appeals to the working class, the only class whose interests conflict with the kind of subjugation that characterizes capitalism...."

Maroon, 26 May

Students and other anti-apartheid militants who genuinely want to smash the South African system must look for leadership not to the U.S. government or university administrators but to the international proletariat. Real material aid can be given to the anti-apartheid struggle from this country not by altering university investment portfolios but by such concrete acts as *trade-union* action to block shipments of military goods to South Africa and force American corporations to recognize black unions in their South African operations.

The SYL has nothing in common with those who march in step with Carter's crusade to portray U.S. imperialism as the moral savior of the world. We say: the main enemy is at home! The task of the proletariat is to *expropriate* the capitalist parasites from here to Johannesburg. As a Boston SYL activist wrote to the *Maroon*, "The SYL's program is clear: labor action, not imperialist boycotts; proletarian revolution, not accommodation to 'democratic' imperialism." ■

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Maoist Education: Neither...

(continued from page 7)

higher labor productivity than that under capitalism, and transform China into a powerful, modern socialist country...to catch up and surpass advanced world levels in science and technology" (*Peking Review*, 5 May).

The authoritative foreign-language political organ of the Chinese government, *Peking Review* has thus been filled with articles condemning the Gang of Four's "nihilist attitude towards foreign culture," its "plumping for replacement of natural science by philosophy," its "metaphysical approach of rejecting the need for basic general knowledge."

The current rulers in the Forbidden City no doubt want to exaggerate the effect of the Cultural Revolution. And they clearly oppose "exposing" all the real crimes of the Gang, for which they too are responsible. The policies which led to the devastation of the Indonesian Communist Party, which led to support to Madame Bandaranaike as the Ceylonese JVP was being slaughtered, which led to blocking arms shipments to Vietnam during the war and which led to the foreign policy alliance with American imperialism are common to all wings of the Chinese bureaucracy. Instead, Chiang Ching and her gang are blamed for a myriad of crimes, simultaneously atrocious and petty. Thus, *Peking Review* (21 April) typically asserts that students at Peking University were so cowed by the Gang that they "dared not study" during classtime: "those unwilling to fritter away their time could only read surreptitiously or study in bed at night. Some of them ruined their eyes this way."

Today Teng Hsiao-ping and his cohorts set themselves up as the defenders of science and learning against the "cave society" advocated by the nihilistic "monkey kings" during the Cultural Revolution. But Teng, of course, will never talk about his own role and that of Liu Shao-chi during the Red Guards' anti-academic crusade which began the Cultural Revolution. In this period from June 1966 until they were openly attacked by the Red Guards in October, the strategy of Liu and Teng was to sacrifice their academic base of support to the rampaging Red Guards in an attempt to save their own skin—or, in typical Mao-thought jargon, they held to the strategy of "striking out at a large number of people in order to save a handful" (Jean Daubier, *A History of the Chinese Cultural Revolution*).

It was Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping who personally initiated the "Work Teams" which the CCP sent out to the universities in Peking, Shanghai and Canton. In an attempt to "save a handful," these Work Teams picked large numbers of targets for the Red Guards from the old campus academics. For example, at the Shanghai Foreign Languages Institute on August 11, 1966 the CCP group itself decided who was to be "hatted" (made to don a dunce cap) and subjected to an "exorcism" (literally, a meeting to combat "evil spirits"!). The Dean of the English Department was paraded around the campus in a dunce cap for having translated the works of Chaucer into Chinese! The Work Team encouraged this because, as an eyewitness explained, "As long as the teachers were being attacked, the Party itself was unlikely to come under fire" (Neale Hunter, *Shanghai Journal*). Thus, Teng Hsiao-ping bears direct responsibility for this early aspect of the Cultural Revolution.

Socialism in One Country

To revolutionary Trotskyists, it is obvious that there never was a "two-line struggle" in Chinese education between

proletarian-revolutionaries and "capitalist roaders in the Party." Likewise, the periodic zig-zags in educational policy do not represent any left/right political differences. Rather, the line-up reflects a power struggle between rival wings of the Stalinist bureaucracy of the Chinese deformed workers state: the economic and administrative apparatus (represented over the years by Liu Shao-chi, Teng Hsiao-ping, Chou En-lai) on the one hand and the clique of local party heads (particularly in the rural areas) and younger bureaucrats many of whom, during the Cultural Revolution, were followers of Mao and Lin Piao.

A move away from the voluntarist idiocies of the Cultural Revolution by the Teng/Hua regime may well serve to strengthen the Chinese state through the expansion of the scientific/technical infrastructure. But the counterrevolutionary bureaucracy is a fundamental obstacle to the qualitative advance of Chinese society through the extension of proletarian revolution to the more advanced countries of the West and Japan. Rather than looking to the proletarian powerhouses in the major industrial countries as the salvation of the revolution (as did the revolutionary Soviet workers state under Lenin and Trotsky), the new generation of Chinese technocrats will invariably be used to service the counterrevolutionary alliances of the nationalistic Chinese bureaucracy: whether it be as aides to UNITA alongside the South African apartheid state or, perhaps, aiding in the nuclear armament of the blood-drenched Shah of Iran as he pursues his supposedly "anti-superpower" ambitions in the Persian Gulf.

The "revolutions" in Maoist education show that within the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy, the ostensibly "rational" alternative to the philistinism and phony egalitarianism of the Cultural Revolution can only be accompanied by a large dose of bureaucratic privilege and outright elitism. As with science and art, the narrow "line" emanating from today's ruling camarilla will tend to stifle educational advance. Those who attempt new scientific generalizations labor under the fear that, as Trotsky observed about the Soviet Union, "some 'red professor,' usually an ignorant careerist, [will] threateningly pull up on them with some quotation dragged in by the hair from Lenin, or even from Stalin" (*The Revolution Betrayed*). In the case of China one need only add Mao, and perhaps even Hua.

Under the strategy of "socialism in one country," the central task of the party/state apparatus is the self-preservation of the bureaucracy. Combined with China's limited material resources, this Stalinist deformation of the workers state precludes the implementation of a rational education/scientific policy. By its own logic, Stalinism produces an entire stratum of narrow careerists concerned primarily with toeing the "Party line" and the wasteful mismanagement of national resources in favor of personal aggrandizement.

Of course, the history of the degenerated/deformed workers states from Stalin's Russia on down is one of great economic advances. And for the first time in China, the possibility of education for the masses of workers and peasants does exist. There can be no comparison between the living standards and general health and literacy of the population in China today and the misery and despair of the masses under the warlords and Chiang Kai-shek. But under a parasitic bureaucracy, there can be no consistent, rational utilization of the possibilities opened up by the abolition of capitalist anarchy of production. (In the Soviet Union this found its clearest expression in the bureaucracy's endorsement of the genetics/agronomy quackery of T.D. Lysenko—[see "It's Not Nice To Fool Mother Nature," *Young Spartacus* No. 49, December 1976].)

A revolutionary workers government

in a relatively backward country such as China would strive to provide the maximum of quality universal education for all children that the limited material base can support. Given the backwardness of China, obviously universal higher education is not possible at this time. Thus a selection system based on merit (and not memorization of Mao parables or familial relations to ranking bureaucrats) would determine access to technical and scientific training, as well as other academic fields and art. But these decisions would be based on the rational allocation of social resources and would be made by democratically elected (and recallable) representatives of the workers and peasants. In brief, under a revolutionary workers government the universities would truly become the repositories of learning and culture and not the bureaucratic fiefdom of warring factions in the Stalinist party/state apparatus.

The Stalinist bureaucracies perched atop the deformed and degenerated workers states are a cause of great instability and constant danger for the proletariat. In *The Cultural Revolution in China*, economist Joan Robinson reports that Mao "cheerfully remarks that it may well be necessary to have another Cultural Revolution after fifteen or twenty years." This is a threat directed at the working people of China. As our tendency pointed out at the time, the grotesqueries, chaos and mysticism of the Cultural Revolution "are symptoms of the dangers a bureaucracy, once its power is consolidated, poses to any workers state" ("Maoism Run Amok," *Spartacist*, November-December 1966).

As Trotskyists we are the foremost defenders of the gains of the Chinese Revolution against all imperialist intrigues and attempts to restore capitalism. We are for the unconditional military defense of China and the other degenerated/deformed workers states against bourgeois forces. At the same time we recognize that only a political revolution led by a Trotskyist party, to oust these bureaucrats and truly defend and extend the gains of the anti-capitalist revolutions, will establish workers democracy and open the door for the masses to science and culture. ■

ROTC Off Campus...

(continued from page 3)

of U.S. capitalism abroad and declares its moral superiority over the supposedly less enlightened bourgeois regimes such as South Africa.

The stormtroopers of the apartheid state certainly do constitute one of the most despicable capitalist regimes in the world, but the devastators of Indochina and atomic bombers of Hiroshima and Nagasaki can hardly educate South Africa's B.J. Vorster in the sanctity of "human rights." Echoing the rhetoric of

Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" campaign (which is designed to add some fresh polish to the tarnished image of the American state in the wake of its Vietnam debacle and Watergate), divestment advocates reject what many in the New Left, for all its considerable failings, never lost sight of: that the real enemy indeed, the main enemy—of the world's oppressed masses is here at home.

At Kent State, for example, ROTC remains unimpeded in its efforts to recruit, while the New Left nostalgia buffs of the May 4 Coalition actually oppose the demand "ROTC Off Campus." Whereas students protesting the invasion of Cambodia torched the ROTC building at Kent eight years ago, today's "human rights" radicals smugly dismiss anti-military protests as "acts of political desperation." Throughout the ill-fated "gym-site protest," the May 4 Coalition has kept silent about the campus presence of ROTC and has even cop-baited the SYL for our insistence that "ROTC Off Campus" (a central demand of the Kent demonstrators in 1970) be included among the protest demands at Kent today.

"Not One Man, Not One Penny"

As revolutionary socialists we oppose every manifestation of the armed fist of the bourgeois state. From the offensive ROTC presence on campus to the attempts to draft the next generation of cannon fodder for imperialism's wars, we champion the principle of "Not one man, not one penny for the bourgeois army."

Marxists seek the destruction of the bourgeois army by working to split the plebeian rank-and-file soldiers away from their officers—and, in the U.S., by tapping the hatred of the officer corps which is pervasive among black recruits. Such a perspective is central to the struggle for proletarian state power. Although the unwilling conscriptee is undoubtedly more susceptible to revolutionary propaganda than the volunteer, we nonetheless fully support the abolition of the draft as a measure which undercuts the ability of the bourgeoisie to mobilize the entire population for its wars.

Carter's sabre-rattling over the Panama Canal and Brzezinski's charges of Cuban "infiltration" in Zaire exemplify an increasingly aggressive and Cold Warish foreign policy which requires a revamped armed forces. The ruling class is hoping that the wounds of Vietnam have healed sufficiently to permit them to creep quietly back on to the campuses and possibly even reinstitute the draft.

Those who genuinely wish to challenge apartheid rule in South Africa or the rule of the murderous Chilean junta must ultimately come face to face with the role of U.S. imperialism and the armed forces that prop up these despotic regimes. ROTC OFF CAMPUS! DOWN WITH THE BOURGEOIS ARMY! ■

Spartacus Youth League Directory

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Boston: SYL, Box 227, Boston U. Station, Boston, MA 02215, or call (617) 492-3928

Chicago: SYL, Box 4667, Main P.O., Chicago, IL 60680, or call (312) 427-0003

Cleveland: SYL, Box 6642, Cleveland, OH 44101, or call (216) 566-7806

Detroit: SYL, Box 20035, Ferndale, MI 48220, or call (313) 868-9095

Houston: SYL, c/o SL, Box 26474, Houston, TX 77207

Los Angeles: SYL, Box 29115, Los Feliz Sta., Los Angeles, CA 90029, or call (213) 662-1564

New York: SYL, Box 825, Canal Street Sta., New York, NY 10013, or call (212) 925-5665

San Diego: SYL, P.O. Box 2034, Chula Vista, CA 92012

Trotskyist

League of Canada

Toronto: Box 7198, Station A, Toronto, Ontario, or call (416) 366-4107

Vancouver: Box 26, Station A, Vancouver, B.C., or call (604) 254-9166

Anti-Gay Inquisition...

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would like to remove from the public schools as morally unacceptable. Minorities, leftists and unionists all qualify as "deviants" in the eyes of these Bible-thumping reactionaries who know that the courts are quite likely to back up their interpretation of what "community standards" will tolerate in the schools.

It is the urgent responsibility of the teachers' unions and the entire labor movement to take up the struggle against the threat posed by the Briggs initiative. Reliance on the courts and legislatures is a strategy for defeat. Only the working class and its allies among the oppressed minorities have both the interest and the power to wage a successful fight in defense of democratic rights.

The struggle against the Anita Bryants and John Briggs is an immediate priority. The left and labor movement must firmly oppose all legislation which discriminates against homosexuals and fight for their full democratic rights. Moreover, as revolutionaries we see the guiding principle for sexual relations as effective consent between individuals. We demand an end to state interference in consensual sexual activity and the repeal of the laws against so-called "crimes without victims."

Marxists recognize that reactionary social prejudices—racism, sexism, anti-homosexual bigotry—will persist until the institutions and social relations of capitalist society which give rise to them are eliminated. A revolutionary workers state would not only do away with anti-homosexual laws; it would also provide the economic and social prerequisites for the replacement of the bourgeois family which is central to the continued prejudice against homosexuals as well as the oppression of women.

Tens of thousands will march in the June 25 Gay Freedom Day parade in San Francisco and Christopher Street West march in Los Angeles on July 2 in opposition to the Briggs initiative. It is urgently necessary that the voice of trade unionists, teachers, black and Latin activists and socialists be heard in opposition to the Briggs initiative. The struggle for the democratic rights of any oppressed minority is a struggle for the rights of *all* the oppressed and exploited! Down with the Briggs Initiative! ■

Dissolution of the Communist League...

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liquidationist course and preserved Chartism as an independent proletarian socialist organization for the next six years. At the height of the factional struggle in 1852, Marx actually served as de facto co-editor (with Jones) of the Chartist paper, the *People's Weekly*. Marx can rightly be considered the grey eminence of Chartism in its last phase.

As 1848 receded Marx became increasingly doubtful about the possibilities for proletarian revolutionary struggle in France and Germany. But he remained optimistic about the prospects for socialist revolution in Britain. In a letter of solidarity to the Chartist-organized Labour Parliament in 1854, he wrote:

"The mere assembly of such a Parliament marks a new epoch in the history of the world. The news of this great fact will arouse the hopes of the working classes throughout Europe and America...."

"There exists here no longer, as in continental countries, large classes of peasants and artisans almost equally dependent on their own property and their own labor.... In no other country, therefore, the war between the two classes that constitute modern society has assumed so colossal dimensions and features so distinct and so palpable."

"Letter to the Labour Parliament," *On Britain* (1962)

In 1855—a year one doesn't usually associate with revolutionary activism on Marx's part—he led a group of left-wing German exiles in a Chartist-initiated mass, militant demonstration against church-inspired temperance laws. Of this demonstration he wrote:

"We were spectators from beginning to end and do not think we are exaggerating in saying that *the English Revolution began yesterday in Hyde Park.*" [emphasis in original]

—"Anti-Church Movement—
Demonstration in Hyde Park"
(1855), *ibid.*

Obviously Marx's revolutionary optimism about Britain in the 1850's was mistaken. The British workers movement continued to move right and the Chartist organization continued to disintegrate. In 1858 Ernest Jones followed Harney's path and came out for an alliance with the bourgeois radicals. Marx broke with him over this question. The final liquidation of Chartism ended Marx's involvement in the first generation of European proletarian socialist organizations, those which embodied the Jacobin communist tradition rooted in the Great French Revolution.

It was between 1858 and the founding of the First International in late 1864, the interregnum between the two eras in the European workers movement, that Marx basically wrote *Capital*. And when he returned to the leadership of the European workers movement the conditions of the era of 1848, of the last wave of bourgeois-democratic revolutions, had been radically and irreversibly altered. ■

ISA Demo...

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Iranian Muslim Students (OIMS) and the Young Muslims Organization comprised nearly half of the fractured demonstration. Whereas in the 1960's and the early 1970's the drawing card for Iranian students opposed to the Shah was usually some variant of "Marxism-Leninism," the Muslim students, who are equally capable of issuing denunciations of the Shah and U.S. imperialism, can today confidently compete with the leftists for the allegiance of Iranian students. Both Muslim contingents prominently displayed portraits of religious leaders, especially Ayatollah Khomeini, the spiritual leader of Iran's Shi'ite Muslims and a long-standing opponent of the Shah.

The Iranian left, which once dismissed the reactionary Islamic traditionalists as thoroughly discredited, has been forced to re-examine previous assumptions about the nature of the Iranian revolution and the guerrilla strategy. It is obvious to all that the Muslim religious leaders are the most powerful group opposing the Shah, and it is they, not the Maoists or the guerrillas that are leading the current revolt. Since all wings of the ISA, from the Guevarist guerrillaists to the hard-line Maoists, believe that a separate "democratic" and "anti-imperialist" stage of the revolution is necessary in Iran, their appetite for a broad front against the Shah leads to mixing their banners with the religious fundamentalists and capitulating to the religious illusions of the masses.

Many of the Iranian students now protesting the Shah can play an important role in the future Iranian revolution. But it is not enough to simply call for the overthrow of the Shah which even some of the reaction-

ary religious leaders now favor. The crucial question is program and strategy. Revolutionary Marxists would seek to intersect the current turmoil in Iran by mobilizing the masses against the Shah around democratic demands. The call for the abolition of the monarchy and a constituent assembly based on universal suffrage could split the Muslim traditionalist-led movement and rally sections of the petty bourgeoisie to the side of the proletariat. It is only the growing proletariat of Iran that can carry forward the revolutionary-democratic tasks in that country. In order to arrive at a revolutionary alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry, revolutionists must first conduct a ruthless struggle against the religious leaders who are fundamentally opposed to land reform, modernization and progress and yet continue to maintain a powerful grip on the peasantry and sections of the working class.

Iranian revolutionaries must clearly expose the myth of the "progressive clergy." Even the most radical among these religious leaders remains committed to Islamic society's degrading oppression of women. It is no doubt the influence of these religious fanatics that has inspired the reported recent demonstrations of male students at the Teheran University against coeducation. Those who tout the likes of Khomeini as a "progressive" would do well to note that he has made it quite clear that he will not collaborate with the communists, not even to overthrow the Shah. The role of the so-called "progressive clergy" was dramatically revealed in 1953 when the Islamic *ulema* which had formerly backed the National Front Government bolted at the growing influence of the pro-Moscow Tudeh party and supported the CIA-engineered coup that toppled Mossadeq. In any class polarization in Iran, the Islamic hierarchy will in the end align itself with the Shah as a bulwark against "godless communism."

Neither the Muslim fundamentalists nor the Maoists' fictive "progressive national bourgeoisie" is a reliable ally in the struggle against the Shah. The crisis of Maoism has been acutely felt in the ISA of late. It is significant that the Iranian Students Association-Confederation of Iranian Students (associated with the Communist Party [Marxist-Leninist]) was by far the smallest contingent in the Washington protests and marched separately from the other demonstrators. This is testimony to the isolation of the Peking loyalists who have been widely discredited by the Chinese bureaucracy's scandalous bloc with the Shah. In the wake of the most massive revolts to rock Iran since 1963 Iranian Maoists continue to argue that toppling the Shah is secondary to supporting the regime as a bulwark against "Soviet social imperialism!"

But even those who have reluctantly turned to the "Gang of Four" and Albania as an alternative to the embarrassing treachery of the official Chinese leaders continue to search for the illusive alliance with the "progressive national bourgeoisie." What they offer is simply a more militant-sounding version of the Stalinist two-stage strategy for revolution. There can be no question of a political alliance with the Muslims and the "national" bourgeoisie under the banner of opposing the Shah. Those who seek to submerge the proletariat in a politically heterogeneous anti-imperialist, anti-monarchical alliance ultimately subordinate the proletariat to the bourgeoisie.

Only an irreconcilable class policy can rally the peasant masses and oppressed nationalities behind the proletariat. An Iranian Trotskyist party would mercilessly expose the class collaborationism of the Tudeh

and the Maoists, the dead-end of guerrillaism and the reactionary character of the fundamentalist Islamic opposition. Only such a party armed with a class-struggle program can topple the Shah and open the way to a workers and peasants government in Iran. ■

UICC/SAVAK...

(continued from page 2)

and "defend student rights." However, this demonstration was not a broad-based united-front defense, but instead bore the imprint of Stalinist politics—sectarian in form and reformist in essence. Organizers of the rally would not allow *any* organization to carry its own signs and unsuccessfully attempted to prevent the SYL from distributing a leaflet demanding an immediate end to attacks on left-wing foreign students.

After picketing outside on the day of the demonstration, protesters went into a UICC board of trustees meeting. A spokesman made a humble five-minute presentation to the board in which he never once demanded that there be no arrests but merely prattled on about how "UICC represents the future of higher education" and asked how the trustees could "live with the injustices committed on your behalf"—as if the board of trustees weren't one of the prime instigators of the campus-wide crackdown! To which the local Young Socialist Alliance added the mealy-mouthed plea, "we call on all supporters of human rights to step forward and condemn the administration's threats..." (*Illini*, 22 May).

In contrast to such hat-in-hand reformism, the SYL leaflet pointed the way to an effective defense strategy. The leaflet stated that what is urgently needed is a broad-based united-front defense to organize support for the threatened leftist foreign students. The entire left and labor movement, regardless of political differences, must be mobilized in large united-front demonstrations—with each group free to raise its own politics and slogans in the course of the defense—to call for dropping the charges lodged against the Iranian protesters, no arrests of May 11 demonstrators, no deportations and an end to police/SAVAK provocations and university harassment. Furthermore, the escalating activity of cops of all varieties on the campus shows the need to *get the cops off campus now* and get rid of the police-affiliated administrators such as Ward!

A protest letter initiated by the SYL demanding no arrests and an end to harassment, victimization and threats against foreign students at UICC has been signed by the Organization of Nigerian Students; UICC student government; W.F. Kuse of the Black Studies Program; Sigfrido Reyes, lecturer in Latin American Studies; and Lee Webster, a T.A. in the English Department.

It is crucial that the entire left and labor movement protest campus and city-wide victimization of left-wing foreign students. The Circle administration, which is accustomed to running the school in the manner of a military academy, must not go unchecked in its efforts to add a ball and chain to the already severely restricted campus political life. While the intense harassment of every left organization on campus must indeed be combatted, the UICC administrators have qualitatively upped the ante with the attack on foreign students. It is not just the democratic rights of these students that are at stake, but in many cases their very lives.

Drop the charges against the ISA! No deportations! End all SAVAK/police harassment of Iranian students! No reprisals against UICC anti-Zionist demonstrators! ■

Young Spartacus

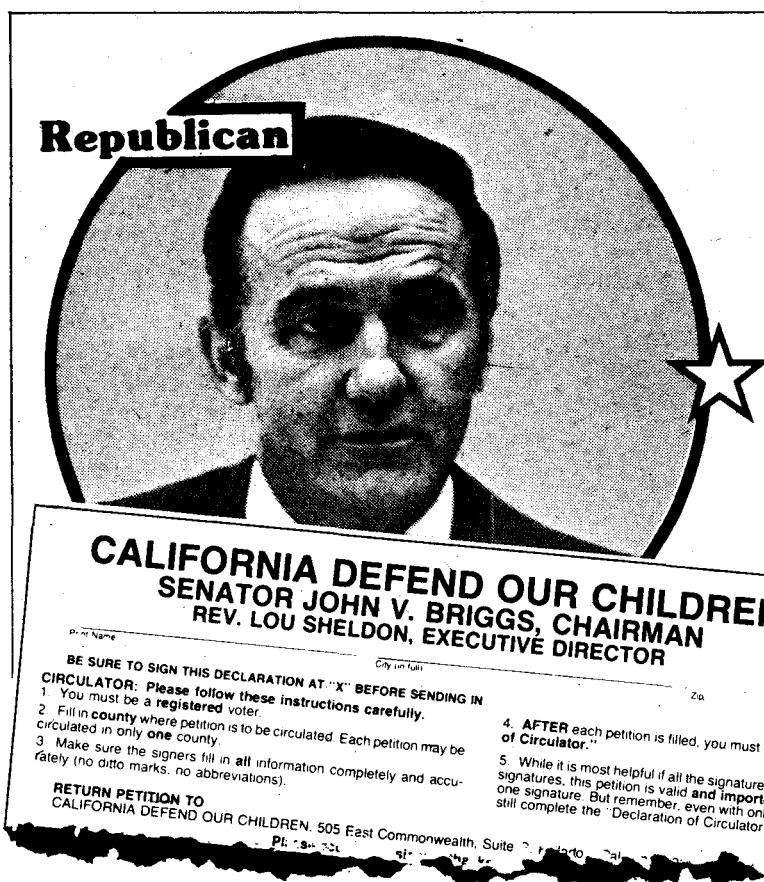
Defeat the California Briggs Initiative!

Bible-Thumpers Push Anti-Gay Inquisition

The same hysterical reactionary bigots who have successfully crusaded for the overturn of equal rights laws for homosexuals in Miami, St. Paul, Wichita and Eugene have recently won a petition campaign to place an anti-homosexual initiative on the ballot in California. The initiative, sponsored by state senator John V. Briggs of traditionally right-wing Orange County, would give local school boards the right to fire teachers, school aides, counselors or administrators for "advocating, soliciting, imposing, encouraging or promoting... private or public homosexual activity directed at, or likely to come to the attention of, school children and/or other employees." The wording of the proposed law thus threatens not only gay teachers but any school employee who dared to "encourage" homosexuality by "acts, words or deeds."

Briggs, who aided Anita Bryant's now-famous campaign against the Miami ordinance banning discrimination against homosexuals, made the anti-homosexual initiative the chief issue in his unsuccessful bid for the Republican gubernatorial nomination. After kicking off his petition drive in San Francisco, a city he called "the moral garbage dump of homosexuality in this country," Briggs easily gathered the more than 300,000 signatures necessary to place the proposition on the November ballot.

That the Briggs initiative stands every chance of passage next fall is only further evidence of the marked rightward shift of the political climate not only in California but throughout the U.S. Capitalizing on the Carter



**Vicious and obscene:
The Briggs Initiative.**

government's actions such as withholding Medicaid funds for abortions and the recent spate of reactionary court rulings and anti-labor legislation, right-wing forces have attempted to mobilize public opinion against every "deviant" or oppressed minority in the country.

The token gains made by minorities and women in the social struggles of the past decade have come under increasingly sharp attack. Busing for

racial integration is now a dead letter. The Equal Rights Amendment for women may well fail to secure ratification. Legal abortions are the target of a growing army of "right-to-lifers," while many of the same forces simultaneously champion the revival of the death penalty. Most ominous is the growth of numerous Nazi and other fascist grouplets around the country and their increasingly brazen provocations directed at Jews and blacks.

In such times it is hardly surprising that homosexuals, more highly visible in more places than ever before, should be targeted for persecution by right-wing and religious obscurantist forces. The Supreme Court has already given the green light to the anti-gay bigots by upholding the Virginia anti-sodomy statute outlawing homosexual acts and the firing of gay teachers in New Jersey and Washington (see "Supreme Court Says Homosexuals Can't Teach," *Workers Vanguard* No. 181, 11 November 1977).

The overturn of laws guaranteeing democratic rights for homosexuals is a menacing victory for bigotry and social backwardness. It might seem unnecessary to stress this point were it not for the fact that many gay activists and their leftist supporters insist on trumpeting these setbacks as "victories" for gay liberation because they publicize the issue and bring outraged homosexuals into the streets in protest. This position is a combination of political myopia and wishful thinking. In reality the comparatively recent toleration of open homosexuality in the "gay ghettos" of some American cities is not to be confused with notions of gay liberation. This fragile and illusory form of toleration does not guarantee democratic rights for homosexuals in terms of employment, housing, etc.—and it is precisely the rights of homosexuals outside the "ghetto" which the right-wing mobilizations threaten to destroy completely.

The witchhunt against gay teachers in California represents a threat not only to homosexuals but to all those whom Briggs and his fellow bigots

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No Illusions in "Progressive" Iranian Clergy!

Thousands Protest Shah's White Terror

More than 2,000 Iranian students demonstrated in Washington, D.C. on June 5th in solidarity with the current massive waves of protest against the Shah of Iran's brutal tyranny and additionally marking the 15th anniversary of the 6 June 1963 uprising. After picketing in Lafayette Park, near the White House, the demonstrators marched on the Iranian embassy, chanting, "Iran, the future Vietnam, U.S. out of Iran" and "Carter's human rights means fascism in Iran!" A line of cops in riot gear barred the marchers from continuing up Massachusetts Avenue to the embassy, and the protesters then marched to the Capitol before returning to Lafayette Park.

The Washington protest coincided with a 1500-strong demonstration at the Iranian consulate in San Francisco, as well as activities in several European cities. The same day, general strikes shut down Teheran, Tabriz and

other Iranian cities in commemoration of the thousands of victims of the Shah's bloody suppression of the 1963 revolt.

The Iranian students' Washington demonstration, like their protests against the Shah's visit to the U.S. in November 1977, stands as a powerful indictment of Carter's "human rights" campaign. The Carter administration is fully prepared to militarily intervene in order to prop up the Shah's bloody regime, which has jailed, tortured or executed hundreds of thousands of its opponents.

But the June 5 demonstration, like that of November, also illustrated the deep cleavages between the various Iranian student groups opposed to the regime. The growth and influence of the Muslim organizations was evident, reflecting the leading role of the Islamic opposition in the current struggles in Iran. The Organization of

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Washington demonstration on June 5.

Gerald Martineau