

# Young Spartacus

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## Yesterday's "Radicals," Today's "Capitalist Roaders"

# Bureaucratic Dogfight in China

*For Workers Political  
Revolution Against All Wings  
of the Stalinist Bureaucracy!*

October 31—As Chinese Premier Hua Kuo-feng was intoning his eulogy to Mao Tse-tung at the quasi-religious state funeral last month, Deputy Chairman Wang Hung-wen could be seen anxiously peering over Hua's shoulder at his prepared text.

The Number Two Chairman became visibly perturbed as Hua concluded his tribute without including Mao's alleged last edict—"Act according to the principles laid down in the past." No sooner was the moment of silent mourning for Mao over when the dogfight in the Forbidden Palace resumed, this time to determine which bureaucratic clique would—quite literally!—"grasp Mao Tse-tung Thought."

The power struggle for the mantle of Mao reached a climax this month in the purge of four top Politburo leaders closely associated with Mao—Chiang Ching (Mao's widow), Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao and Yao Wen-yuan. Not so long ago the four so-called "radicals" played a central role in orchestrating the "anti-rightist campaign" which toppled former heir apparent Teng Hsiao-ping. But the tables were turned in the ensuing succession struggle and the four "close comrades of Mao Tse-tung" were purged in an identical campaign.

Events unfolded swiftly and with consummate irony. On October 12 rumors were afloat that Chiang, Chang, Wang and Yao had been arrested in Peking. Simultaneously, "big-character" wall posters were slapped up proclaiming Hua Kuo-feng as the new Chairman.

During the next few days diatribes appeared in posters and in the press denouncing an anonymous "gang of four" who "tamper with Chairman Mao's directives." Meanwhile, as the Central Committee reportedly was closeted in the Forbidden Palace, Hua was formally named Chairman and entrusted with "editing" (that is, falsifying and fabricating), Mao's writings.

By mid-October demonstrations in Shanghai which were organized from behind the scenes named the "four dogs" and demanded their "liquidation." Finally, on October 22 Peking officially announced the purge, denouncing the Chiang clique as "capitalist roaders" and vowing "to crush the counterrevolutionary conspiratorial clique."

### "Unity of Opposites"

The purge of yesterday's "radicals" as today's "capitalist roaders" only demonstrates once again that the "two-line struggle" of Maoism represents nothing more than obfuscation and mystification in the service of the bureaucratic cliques which monopolize political power in the Chinese deformed workers state. The charges which are now being hurled at Chiang and her cohorts are no different in kind than those which they previously turned against Teng.

Despite the fraudulent claim of the Maoist bureaucracy that such purges represent "class struggle," absolutely no counterposed political programs have been produced as evidence of the splitting/wrecking/restorationist designs of the Chiang clique. Instead, the "four dogs" are being skewered for everything from evil thoughts to absolutely fantastic schemes. For example, some posters in Shanghai have accused Chiang of nagging Mao on his deathbed in order to hasten his demise, while others have recently charged the "gang of four" with masterminding an unsuccessful assassination attempt on Hua.

Other sources raise the charge that Chiang ran



Banner depicts purged "gang of four"—Chiang, Chang, Wang and Yao—being skewered by a PLA bayonet.

amok in 1965 at a conference convened at the much-touted "model" Tachai commune. At that time Chiang allegedly interrupted Teng Hsiao-ping several times and later demanded that Hsinhua (New China News Agency) publish her speech. When the head of Hsinhua refused, and then enlisted Mao's backing, Chiang had him purged and sent to work as a janitor at Tsinghua University!

Yet to date the "official" charge against the "four dogs" is that Chiang fabricated a "last testament" of Mao which would have catapulted them into top positions of leadership in the party and state apparatus. In response, Hua—in his first act as "editor" of Mao's writings—produced a hitherto undisclosed alleged message from Mao to Hua which declared, "With you in charge, I am at ease" (quoted in *Guardian*, 3 November).

Vilification, falsification and appeals to the "mandate" of Mao are the political mechanisms of the parasitic rule of a Stalinist bureaucracy hostile to any expression of workers democracy. In its internecine feuding the Stalinist bureaucracy is compelled to accuse the losers of monstrous personal criminality without attributing to them any counterposed political program. To introduce any political alternative would serve to expose the fact that the masses have no means to decide any policy. Stalinist show trials (usually without the trials) and revolving-door purges will continue in China as long as the bureaucracy maintains its counterrevolutionary political stranglehold over the masses.

The purge of the Chiang clique in no way differs from the 1972 purge of Lin Piao by Mao. At that time, the Maoist bureaucracy suddenly announced that Lin, the "closest comrade-in-arms" of Mao who had been written into the Chinese Constitution as heir apparent, had been liquidated for his alleged unsuccessful attempt on the life of the

Chairman. Moreover, the Peking regime announced that Lin had actually been conspiring to restore capitalism in China for years. To imbue the Chinese workers and peasants with the wisdom of the purge the bureaucracy initiated a campaign to criticize... Confucius! But since Mao's works are sprinkled with references to this proto-"revisionist," the Maoist bureaucracy simply declared that Lin was also responsible for "sneaking" Confucius into Mao's writings when they were published and then for years concealing this from the Chairman!

The purge of Lin, while dramatic and unexpected, nevertheless carried the moral authority of Mao and Chou. But today, after the death of Chou and Mao, Maoists in this country may well find it much more difficult to "explain" the purge of the Maoist "radicals" whom only yesterday they cheered for mopping up Teng Hsiao-ping.

Only the "critical Maoist" *Guardian* has so far come out with a statement on the purge. The *Guardian* (3 November) guards its formulations and hedges its bets:

"The top remaining leadership of the cultural revolution—said to [!] constitute the left wing of the Chinese Communist Party—has been purged. They are now accused of being rightists in disguise... Virtually all the charges made against the four have been devoid of specific political content. It is assumed [?] that formal political charges will eventually become public knowledge. These campaigns have a way [!] of taking a long time to consummate and political issues tend to become confused and overdrawn in the process, at least to outsiders."

In other words, the *Guardian* is shelving all its "two-line struggle" bombast until it gets the line from Peking. Meanwhile, these "friends of China" refuse to ask why "rightists in disguise" seem to abound in the Maoist regime.

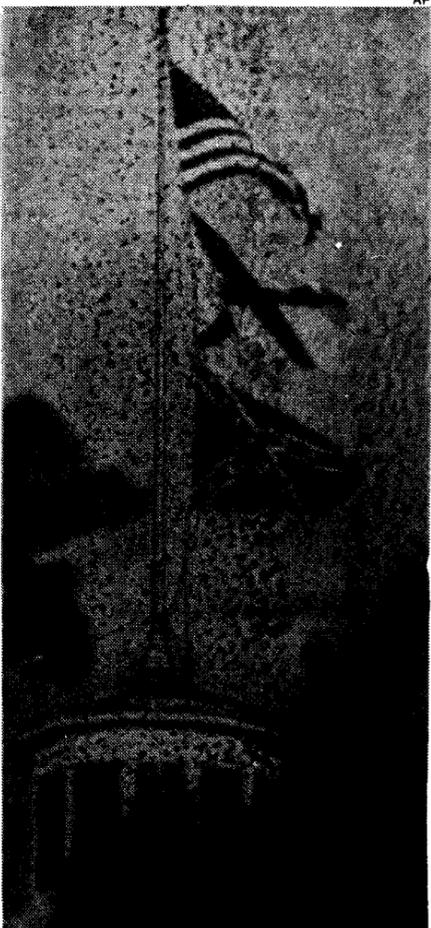
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## EDITORIAL NOTES

### Down With The Confederate Flag!

After fifteen years of controversy, Alabama Governor George Wallace announced on October 13 that the Confederate flag will fly a little lower on the flagpole over the Governor's Mansion. Undoubtedly concerned only with projecting the image of the "new South," which was featured in a recent *Time* magazine, Wallace quietly dropped the Stars and Bars below the Stars and Stripes and the Alabama state flag.

Since 1961, when the Confederate flag was hoisted in the first capitol of the Confederacy as part of the centennial commemoration of the commencement of the Civil War, black leaders have protested the display of the flag on public property. When George Wallace was elected governor in 1963, the American and Alabama state flags were removed from the Mansion and the Rebel flag was given official sanction.



Governor's Mansion, Montgomery, Alabama.

We solidarize with the protest of black groups demanding that this flag come down once and for all. Still the school flag at "Ole Miss," where fourteen years ago the racists fiercely fought integration, the Stars and Bars is the emblematic expression of Jim Crow segregation: "Segregation now, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever," as Wallace vowed in his inaugural speech in 1963. Today the Confederate flag has become the battle flag for anti-busing forces North and South—from Louisville to Boston.

Yet despite the image of a "new South," the American Civil War is still very much a social issue in the South today. Marxists are militantly opposed to all vestiges of the "old South." The smashing of the Confederacy was the last great event in the bourgeois-democratic revolution and placed the proletarian revolution on the historical agenda of the day.

Karl Marx considered the victory of the Union as the precondition for the growth of a communist movement in this country. As he wrote in *Capital*, "In the United States of North America, every independent workers' movement was paralyzed so long as slavery disfigured a part of the Republic. Labor in white skin cannot emancipate itself where it is branded in black skin." Thus, in his "Address of the International Workingmen's Association to President Lincoln" of 1864, Karl Marx stated: "From the commencement of the titanic American strife the workmen of Europe felt instinctively that the star-spangled banner carried the destiny of their class."

The flag of Dixie flying in public today represents a racist affront to black people as well as the working class. It is the flag of a defeated reactionary social order. In the hundred years since the Civil War the Stars and Stripes have come to represent world reaction. And when the American proletariat smashes the capitalist state, the Stars and Stripes will be hauled down and the red flag will fly forever.

## Being a Rockefeller Means Never Having to Say You're Sorry

While Ford and Carter flashed the two-finger "V-for-victory" throughout a burlesque presidential campaign which even the *New York Times* finally headlined as "Barren and Petty," lame-duck Vice President Nelson Rockefeller revealed that these days he's more in the mood for gesticulating with his middle finger.

Last month, when students from the State University of New York at Binghamton greeted a campaign stop by Rockefeller and Dole with chants such as, "Chile-Attica, anyway you figger, Rocky pulled the trigger," Rockefeller interrupted his speech and gave the finger three times to the crowd demonstrating in front of the platform.

Bored reporters snapped to life. The gaggle of local Republican windbags and sundry "notables" in the Rockefeller entourage feigned indignation and even astonishment over this "slip of the finger." Malcolm Wilson, successor to Rockefeller as New York State governor, ludicrously announced, "I assumed it was a thumbs up sign and he used the wrong finger." Another cohort of Rockefeller huffed, "It was disgusting."

But imperialist aristocrat Nelson Rockefeller feels no need to strike such "dignified" moral postures, especially since he is no longer running for public office. "I was just responding in kind," he chuckled to reporters at Binghamton, adding, "I love it. It makes the meeting more exciting, and, let's face it, it's part of America." Later he told the press that he was thinking of sending an autographed photograph of his *doigt du seigneur* (finger of royalty) to "Bo" Callaway, who kept Rockefeller off the 1976 Republican ticket.

Nor did Rockefeller feel compelled to apologize for the racist remarks which he made in the House of Representatives only one week after his Binghamton performance. Waiting for Liberian ruler William R. Tolbert to address the House, Rockefeller and House Speaker Carl Albert, mistakenly assuming that the microphone connecting the rostrum with the media gallery was turned off, were overheard exchanging racist banter about how Liberians were not "mulattoes" but "real black" and about how black Senator Edward Brooke of Massachusetts was "a one-man receiving committee" for Tolbert. Unlike Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz, who was forced to resign after the pro-Carter *Rolling Stone* published his racist "joke," Rockefeller simply brushed aside criticism of his "off-the-cuff" remarks, and the matter was quickly dropped.

To be sure, many bourgeois prigs reacted to

Rockefeller's "same-to-ya" gesture at Binghamton with their own finger wagging about "unbecoming" gestures and salty lingo; William Safire of the *New York Times* (23 September) sermonized that Rockefeller's gesture "is intended to be, is taken to be, and is—obscene."



The "Discreet Charm of the Bourgeoisie"?

It is true, as Rockefeller noted, that cussing and gestures which get out of hand are "part of America." But with his uplifted finger Rockefeller expressed nothing but his vicious contempt for those who have the affrontery to protest his crimes. Even more explicit was his sidekick Malcolm Wilson, who snarled that the student radicals would be the "future inmates of Attica." Commenting on similar performances by Lyndon Johnson during his administration, Norman Mailer (who today pens accolades for Jimmy Carter) aptly quipped in his *Armies of the Night*, "obscenity probably resides in the quick conversion of excitement to nausea."

While communists certainly welcome the exposure of bourgeois politicians for their disgusting racism and moral hypocrisy, we point out that the real crimes of the ruling class have nothing to do with "dirty words" or "obscene gestures." On the contrary, their crimes are the naked oppression and savage slaughter which they perpetrate on the oppressed—from the carpet bombing of Indochina to the massacre of Attica. Those are crimes which will be avenged by victorious proletarian revolution!

## Kim's North Korea: "Socialism in One Family"

"Red is the East, rises the sun." So go the opening lyrics of the Maoist anthem.

But a new rendition may well be adopted by the Stalinist regime in North Korea. According to the *New York Times* (3 October), North Korean Stalinist ruler Kim Il Sung has decreed that the next "sun of the Korean people" will be his son.



In a move which reportedly has provoked "political controversies" among his bureaucratic underlings, Kim Il Sung has designated his son, Kim Chong Il, to succeed him as the next "beloved father of the Korean people." Determined to impose this triumph of *juche* (self-reliance), Kim and Co. have recently carried out at least three successive purges of the bureaucracy.

Yet nepotism and bureaucratic backstabbing have long been rife in the Kim clique which monopolizes political power in the North Korean deformed workers state. Before Kim Chong Il was elevated to heir apparent this year, Kim Il Sung had named Kim Young Ju as his successor. His mandate? Kim Young Ju just happens to be the brother of Kim Il Sung. Moreover, the Central Committee of the so-called Korean Workers Party consists of a good part of the Kim family—his wife, his son, his brother and his cousin!

The spectacle of Kim Il Sung preparing a dynastic succession certainly should embarrass those who mistakenly consider North Korea to be a bastion of egalitarianism and workers democracy. Even the Vatican does not enshrine such monocratic privileges; after all, the Pope must be elected by the House of Cardinals.

To be sure, the overthrow of capitalism in North Korea three decades ago has made possible genuine gains for the working masses which the international proletariat must unconditionally defend. During the Korean War of 1950-53 Trotskyists unreservedly extended military support to the North Korean forces battling the imperialist intervention and the landlord-capitalist regime in Seoul. But the defense of the revolutionary gains of collectivized economy in North Korea and their unfettered development to socialist fruition requires that Kim and his camarilla be toppled by a political revolution which transfers political power to the workers and peasants of North Korea.



# LESSONS OF THE HUNGARIAN OCTOBER

## First Workers Political Revolution Against Stalinism

*"Dear Hungarian Premier. We inform you that yesterday the workers' council took power in Borsod County in every respect. The Army and police are under its control. Soviet troops are showing a neutral attitude and have not interfered in our affairs. The workers' council adopts as its own all your demands and stands for amnesty for all Hungarians who have participated in the revolution. Stalinist provocateurs who yesterday shot into the people have been reached by the just punishment of the people."*

It was twenty years ago—27 October 1956—that the workers council of Miskolc dispatched this message to Budapest. At that moment all of Hungary was aflame in the first workers political revolution against Stalinist bureaucratic rule. In the space of only a few days an outpouring of manifestos—voices of revolt both inspiring and moving—expressed the workers' solidarity with the anti-Stalinist protests which had erupted in Poland earlier that month and called for a socialist Hungary free of bureaucratic parasites and free of national oppression.

Sparked on October 23; when the Stalinist secret police fired upon a 200,000-strong throng which had converged on the Budapest radio station to broadcast their demands for political reforms, the Hungarian workers revolt shattered the government apparatus and drew in its wake the majority of the army ranks and Communist Party cadres. Within days, the workers in every major industrial center had created soviet-type workers councils and workers militias.

The reconstituted Hungarian "government" headed by Imre Nagy enjoyed a measure of popularity but lacked real power, attempting to balance between the Hungarian workers councils and the USSR. The working class of Hungary stood on the threshold of direct political rule through sovereign soviets based on the existing conquests of collectivized property.

But the Stalinist bureaucracy of the bureaucratically degenerated Russian workers state vilified the Hungarian uprising as a "fascist counterrevolution" and within days launched a brutal counterrevolutionary invasion. At dawn on 4 November Russian tanks rumbled

into Budapest. Heavy artillery bombardments turned factory districts into rubble, and the devastating advance of the tanks was met with desperate street fighting. Within days the rising was crushed, although for weeks thereafter the workers continued their general strike for a "free, independent and socialist Hungary."

At that time Trotskyists hailed the October Hungarian uprising as the first workers political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy usurping political power. As the U.S. imperialists weighed the prospects for military intervention, Trotskyists vigorously called for the *unconditional defense* of the nationalized property forms of all the countries in the Soviet bloc. They stressed the urgent need for the forging of a vanguard party of the Hungarian proletariat and called for the workers councils to take complete power and convene a national congress of soviets.

### Maoist Accomplices of Hungarian Counterrevolution

Young radicals unacquainted with the history of Stalinism may be surprised to learn that Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai played a key role in the suppression of the Hungarian workers' revolt. Mao and Chou demanded that Khrushchev—the soon-to-be "New Tsar," "capitalist restorationist" and "renegade revisionist"—invade Hungary in order to "defend socialism" from the Hungarian workers.

During the 1963 Sino-Soviet "great polemic," the Chinese leaders boasted that, while the Russian leaders "for a time... intended to adopt a policy of capitulation and abandon socialist Hungary to counter-revolution... We insisted on the taking of all necessary measures to smash the counter-revolutionary rebellion in Hungary and firmly opposed the abandonment of socialist Hungary" (Statement of 6 September 1963, reprinted in *The Polemic on the General Line of the International Communist Movement*). Likewise, Peking's New China News Agency (5 November 1956) hailed the Soviet invasion of Hungary as a "Great Victory of the Hungarian People."

In the aftermath of the Russian invasion, when the international labor movement was in an uproar over the

Hungarian events, the Soviet leaders desperately sought means to bolster their damaged authority. Chou En-lai interrupted a good-will tour of Asian countries and flew to Moscow, where he was triumphantly exhibited. Janos Kádár, the leader of the newly-installed Stalinist government in Hungary, was brought to Moscow for meetings with Chou. Then Chou went on tour to Warsaw and Budapest as public-relations man for the hangmen of the Hungarian revolution.

Despite the slanders of the Moscow and Peking Stalinists the Hungarian workers, who were the dominant social force in the uprising, had the experience of the rule of the capitalists and landlords—headed by Hitler's ally, Admiral Miklos Horthy—seared into their memory. They vehemently rejected the idea that the aim of their rebellion was to fasten again the yoke of capitalist exploitation. This determination was expressed in innumerable resolutions and manifestos and stated repeatedly by the leaders of the revolt.

Two days before the Soviet invasion, for example, the "National Council" in the industrial town of Miskolc declared: "We will defend the property of the state and repulse every effort to restore the power of the landowners, the industrialists, and the bankers." Similarly, the chairman of the Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén council emphasized:

"We confirm that the land will not be turned back to the former owners; the capitalists will not recover possession of their factories and mines, and the command of our army will not fall into the hands of the Horthyist generals, the enemies of the people."  
—quoted in Tibor Meray, *That Day in Budapest*.

In particular, the Hungarian insurgents were vigilant against the threat of reactionary activity. *Igazság (Truth)*, the newspaper of the independent Revolutionary Youth, expressed it forcefully: "We hate the fascists who are lurking in the shadows and who want to exploit the revolution." One of the many examples of the insurgents' vigilance against reactionary provocations was the suppression by the workers of Győr (an industrial center in western Hungary) of a right-wing meeting scheduled for 30 October 1956. The theme of this meeting was to have been the demand for a government headed by exiled rightist leader Ferenc Nagy. The Hungarian army newspaper *Magyar*

*Honvéd* on November 1 wrote approvingly of the Győr workers: "We want no fascism, we have had enough of tyranny, whether it be the tyranny of Rákosi or Szálási" (quoted in Shane Mage, *The Hungarian Revolution*, *Young Socialist Forum*, 1959).

### Hungary 1956 vs. China 1966

The Hungarian revolution of 1956 was a struggle that was genuinely revolutionary and anti-bureaucratic. It had a powerful impact on the international workers movement at the time. Within Communist Parties around the world revulsion with the crimes of Stalinism led many to leave their parties in protest.

But most Maoists in this country today came to embrace Stalinism during the period of the New Left. Certainly, one of the most powerful attractions of Maoism on New Left petty-bourgeois radicalism was the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution." For many radical youth at the time, the "Cultural Revolution" appeared to be a struggle waged by Mao Tse-tung to root out bureaucratism and preserve the egalitarian ideals of the Chinese Revolution. The Hungarian revolution, on the other hand, appeared remote to the New Left. Many tended to accept the prevailing myth, fostered by the U.S. imperialists with vigor especially before the "thaw" in the Cold War, that the Hungarian revolution was *simply* a nationalistic, if not pro-capitalist, rising of the entire Hungarian people against "Soviet totalitarianism."

The "Cultural Revolution" in China began in April 1966, when Mao and his bureaucratic faction launched a drive to reconquer positions of central Party leadership lost in the disastrous aftermath of Mao's economically adventurist "Great Leap Forward." Mao succeeded in mobilizing large numbers of students and peasant youth—the "Red Guards"—on the basis of vague "radical" egalitarian demagoguery, while the threatened conservative officials were able to mobilize many technicians and workers who feared the attacks of the "Red Guards" on their living standards. When Mao succeeded in his objective of reconquering Party leadership, the "Cultural Revolution" was braked to a jolting halt. Tens of thousands of "Red Guards" were shipped off to the countryside for "re-education."

"Breathe out the old, breathe in the new" was a central (and characteristically vague) slogan of the "Cultural Revolution." Large numbers of "capitalist-roader" Party officials and administrators were "breathed out" in the purges and public-humiliation galas arranged by Mao. Yet when Mao's faction felt itself securely in power, most of the purged "ghosts and monsters" were "breathed in" again. The wind had changed.

In contrast, the Hungarian uprising was a spontaneous mass uprising. The characteristic institution of the Hungarian revolution was the workers council based on the *armed workers*. Its characteristic documents were manifestos and resolutions that set out, in simple language, the insurgents' concrete demands and goals. The workers councils represented the emerging organs of proletarian class rule in the dual power situation which prevailed in Hungary up to the Russian invasion. It is for this reason that the Stalinist bureaucracy ruthlessly crushed the councils.

How different is the scene of the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" in China, with its stage-managed mass hysteria, its magical/mystical rhetoric and its sudden demise! What was the program of the workers councils? No one knows, because there was neither workers councils nor any programs, only the clash of bureaucratically controlled groupings. In place of program, both factions cloaked their power struggle in meaningless, bureaucratic-obscurantist phrases about "putting politics in command"

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## As SYL Supports Columbia Strike...

# Scab "Socialists" Mock Labor Solidarity



YOUNG SPARTACUS

NEW YORK CITY—Cops are not "workers," picket lines mean "don't cross," and a strike means "shut it down." Such fundamental traditions of the labor movement could not be more unambiguous.

But most of the American left at one time or another has demonstrated a blithe disregard and even contempt for such elementary working-class principles. The recent eleven-day strike at Columbia University by maintenance workers and campus cops organized in the Transit Workers Union (TWU) Local 241 found many so-called "socialists" on the wrong side of the picket lines. Moreover, these scab "socialists" failed to take a class line on the cops.

Throughout the strike only the Spartacus Youth League called for students to honor the picket lines and boycott classes, for cops out of the TWU, for a campus-wide strike and one campus union of all university employees (excluding cops and administrators), and for open admissions and nationalization of Columbia, with the replacement of the capitalist administration by student/campus-worker/teacher control (see "SYL Supports Columbia Workers Strike," *Young Spartacus*, October 1976).

While walking the TWU picket lines from the very first day and seeking to build student support for the strike, the SYL opposed the "security guards" in the TWU and called for all cops off campus. Although their role is more restricted, campus cops are as much the irreconcilable enemies of the labor movement and working people as the strike-breaking, trigger-happy racist New York City cops.

At the very moment the TWU was on strike the city cops were also "on strike," rampaging through the

streets with impunity, clogging traffic and intimidating passersby with their "demonstrations," and condoning the rowdy lumpen youth at Yankee Stadium who crashed the gates and even robbed many ticketholders at a prizefight. Although the Columbia campus cops joined the TWU picket lines like "militant workers," after the strike they were back "at work" harassing black people in the surrounding community and enforcing campus "security," which included a brutal assault with nightsticks on four Columbia students who merely had refused to stop a frisbee game on allegedly "unauthorized" property (*Columbia Spectator*, 18 October).

In contrast to the SYL, supporters of the reformist Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA) at Columbia University not only refused to even mention the issue of cops in the union, but also traipsed across the TWU picket lines day after day. (Supporters of the Marcyite Communist Cadre and the Shachtmanite League for a Revolutionary Party argued that crossing the picket lines was not a principled question, although the Communist Cadre sect subsequently honored the picket lines and opposed cops in the TWU.) Adding insult to injury, the SWP/YSA held a forum following the TWU strike where Ruthann Miller—its scab supporter at Columbia and also its "socialist" candidate for State Assembly in the 70th District—was promoted as a trade-union "activist" fighting for the interests of Columbia workers!

### Students and Picket Lines

At Columbia the various "socialist" scabs attempted to "justify" scabbing with the argument that picket lines should not prevent students from "organizing support on campus." Given the

relative weakness of the unions involved and the large number of students who use the facilities, campus strikes—like strikes at hospitals or department stores—to maximize their impact on the administration require the broadest solidarity from the labor movement as well as from those using the facilities.

Thus, communist youth on campus recognize that "organizing student support" must begin with the task of winning students, who represent a petty-bourgeois layer, to side with the class interests and struggles of the workers. While students are not workers, when they cross picket lines they are breaking a labor action and are scabs.

At Columbia University, all the main entrances to the quadrangles were blocked with union pickets from the outset of the strike. The TWU pickets clearly established that the entire campus, which is a self-contained area, was struck. In this situation we do not follow scabbing students across the picket lines, we do not hold strike-support activities in campus facilities beyond the picket lines, and in this strike we would not even use the on-campus *Columbia Spectator* as a forum.

We intervene in campus strikes to champion the principles of labor solidarity and, therefore, do not cross picket lines, even though at Columbia the TWU bureaucrats were calling on unorganized workers to report to work and were unwilling to endorse the SYL call for a student boycott of classes during the strike. On the second day of the strike, when the TWU lifted the picket lines for a union rally on campus, the SYL of course marched onto campus with the strikers and used the union's invitation to address the rally as a forum to call on students to respect the TWU picket lines and support the strike.

### Campus Strikes and the Unorganized

Tailing the TWU bureaucrats, the SWP/YSA during the Columbia strike maintained that the TWU picket lines were not "intended" to keep unorganized clericals from going to work for the same employer. Yet unlike the "socialist" SWP/YSA, the library and food service workers at Columbia who were organized in District 1199, as well as the deliverymen from the *New York Times*, respected the picket lines.

Moreover, in the period when the

SWP was a revolutionary organization, the Trotskyists fought labor traitors such as Ruthann Miller who scab in the name of "organizing the unorganized," in this case, the clerical workers at Columbia. At that time the revolutionary SWP fought more than one class battle where the picket line meant that *no worker crosses*. During the General Motors strike of 1946, for example, the SWP recounted how the union organized the unorganized clerical workers to support the strike:

"But where they [the unorganized clerical workers] were confronted with determined picket lines, they were easily persuaded to go back home... Through the local's sound truck, the office workers were urged to join the CIO."

—*Militant*, 5 January 1946

It is through such methods of labor solidarity and class struggle that the unorganized should be mobilized to support striking workers.

It is certainly true that today the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy through several decades of betrayal has eroded traditions of militant unionism and undermined the principle of the picket line. But these traditions can—and must—be revived. For example, in the early stages of the near-general strike in San Francisco last spring, the striking municipal craft workers did not at first defend their picket lines, and thousands crossed them daily. But as the strikers grew more desperate, the lines stiffened and no one was allowed to pass.

In our strike support work the SYL does not acquiesce to the betrayals of the bureaucrats, like "informational pickets." Rather, we point out the need for the construction of oppositional caucuses within the unions to oust the betrayers and to provide militant leadership based on a class-struggle program. In contrast, the SWP/YSA today has a seemingly endless record—from the University of Chicago to the University of Pennsylvania to Columbia—of cravenly tailing the labor fakers and trampling over the fundamental principles of the labor movement.

Unlike the SWP/YSA, we intervene on campus as the partisans of the working class in its historic mission to overthrow capitalism through proletarian revolution. We fight to win subjectively revolutionary youth to a revolutionary program and party. During campus strikes the class line is drawn at the picket line. Stopping at that picket line is where demonstrating solidarity with the working class begins. ■

## Students Arrested Defending Picket Lines At Brown



At Brown University in early October, as a campus strike by Local 134 of the Service International Employees Union (SEIU) entered its fourth month, eleven students were arrested by the scab-herding cops for defending a picket line at one of the main service entrances on campus. We protest this strike-breaking victimization and demand that all charges be dropped! On October 9 the SEIU bureaucrats accepted a "compromise settlement" ending a 104-day strike which had attracted extensive student support.

## Fight For Open Admissions!

# Reactionary Court Ruling Bars Minority Quotas

OCTOBER 26—Last week several hundred people demonstrated in San Francisco to protest the recent California Supreme Court ruling against preferential admissions programs at law and medical schools of the University of California (UC). The picket line and press conference at the State Building had been called by the Bay Area Third World Student Alliance, a group comprised mainly of minority law students. Speakers at the rally denounced not only the court's decision, which they said would "cause a drastic reduction of racial minorities" at UC, but also the university administration for its "faint-hearted" defense of admissions quotas.

Declaring admissions programs which admit a percentage of students on the basis of race to be unconstitutional, the California Supreme Court on September 16 ruled in favor of Allan Bakke, a white student who had sued the UC Davis School of Medicine for discrimination. Bakke, who had been twice denied admission to Davis, claimed that the university had given preference to minority students whose entrance test scores and grade point averages were lower than his.

The Davis medical school presently reserves 16 out of the 100 places in each incoming class (picked from over 3000 applicants!) for "educationally or economically disadvantaged students." In the five years since its inception, this quota has always been filled by racial and ethnic minorities.

While this program has enabled a few more minority students to enter a predominantly white profession, the gain is nevertheless limited. In order

to be eligible for admission to medical school, minority students must fight the barriers of inferior education in ghetto schools, "tracking" systems which channel them into "vocational" rather than college-preparatory courses and the ever-rising cost of higher education. Particularly for the professional schools, where tuition is prohibitive and training prolonged, those applying disproportionately tend to be white, male and middle class.

Before the establishment of the special admissions programs throughout UC campuses in the early 1970's, admissions were generally based on academic qualifications, which in a society permeated with racial discrimination and class divisions meant that minorities were systematically excluded. For example, in 1965 only 1.5 percent of all law students were black, and in California, which has a Chicano population of over two million, there were a total of three Chicano law school graduates in 1969!

### Racial Discrimination and Quota Systems

The SYL opposes the California Supreme Court decision, which will eliminate even the limited increase in minority enrollment which has resulted from special admissions. However, academic quota systems do involve "reverse discrimination" and are not our program. As socialists we are opposed to institutionalizing racial divisions in any aspect of society. At best, quota requirements represent a lesser evil to the existing discriminatory admissions systems.

Instead of quotas the SYL fights for the nationalization of the private universities and for open admissions to all institutions of higher education. To make open admissions economically feasible and academically meaningful for the working class and minorities, we demand an end to tuition and call for the state to provide all necessary remedial and special recruitment programs as well as stipends to cover living expenses of students and their dependents. Likewise, we oppose segregation and "tracking" in the public schools, which prevent most minority and poor youth from ever reaching the admissions offices of the universities and professional schools.

Nevertheless, in the past we have on occasion critically supported particular student quota systems, usually when special admissions had become the focus for significant student protest against the existing racially and sexually discriminatory admissions policies, or when quotas otherwise represented more than administration tokenism.

For example, in 1969 we supported the struggle of thousands of black and Spanish-speaking people for increased minority enrollment at the City College of New York, which at the time was a tuition-free but overwhelmingly white campus standing in the middle of Harlem. In that situation, when militant black students advanced the demand for an admissions quota for minorities (based on their proportional representation in high school graduating classes) the Spartacist League gave critical support to the demand, while consistently calling for open admissions (which subsequently was instituted). Likewise, at the Ann Arbor campus of the University of Michigan in 1975, we supported the demand of the striking Graduate Employees Organization for increased minority and female recruitment and

for the hiring of graduate assistants proportional to the racial and sexual composition of the population.

But in the workforce quota hiring, while it likewise must be considered on a case-by-case basis, usually involves government "affirmative action" schemes which cut across working-class unity and open up the unions to interference by the capitalist state. While at best minimally redressing past discrimination against black and Spanish-speaking people and women, these schemes dangerously undercut hard-won union gains protecting all workers (not the least minority workers and labor militants) and open the door for arbitrary victimization by the bosses and their state. To the divisive "affirmative action" plans we counterpose a program and perspective for struggle within the unions to enforce full equality in hiring and advancement, raising demands for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay to create more jobs and for a union hiring hall and union-controlled minority recruiting and training programs (see "Preferential Layoffs: A Dangerous Hoax," *Workers Vanguard*, 3 January 1975).

### For Student/Teacher/Worker Control of the Universities!

Both the California Supreme Court and the UC regents are now rivaling each other in hypocritical concern for minority rights. On the one hand, the Supreme Court, undoubtedly anticipating the unpopularity of its ruling, offered as alternatives to quotas "aggressive programs to identify, recruit and provide remedial schooling for disadvantaged students" as well as increasing "the number of places available either by expanding the schools or

simply enrolling additional students." Yet the Supreme Court knows full well that educational budgets are contracting and consequently special programs are being abandoned.

On the other hand, the law and medical school deans have contended that "without preferential admissions policies, there would be almost no minority students in their schools, no matter how aggressively they recruit" (*Daily Bruin*, 21 September). The UC regents—nearly all of whom were appointed by notoriously racist Ronald Reagan—likewise are seeking to avoid the issue of special recruitment by calling for the court ruling to be pushed into the U.S. Supreme Court. With an eye on the string of recent reactionary Supreme Court decisions, especially against busing and upholding capital punishment, the UC regents hope that all special admissions systems will be struck down.

Students who oppose racial and sexual discrimination should have no confidence in either the "justice" of the U.S. Supreme Court or the "faint-hearted" opposition of the administration. As long as university admissions policy is dictated by the bourgeoisie and its educational bureaucracy, educational opportunities will inevitably reflect the class and special oppression of this society. Quota systems accept and quantify that discrimination, invariably leading to reactionary conflicts over "reverse discrimination." Not quota admissions, but the struggle to eliminate the administration of the universities and establish student/teacher/campus-worker control, points the way forward in democratizing higher education. Yet, it is only when the working class sweeps away this system through socialist revolution that racial oppression and class exploitation will be smashed. ■

### Class Series

#### REFORM OR REVOLUTION?

Boston University:  
Tuesdays, November 9 and 23,  
December 7 and 21 at 7:30 pm  
George Sherman Union

Harvard University:  
Wednesdays, November 10 and 24,  
December 8 and 22 at 7:30 pm  
Phillips Brooks House

For more information: call  
(617) 492-3928 or (617) 254-4236

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#### THE FUNDAMENTALS OF MARXISM

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San Francisco:  
Time: Thursday nights weekly  
in November, 7:00pm  
Place: Sanchez School (Aud.),  
325 Sanchez (near 16th)  
For more information call: (415)  
835-1535

### Bay Area

"Is everybody on this campus in the SYL?"

## Angela Davis Returns To UCLA

LOS ANGELES, October 5—Today an overflow crowd gathered in the Grand Ballroom of Akerman Union here at UCLA to hear Angela Davis, leading member of the reformist pro-Moscow Communist Party (CP) and spokesman for the CP-dominated National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (NAARPR), speak on the increase of "open racism in the U.S."

It was Davis' first return to the campus where she was fired in 1970 for making "speeches unbecoming a professor." At that time, the Spartacist League and the Revolutionary Communist Youth (predecessor of the SYL) defended Davis against the anti-communist purge, while maintaining, as now, our fundamental political differences with her reformist Communist Party politics.

Davis limited her hour-long address to descriptions of how "racism has erupted in ways we thought were extinct" and avoided any programmatic alternatives. It was only during the ensuing discussion period that the audience of 1,000 heard a militant strategy to fight the racist system. But it certainly wasn't from Davis.

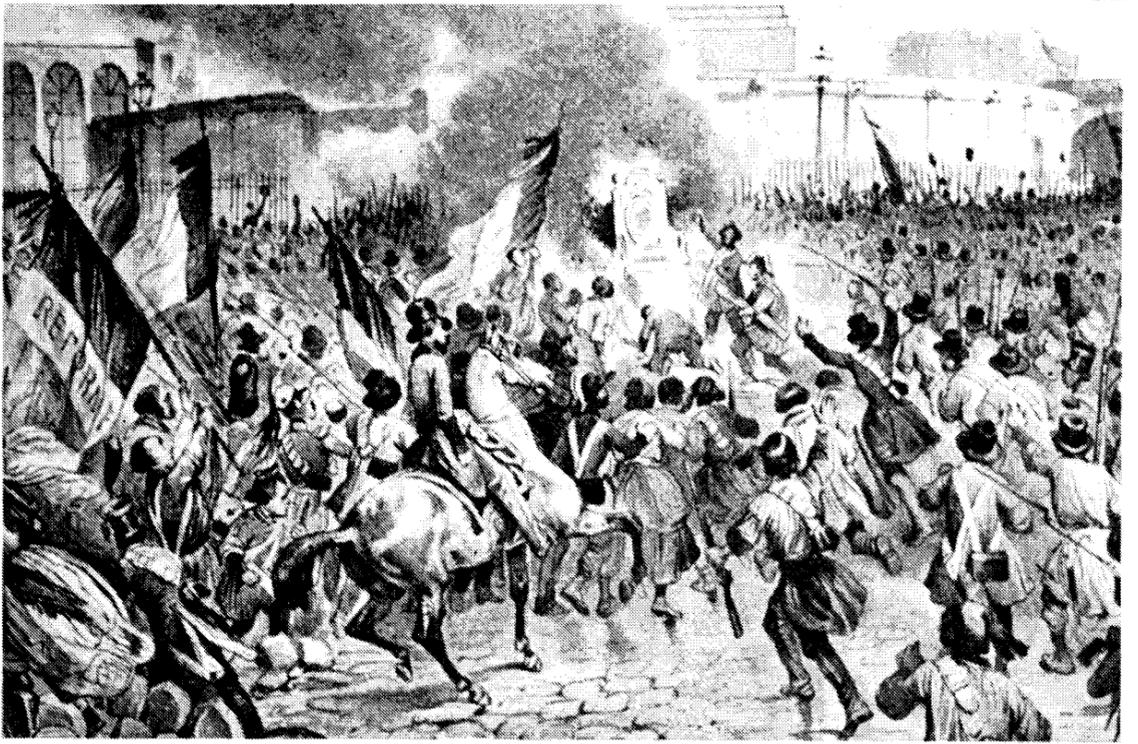
An SYL speaker took the floor to counterpose our call for independent political action—for labor to break with

the Democrats and form a workers party to fight for a workers government—to the CP's record of supporting Democratic Party politicians, from JFK and LBJ to so-called "progressive" Detroit Mayor Coleman Young, who is presently leading a vicious "law and order" crackdown on that city's black youth. Davis sought to evade the criticism by pointing out that she was speaking for the NAARPR and not the CP. Indeed, Davis would be hard-put to "explain" why the CP staunchly hails the draconian repression of the Indira Gandhi regime in India or why the CP gave "critical support" to the Videla coup in Argentina.

A second SYL speaker denounced the NAARPR for relying upon the racist courts and the imperialist federal troops to defend black school children under attack from the anti-busing forces and went on to explain the need for labor/black defense. It was when the third SYL representative brought Davis and the CP to task for supporting union-busting "affirmative-action" schemes that the Stalinist finally lost her composure. Quickly moving to cut off the remaining discussion, Davis queried, "Is everybody on this campus in the SYL?" ■

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Artists' visions of people of Paris seizing and burning the royal throne, 1848.

# The Revolution of 1848 in France

## Marxism and the Jacobin Communist Tradition/Part 6

By Joseph Seymour

EDITOR'S NOTE: With the series entitled "Marxism and the Jacobin Communist Tradition" *Young Spartacus* makes available to our readers the presentations on the origins of Marxism which have been given by Joseph Seymour of the Spartacist League Central Committee at SYL educational gatherings on the east and west coast and in the midwest during the last year.

The ongoing series seeks to demonstrate how Marx and Engels were decisively influenced by the political experiences and programs of the two preceding generations of revolutionary militants who attempted to fuse the bourgeois-democratic revolution with an egalitarian-collectivist world view. In so doing, the talks debunk the long-fashionable academic/New Left distortion of Marxism as simply a self-contained derivation from Hegelian philosophy.

The preceding articles in the series dealt with the Great French Revolution and the living continuity of insurrectionary Jacobin Communism in the struggles and conspiratorial organizations of Babeuf and Buonarroti; the differentiation within the French democratic opposition from the Carbonari Conspiracy and the French Revolution of 1830 to the Blanqui/Barbès putsch of 1839; British Chartism and its contradictions; the origins of the Communist League and the factional struggle between the utopian millennialism of Weitling and the propagandism of Schapper; and the political development of Karl Marx before 1848.

The article below on the French Revolution of 1848 will be continued next month. To preserve the character of the verbal presentation editorial alterations have been kept to a minimum. Back issues of *Young Spartacus* containing the first five articles in the series may be obtained at 25 cents per issue from: Spartacus Youth Publishing Company, Box 825, Canal Street Station, New York, NY, 10013.

This particular class in the series has three basic aims.

First, to provide an historical account of the 1848 revolution in France, which—even more so than in the rest of Europe, I would argue—is one of the pivotal events in the history of bourgeois society. In fact, when you read the polemics between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks during 1917, you find continual allusions to the 1848 events in France which seemed to offer a parallel situation, and so you need to know who were [Alexandre Auguste] Ledru-Rollin and [Jean Joseph] Louis Blanc and what was the role of [Louis-Auguste] Blanqui.

Second, to analyze the impact which the French revolution of 1848 had on the thinking of Karl Marx, especially the events between February and June. Now, much of that discussion will come in the concluding class of the series, since Marx's evaluation changed in important respects during the period from 1850 to 1853. I'll merely note here that the first time "dictatorship of the proletariat"—both the term and the concept—is used was in *The Class Struggles in France, 1848-1850* written by Marx in 1850. And that is significant.

Third, to draw lessons from the 1848

revolution in France which are very much contemporary. The previous classes in this series have had a certain dated character, since they dealt with historical events which occurred under monarchical rule. But in 1848 the revolutionary communists were struggling for the first time on the terrain of bourgeois democracy, so that there are relevant contemporary lessons to be drawn from the experience of 1848.

The French revolution of 1848 presents us with a whole series of "firsts." For example, the first "popular-front" government; that is, a government which included socialists with a working-class following precisely because they did have a working-class following. Likewise, the first time the proletariat opposed bourgeois democracy, represented by a parliament which had been elected on the basis of universal suffrage.

Thus, I would maintain that a proper assimilation of the French revolution of 1848 would preclude the call for a constituent assembly in Portugal during the summer of 1975, a demand which was raised by Lambert [a senior leader of the Kautskyan Organisation Communiste Internationaliste of France] and Hansen [the "grey eminence" of the reformist American Socialist

Workers Party]. In fact, Lambert and Hansen stand well to the right of Louis Blanc, who was the socialist minister in the French popular-front government of 1848. I would also venture to add that Jack Barnes [the National Secretary of the SWP] stands to the right of Blanc, except Barnes has probably never heard of him, so I'll just say that he stands to the right of Tom Paine.

### Opposition to the Orléanist Regime

In the class on the origins of the Communist League, I noted that in the mid-1840's, after the insurrectionary attempts of 1839 and 1840 in France, utopian socialist sects were a mass phenomenon. This very much conditioned the origins of Marxism; the group headed by Etienne Cabet in particular exerted a certain influence over the German League of the Just.

By 1846 or 1847, however, this alignment on the left began to shift, as a democratic opposition to the corrupt, quasi-absolutist regime of King Louis Philippe re-emerged. The political opposition to the Orléanist regime was grouped around two newspapers, *Le National* and *La Réforme*.

*Le National* represented the left wing of the big bourgeois opposition. While differing with the so-called dynastic opposition, which favored a constitutional monarchy rather than republicanism, *Le National* had formed an alliance with the dynastic opposition led by Odilon Barrot, who had been Blanqui's attorney in 1839 and who was to become head of government under Louis Napoleon, and Louis Adolphe Thiers, who was to achieve infamy as the butcher of the Paris Commune. The *National* tendency, of course, advocated *laissez-faire* economic policies—that is, the free play of market forces.

On the other hand, *La Réforme* represented the right wing of the radical-democratic opposition, which had a proletarian and urban petty-bourgeois base. The *Réforme* tendency was an amalgam of political forces under the leadership of Alexandre Ledru-Rollin, but also including the well-known pacifist and reformist socialist, Louis Blanc. In contrast to the *laissez-faire* of *Le National*, *Réforme* upheld the tradition of Robespierre, which included certain measures of social welfare, in particular, a commitment to the right to labor. So, although both *National* and *Réforme* called for a sovereign parliament based on universal suffrage, *Le National* tended to be based on the big bourgeoisie, while *Réforme* had links with the underground revolutionary

organizations and cadres who had participated in various unsuccessful insurrections during the 1830's.

Following their strategy of seeking an alliance with the left wing of the bourgeois-democratic opposition, Marx and Engels at that time had close connections with the *Réforme* tendency. In particular, Engels wrote articles on Germany and Britain for *Réforme*, and both Marx and Engels quoted extensively from the speeches of Louis Blanc and Ledru-Rollin without expressing any fundamental criticism.

Now, let me give you a sense of the antagonism between the two tendencies—the right bourgeois democrats and the left bourgeois democrats—by quoting from an important polemic between *La Réforme* and *Le National*. Here is *Le National*.

"You speak of indefinite strivings, of theories and systems which arise among the people, you censure us for openly attacking these—to put it bluntly—communitistic strivings. Very well then, declare yourselves directly, either for or against communism. We declare for all to hear that we have nothing in common with the Communists, with these people who deny property, family and country."

To this *Réforme* replied,

"We are not communistic, and our reason is that communism disregards the laws of production, that it is not concerned with ensuring that enough is produced for the whole of society. But the economic proposals of the Communists stand closer to us than those of the *National*, which accepts the existing bourgeois economics without further ado. We shall defend the Communists against the police and the *National* also in the future, because we acknowledge at least their right of discussion, and because the doctrines that originate from the workers themselves always deserve consideration."  
—quoted in Frederick Engels, "The *Réforme* and the *National*," in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6

We shall see to what extent these sentiments stood the test of revolution.

### Mass Insurrection

In 1847 the general mass discontent in France, which extended well into liberal bourgeois circles, was manifested in so-called "banquet campaigns"; it was illegal to hold political rallies, so they were held as banquets. (By no means a unique phenomenon—the Chinese Communist Party was founded under the guise of a pleasure party on the Yangtze River.)

Now, to understand what happened

in February 1848, one must recall the character of the Paris National Guard, which was one of the fruits of the French revolution of 1830. The Paris National Guard was comprised exclusively of bourgeois and upper-petty-bourgeois elements, since it was based on a *de facto* property qualification—one received no pay for service and, moreover, had to purchase the uniform and weaponry.

However, the franchise for the restricted French assembly under Louis Philippe was so narrow that large sections of the Paris National Guard could not meet the property qualification to vote. As a result, sections of the National Guard took part in the so-called "reform movement," which had as its aim not universal suffrage and the elimination of the monarchy, but simply the broadening of the franchise within the framework of a liberal constitutional monarchy.

But King Louis Philippe was unwilling to relinquish his quasi-absolutist government; consequently, he forced the National Guard into a confrontation. When Louis Philippe banned a banquet, the National Guard challenged the prohibition. Louis Adolphe Thiers, the leader of the bourgeois opposition, says to the king, "What are you going to do?" Louis Philippe says, "We'll use terror." Thiers replies, "Well, terror is O.K. when you have the force, but I don't think you do, so it's not going to work." And it didn't work.

The dissidents of the National Guard opened the way for the revolution. In an attempt to placate the masses, Louis Philippe sacked his ministry. But the army opened fire on the ensuing victory celebration, and at that point Paris exploded in a mass insurrection.

One of the most pleasurable political documents I have ever encountered is the official minutes of the last session of the Chamber of Deputies under Louis Philippe. Here are some passages [reproduced with the original punctuation]:

"Violent agitation reigns in the Assembly... The rumor gains ground of the king's abdication in favor of the Count of Paris, under the regency of Madame the Duchess of Orleans...."

"[There follows much discussion of whether the Chamber can deliberate in the presence of the Duchess of Orleans and the Count of Paris. Disorder mounts as strangers enter and refuse to leave when ordered to do so. There are objections to the regency and demands for a provisional government, and even for a constituent Assembly.]"

"M. Odilon Barrot. 'The crown of July rests on the head of a child and on that of a woman.' (Lively acclamations in the center.)"

"(Madame the Duchess of Orleans gets up and salutes the Assembly. She calls upon the Count of Paris to imitate her, which he does.)"

"M. Odilon Barrot. 'I make a solemn appeal....'"

"M. de la Rochejaquelein. 'You don't know what you're doing!'...."

"[There are more incursions, and the disorder increases. There are calls for a republic. The Duchess of Orleans and her children have disappeared. Some of the intruders take over the rostrum.]"

"(MM. Crémieux, Ledru-Rollin and de Lamartine appear simultaneously at the rostrum.)...."

"M. Ledru-Rollin. 'In the name of the people everywhere in arms, masters of Paris whatever happens' (Yes! yes!), 'I come to protest against the kind of government which has been proposed from this rostrum.' (Very good! very good! Bravos in the crowd.)... [Ledru-Rollin concludes, after many interruptions.]"

"'I demand then, in summary, a provisional government' (Yes! yes!), 'not named by the Chamber' (No! no!), 'but by the people; a provisional gov-

ernment, and an immediate call for a convention to regularize the rights of the people.' (Bravo! bravo!)...."

"M. de Lamartine. 'Gentlemen, I felt as deeply as any among you the double sentiment which gripped this arena a short time ago at the sight of one of the most touching spectacles presented by human annals, that of a majestic princess pleading her cause with her innocent son, and coming from a deserted palace to cast herself in the midst of the representation of the people'...."

"(At this moment, from outside are heard at the doors of one of the public galleries some violent blows resounding. The doors soon yield under the blows of the butt ends of guns. Men of the people mixed with national guardsmen come in crying: 'Down with the Chamber! no deputies!' One of

bly. However, the leaders of the *Réforme* group, and particularly its socialist component, were not members of the parliament. As the government was proceeding from the Chamber of Deputies to the Hôtel de Ville—which was the historic seat of revolutionary government in Paris—it was decided to add the left wing of the *Réforme* tendency—namely, Ferdinand Flocon, an editor of *La Réforme*; Louis Blanc, the petty-bourgeois socialist leader; and a worker named Alexandre Martin, who had been a secondary figure in the French underground societies. It is significant that Martin, who used the pseudonym of Albert, is referred to in all the governmental proclamations as "Albert, Workingman"—the government wanted to emphasize that it in-

about it, Raspail, you're absolutely right."

A similar scene occurred when the workers invaded the Hôtel de Ville and confronted Louis Blanc: "We want the government to proclaim the right of labor!" Blanc replies, "You know that I have held that principle for the last ten years, but this is a provisional government and we still have very little authority." Then a worker named Marche slams his musket down and shouts, "You are here because we put you here!" With this Blanc says, "Of course, this government is committed to the right of labor."

Again, this is a historic "first"—the first time a bourgeois government committed itself to guaranteeing employment for all workers, which objectively is a socialist measure, although not in form. Here is the famous decree, signed literally at gunpoint:

"The Government of the French Republic pledges itself to guarantee the livelihood of the worker by labor; It pledges itself to guarantee work for all citizens; It recognizes that the workers should form associations among themselves to enjoy the legitimate profit of their labor."

[—quoted in R. W. Postgate, *Revolution from 1789 to 1906*]

While the government made these concessions under duress, it was nevertheless in its majority a conservative bourgeois government. So, even in the first few days of the revolution, when the Parisian masses had overwhelming military preponderance, the government deflected the demands of the workers. When Louis Blanc demanded a Minister of Labor to implement the right of labor, that was overruled; Blanc was told to form a commission of inquiry, through which workers' representatives could discuss how to implement it sometime in the future.

As a concession to the masses, the Provisional Government instituted so-called "national workshops" to provide relief for the unemployed of France, whose ranks were swollen by the European-wide depression. While the "national workshops" took their name from Louis Blanc, who was an advocate of state-subsidized producer cooperatives, they actually were—in Marx's phrase—simply "outdoor poorhouses," not unlike the WPA projects of Roosevelt's New Deal. In fact, the first job of the "national workshops" was to clear the streets of the barricades erected during the insurrection.

There was another incident during the first few days of the revolution which anticipated future developments. It reveals, moreover, the importance of symbols in politics.

Early on, the radical masses demanded that the tricolor be replaced by the red flag, which under Louis Philippe had come to be associated with revolutionary opposition. Likewise, when Blanqui returned to Paris from his forced exile in southern France, his first revolutionary propaganda denounced the Provisional Government for refusing to adopt the red flag.

At that time there was a famous confrontation with Lamartine, who said, "The red flag is the flag of terror. The people will think that this revolution is another terror from the Jacobin tradition." But that tradition was exactly what should have been followed.

[TO BE CONTINUED]



Count of Paris offered as new king moments before Paris workers disperse Chamber of Deputies.

the men lowers the barrel of his gun in the direction of the rostrum. Cries of 'Don't shoot! don't shoot!' It is M. de Lamartine who is speaking; 'resound loudly. On the insistence of his comrades, the man puts up his gun.'...."

"Here the meeting of the Chamber of Deputies ends; but the people, armed with guns and swords, mixed with national guardsmen and a certain number of deputies, chiefly deputies of the Left, remain in the room...."

"Someone suddenly calls attention to the large picture above the rostrum and behind the president's chair, which represents the taking of the oath to the Charter by Louis Philippe, and cries of *It must be torn up! it must be destroyed!* are immediately heard.

"Some men who have climbed onto the rostrum make ready to give saber and sword slashes to the picture.

"A worker, armed with a double-barreled gun, who is in the hemicycle, shouts: *Wait! I am going to fire at Louis Philippe!* At the same instant, two shots burst forth. Various cries...."

[—reproduced in P. H. Beik, *Louis Philippe and the July Monarchy*]

It's great reading.

So, the popular insurrection drove the army from Paris and brought into power a Provisional Government, which represented the left wing of the Assem-

cluded a representative of the class which brought it to power.

### Bourgeois Concessions: The National Workshops

What is particularly interesting about the first few days of the Provisional Government is the concessions which were granted and those which were not. The immediate question of the day was whether the *de facto* republic—that is, the abolition of the monarchy—was to be institutionalized, or whether it was seen by the right-wing bourgeois democrats as simply a conjuncture.

Raspail, who was one of the leading socialists, went to Lamartine—then the Minister of Foreign Affairs and *de facto* head of the Provisional Government—and said, "We're not going to replay 1830 again. We want a republic." Lamartine replied, "Personally I, of course, agree, but we have no authority from any popular body. Therefore, we must wait and consult with the masses." Raspail threatened, "If you don't proclaim the republic within two hours, I'm coming back here with 2,000 armed men!" Lamartine: "Now that I think

### SYL Class Series

Date: Alternate Tuesdays, Beginning November 2 at 7:30 p.m.

Place: Memorial Union (for room number, check "Today in the Union")

Madison

### SYL Class Series

### Revolutionary Marxism Today

Classes will be held on alternate Tuesdays starting November 9 at 7:30 p.m., Room 317 Hamilton Hall, Columbia University. Information and readings will be available at classes, or call (212) 925-5665.

New York

# 400 Rally Against Kissinger At Harvard



BOSTON—Marching behind a banner calling for the smashing of apartheid and for workers revolution in South Africa, the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) joined a demonstration of 400 students and leftists at Harvard University on October 15 to protest the appearance of imperialist diplomat Henry Kissinger. Harvard University had invited Kissinger to speak at a gathering of government officials, academic specialists and top U.S. executives held to discuss American imperialist "interests."

The demonstration was organized by a coalition which included the New American Movement (NAM), the Committee for a Democratic Foreign Policy and the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL). The SYL at Harvard could not endorse the demonstration, since one of its slogans was "No U.S. Aid to Dictatorships." Devoid of class content, this slogan draws no distinction between reactionary bourgeois dictatorships, such as in Chile, and the Sino-Soviet deformed/degenerated workers states, which are ruled by repressive Stalinist bureaucracies resting atop collectivized property. Trotskyists *unconditionally defend* the deformed/degenerated workers states against imperialism and, at

the same time, call for a workers political revolution to smash the usurping bureaucratic castes and to establish soviet democracy.

To draw this crucial distinction, the SYL proposed at a planning meeting to insert "right-wing" before "dictatorship." But both NAM and the YWLL opposed that slogan; the YWLL even argued that there is no such thing as a "left-wing dictatorship"—a capitulation to liberal anti-communism differing only in its puniness from the French Communist Party's disavowal of the goal of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky* Lenin answered those reformists and centrists who espoused "socialism" but opposed proletarian dictatorship:

"One may say without fear of exaggeration that this [proletarian dictatorship] is the most important problem of the entire proletarian class struggle... Bolshevism has popularized throughout the world the idea of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat'... and has shown by the example of the Soviet power that the workers and poor peasants... create[d] a democracy that is immeasurably higher and broader than all previous democracies in the world..."

## China...

continued from page 1

More serious Maoists should realize that the "two-line struggle" which is being used to justify the purge of the Chiang clique is no different than the purges of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution; neither represent conflict between fundamentally counterposed political programs, but rather bureaucratic infighting and power grabbing.

As the Spartacist tendency pointed out at the time, the misnamed Cultural Revolution was the generally successful attempt of Mao, who had been edged out of the central party leadership as the result of his Great Leap Forward fiasco, to reassert his authority and reestablish his control over the bureaucratic apparatus. Mao used the army to unseat his main factional opponents Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping and then mobilized masses of student youth to be a battering ram against the recalcitrant rival conservative bureaucrats.

Mao and his so-called "proletarian headquarters"—which prominently included Chiang, Wang, Chang and Yao—could pose as the "left" only on the basis of demagogic rhetoric against bureaucratic conservatism and arbitrariness. By no means did Mao represent a proletarian pole; in fact, the reactionary utopianism preached by Mao and fervently believed by the idealistic youth led to pitched battles between Red Guards and workers determined to defend their wages and material interests. It was the reactionary voluntarism inspired by Mao's exhortations which enabled many entrenched bureaucrats under fire to present themselves as the true defenders of the wages, working conditions and other material interests of workers.

Once his factional opponents were vanquished or their resistance broken, and when the Mao-inspired chaos of the Red Guards threatened to mushroom completely out of control, Mao abruptly called a halt to the "two-line struggle," sending the army against the more fanatical youth while "rehabilitating" numerous "capitalist roaders" who had been purged.

The fruits of the Cultural Revolution were bitterness everywhere and a badly divided party and state apparatus. The result of the "anti-bureaucratic" struggle was that a few bureaucrats were dumped and degraded, while the Stalinist bureaucracy emerged unscathed. And the victor of the Cultural Revolution was Lin Piao.

The Chinese working class has no interest in throwing political support behind any of the factions today, any more than during the Cultural Revolution. All the groups within the bureaucracy are united in their hostility to the socialist aspirations of the proletariat. All the cliques, the "radicals" no less than the "moderates," have been willing to betray the interests of the world revolution for the sake of "détente" deals with imperialism. China's alliance with the South African apartheid regime and U.S. imperialism in Angola had the blessings of Chiang no less than Teng. Likewise, when strikes broke out in Hangchow in July 1975, it was Wang Hung-wen who first was rushed to the scene to "conciliate" the strikers.

The interests of the Chinese workers and peasants lie in smashing all wings of the counterrevolutionary Stalinist bureaucracy through proletarian political revolution. Only through ousting the bureaucratic parasites can the Chinese masses defend the conquests of the collectivized economy from genuine restorationist tendencies and world imperialism.

But this task requires the construction of a Chinese Trotskyist party, section of a reborn Fourth International. To that party will fall leadership of the struggle to sweep from the Forbidden Palace all the heirs of Mao and to forge the soviets through which the Chinese working people will extend the revolution to final victory. For unconditional defense of China and all the

bureaucratically deformed/degenerated workers states against imperialism! For workers political revolution to smash the Stalinist bureaucracy and to establish soviet democracy! ■

## Anti-Communist Exclusion Sabotages Wisconsin Strike Support

MADISON, October 28—Workers at Wisconsin Canteen have been on strike for five months, fighting to maintain their unions (International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Local 695, and Hotel and Restaurant Workers, Local 257) against a union-busting assault by management. Total lack of action by the Teamster bureaucrats and continued servicing of the Canteen vending machines by scabs has now driven some strikers back to work.

At this critical juncture the University of Wisconsin Strike Support Committee on October 18 held its biggest meeting in over a month. Were they there to talk about mobilizing students and campus workers to support the embattled strikers? No. They were there to ram through a motion excluding the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) from all Strike Support Committee activities!

The exclusion of the SYL was engineered two weeks earlier, when a steering-committee meeting rejected the SYL's motion for a united-front committee in favor of one which prohibited any participating group from publicly criticizing the strategy of the Committee. When the SYL refused to accept such anti-communist political censorship, the Teamsters for Democracy (TFD—a local union "opposition" group) unsuccessfully tried to pass a motion which would have "marshalls" keep the SYL away from Committee events.

The reason for this bureaucratic exclusion is the SYL's opposition to the impotent boycott strategy pushed by the TFD. While the SYL has supported the boycott, we have consistently championed the need for a militant strategy of mass picketing and labor solidarity.

The goon-squad tactics of the TFD so clearly hinder a successful support effort that even the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA)—whose voracious opportunist appetite has enabled it in the past not only to swallow but also to engage in anti-communist exclusionism—has had to protest. In a rare display of principle, the YSA issued a leaflet opposing the SYL's exclusion and voted for the SYL's united-front tactic. Nevertheless, the YSA remained in the exclusionist committee.

Political exclusion of left groups can only weaken strike efforts and open the door to police and company victimization. We protest this sectarian exclusionism and will continue our active support for the Canteen workers. Victory to the strike! ■

## Young Spartacus

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# Thai Coup Follows Savage Slaughter of Students

In the early morning of October 6 the 2,000 Thai students who had been occupying Thammasat University to protest the recent return from exile of former dictator Thanom Kittikachorn were besieged by a mob of frenzied right-wing students and hundreds of heavily armed police.

The confrontation on the Bangkok campus developed after leftist students had staged a protest skit which dramatized a police lynching of two workers who had been distributing anti-Thanom posters in the provinces. In a deliberate provocation the conservative Thai press accused the Thammasat students of hanging Crown Prince Vajiralongkorn in effigy.

When a shot allegedly was fired from within the barricaded campus, the police opened a deadly barrage with automatic rifles, anti-tank rockets and bazookas. Smashing the main gate of the campus with a truck, the police stormed the university and in the ensuing four-hour onslaught at least 39 students were killed and another 167 wounded.

Leftist students attempting to flee the massacre were beset by the blood-thirsty mob and savagely beaten. Many were lynched outside the university; the dangling corpses were then pummeled to a pulp, mutilated beyond recognition and burned. Inside the campus compound 1,700 students were arrested, forced to strip to the waist and then to crawl through a gamut of kicking police before being hauled away to special detention centers.

The bloodbath at Thammasat University provided the military strongmen of Thailand with a long-awaited pretext to topple the bonapartist regime of Prime Minister Seni Pramoj and re-establish military rule. No sooner had the thunder of gunfire subsided at Thammasat than a 24-man junta nominally headed by Admiral Sa-ngad Chalor-yoo announced their seizure of power. Citing an alleged "Communist plot to take over the country," the so-called "Administrative Reform Committee" immediately suspended the Thai Constitution, banned all political parties and clamped strict censorship on



ULEVICH/AP



ULEVICH/AP

the media (*Manchester Guardian*, 17 October).

In the weeks since the military coup more than 5,000 have been arrested, including thousands of suspected leftist students, bourgeois politicians and prominent intellectuals. Most of those arrested have been charged with "communist subversion" under new laws which sanction detention up to 180 days without trial. The Thai junta has postponed "democratic elections" for at least four years, and a puppet civilian government has been installed as a facade for the military dictatorship.

## October 6: Three Years Later

The spectacle of conservative students butchering leftist students in Bangkok stands in dramatic contrast to the united student struggles which three years ago to the day—6 October 1973—led to the ouster and exile of Thanom Kittakachorn and his military regime. At that time Thai students turned a struggle for the release of anti-Thanom activists into a mass uprising against military rule. When the army faction headed by General Kris Siriva refused to intervene against the student uprising, Thanom Kittikachorn and his deputy Prapas Charusathira were forced to resign.

With the establishment of a parliamentary regime, General Kris Siriva became the defense minister of the new cabinet and a behind-the-scenes power broker. According to one diplomat interviewed by the *Far Eastern Economic Review* (15 October), his influence "spread everywhere—from the right-wing descendents of Thanom's United Thai People's Party through the military to the Socialist Party and labor unions on the left."

Following the death of General Kris Siriva earlier this year, his former opponents in the military and in the conservative parties mounted a campaign to undermine the center-right coalition government, which had become paralyzed by the factional warfare within its dominant Democratic Party. The rightist press escalated its anti-communist propaganda, and in May the general secretary of the Socialist Party, Boonsanong Punyodyana, was assassinated.

The return of Thanom Kittikachorn—ostensibly to visit his aging father and to don saffron robes as a Buddhist monk—was the final provocation by the rightist forces, who as early as January had begun drafting directives for a new military regime (*New York Times*, 8 October). With the political breach within the ruling class widening, the demand by the Thammasat University students for the exile of Thanom and Prapas precipitated the coup.

The massacre at Thammasat University grimly demonstrated once again that students, especially in the economically underdeveloped countries, are a

petty-bourgeois group which tends to polarize under the pressure of social crisis. The Thai technical students, who were among the most militant anti-Thanom forces in 1973, today have become the shock troops for reaction. The role of the students in the showdown in Thailand recalls the 1965 Indonesian coup, where right-wing and orthodox Muslim students butchered Communist workers, peasants and students in the counterrevolutionary terror which claimed the lives of 500,000 to 1,000,000 people.

## For the Unconditional Defense of the Deformed Workers States

Without doubt the military regime in Thailand will seek closer relations with U.S. imperialism, which already pours \$54.1 million a year in military aid into Thailand. As the most powerful remaining capitalist state in Southeast Asia, Thailand represents a launching pad for imperialist aggression against the deformed workers states of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. In the face of the Thai coup we reaffirm our position for the unconditional defense of the deformed workers states against imperialism and its allies in Thailand.

At the same time, we point out that the Stalinist bureaucracies misruling in Indochina are interested not in promoting the overthrow of the Thai ruling class but only in pursuing "peaceful coexistence." Following the destruction of capitalist class rule in South Vietnam the Hanoi bureaucracy pledged not to interfere in the "internal affairs" of Thailand (*Manchester Guardian*, 7 August).

Seeking to counterbalance so-called "Soviet social-imperialism" in Indochina, the Peking Stalinist regime has advocated maintenance of U.S. military bases in Thailand, even during the Vietnam war when the American imperialists were launching their bombing raids into Cambodia from Thailand. In late 1974, moreover, Chou En-lai assured the Thai military that "China had stopped supporting insurgents in Thailand" (quoted in the SYL pamphlet, *China's Alliance With U.S. Imperialism*).

By sacrificing the interests of the international proletarian revolution on the altar of "detente," the treacherous Stalinist bureaucracies pave the way for counterrevolutionary coups, from Indonesia in 1965 to Thailand today. The defense and extension of the revolutionary gains of the Indochinese states requires a political revolution by the workers and peasants to smash the anti-revolutionary Stalinist bureaucracies and establish direct proletarian rule through soviets and a revolutionary party.

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## Hungary...

continued from page 3

through the "two-line struggle," avoiding the "capitalist road," standing up to "evil winds" and "frying in oil" those who sought to "turn bad things into good things" or "juggle black and white."

### Crisis of Revolutionary Leadership

The Hungarian workers revolution had its many illusions and contradictions. The most serious of these were the widespread nationalism among the insurgents and the workers councils' toleration of and sometime support for the ineffectual coalition "government" headed by Imre Nagy, a "liberal" Stalinist reformer who attempted to appease Moscow while calling on the workers to disarm. Imre Nagy's government cut loose from the Soviet-dominated "Warsaw Pact" military alliance, proclaiming its "independence" and even appealing for "aid" from the United Nations.

Objectively, the growing authority

of the workers councils and the limited authority of the Imre Nagy government were counterposed. The Stalinist counter-revolutionaries—and they had this in common with those who sought to restore capitalism—could achieve their aims only through smashing the workers councils.

The task of the workers councils should have been the conquest of total power and the fight to internationalize the revolution by spreading it to the other Eastern European countries, to Russia and China and the rest of the deformed workers states and linking up with a social revolution in the capitalist West. For the achievement of this task, a Trotskyist vanguard party, fighting for a full Leninist program, was an ironclad necessity.

The fundamental tragedy of the Hungarian revolution—and the key to its defeat—was that no such party existed in the Hungary of 1956.

Despite this fatal lack of revolutionary leadership, the Hungarian revolution of 1956 is the clearest example to date of a nascent *proletarian political revolution* against the parasitic rule of the Stalinist bureaucratic caste. As such it is part of the revolutionary heritage of the international proletariat and a harbinger of even greater future struggles. ■

## Madison Witchhunt Defeated

OCTOBER 27—A united defense effort at the University of Wisconsin in Madison scored a victory last week when a McCarthy-style witchhunt against four left groups on campus was abandoned.

The united-front defense was initiated by the SYL after a complaint—filed by Leonard Kachinsky, treasurer of the College Republicans, against the SYL, Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL) and Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB)—provoked an investigation by the Dane County District Attorney. The pretext for the investigation was a state law requiring the registration of any group that collects or spends \$25 a year for "political activities," which is defined as attempting to influence an election.

Formed on the basis of the demands "Stop the Harassment!" and "Drop the Investigation!," the defense committee had gathered widespread support for a protest against this anti-communist harassment. While the RSB and YWLL refused to join, the SYL and YSA issued a joint defense statement, circulated a petition and held a press conference. At a public defense meeting statements

of solidarity were received from Finley Campbell (professor of Afro-American Studies and co-chairperson of the Committee Against Racism), the Teaching Assistants Association (AFT Local 3220) and the Wisconsin Socialist Party.

Faced with the defense campaign, the DA decided on October 18 to drop the charges on the basis that the law did not apply to the four groups. Kachinsky withdrew the charges and publicly "apologized" for any "inconvenience" he may have caused the organizations involved.

During the campaign, the different defense strategies of the organizations under attack were sharply contrasted. The YWLL supporters stated that they would do nothing unless legal action were taken against them. The RSB, while participating in the press conference and public meeting, refused to commit itself to any joint defense, saying the best way to stop the investigation was to "organize to expose the elections."

In contrast to this sectarian passivity, the SYL made it clear that we would oppose any attempts by the state to require disclosure of membership lists or financial statements of left organizations. We asserted our commitment to the principle of unconditional defense of the workers movement against attacks by the government and the right.

From the beginning the YSA demonstrated its overwhelming commitment to civil-libertarian legalism. These reformists shrank from the necessary task of emphasizing the anti-communist nature of the investigation, stressing instead that the election law did not apply to them. Indeed, the YSA was hesitant even to call the harassment "McCarthyite," saying that some people would mistake Eugene for Joe! Preaching reliance on lawsuits in the capitalist courts, the YSA refused to call for the abolition of the registration law, since the Socialist Workers Party had a suit pending against it!

For its part, the SYL recognizes that the reactionary registration laws provide a means for victimization and intimidation of the left and workers movement, and we raise the call for their abolition. We maintain that anti-communist harassment cannot be effectively fought by limiting the defense to the bosses' courts, although all legal channels should be utilized. Rather, we base our defense policies on the perspective of mobilization of broad labor and campus support in united action. ■

## Protests Hit Chilean Junta Lackeys



University of Chicago.



University of California at Berkeley.

On September 29 a spirited picket line protesting the scheduled appearance of Dr. Carlos Schlessinger at the Berkeley campus of the University of California forced this Chilean "academic" to cancel his forum.

The demonstration, which had been called by Non-Intervention in Chile (NICH) and endorsed by the Spartacus Youth League (SYL), was in response to Schlessinger's role as a member of the Consejo Nacional Para la Alimentación y Nutrición (National Nutrition Council) of Chile. Faced with the protest, Schlessinger indicated his "preference not to become involved with a threatened student picket line and probable harassment" and was forced to call off his seminar.

Schlessinger's talk, which was sponsored by the Department of Nutritional Sciences, was entitled, "Some Aspects of Food and Nutrition Programs in Chile!" What an outrage! Since the September 1973 coup which toppled the popular-front regime headed by Salvador Allende, the Chilean generals have launched a vicious austerity drive designed to nurse the Chilean capitalists'

profits back to health by bleeding the workers and poor peasants. Unemployment has soared, while social services and welfare measures benefiting the working people have been slashed. Investigations by various international humanitarian agencies report widespread malnutrition in Chile, especially among children, and near starvation in some areas. The economic "shock treatment" ruthlessly administered by the Chilean *gorillas* has forced even more of Santiago's poor to scavenge in garbage dumps for scraps of food and rags of clothing.

Unlike the Department of Nutritional Sciences, which regretted "not having an opportunity to learn of current social welfare programs in Chile," the SYL actively struggles against those who collaborate in the junta's assault upon the Chilean workers and poor. Mass-starvation schemes in Chile are not a seminar subject of academic interest, but represent a direct threat to the Chilean proletariat!

On October 14 another affront to the victims of the Chilean and other bloodthirsty rightist dictatorships was recorded as "Chicago-boy" Mil-

ton Friedman received the Nobel Prize for Economics from the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences. At the University of Chicago the next day, the SYL, which for the past year has been waging a campaign to expose and protest the role of Friedman's economic "shock treatment" programs in Chile, led a militant picket line outside a previously scheduled campus lecture by Friedman.

Organized on short notice, the SYL-called demonstration drew about 20 people, including SYL supporters and members of the New-Leftish New World Resource Center. The SYL placards at the demonstration carried the slogans, "Friedman's 'Achievement': Starvation in Chile!" "Imperialist Award Equals International Bourgeois Support for Junta" and "Smash the Junta Through Workers Revolution."

The guise of academic respectability cannot hide the crimes of the Schlessingers and Friedmans—the intellectual hired guns of Pinochet—against the Chilean working class. Drive the junta's lackeys off campus through protest and exposure!

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### Ann Arbor

### -Corrections-

In the October issue of *Young Spartacus* the article "Campus Strikes From Coast to Coast" reported that at the Madison campus of the University of Wisconsin the social-democratic International Socialists has been participating in the Canteen Strike Support Committee, which has been attempting to build a student boycott of vending machines in support of striking food service workers. On the contrary, the IS has not been participating in the Committee. The same article also stated that the Committee, having in advance denied the SYL a speaker at a scheduled strike-support rally on campus, failed to even have a speakers platform. In fact, there was a speakers platform, but nevertheless the SYL was denied the right to speak. ■

# CHALLENGE TO YSA FOR NATIONAL DEBATE

## What Policy To Defeat Fascist Threats And Racist Mobilizations?

EDITOR'S NOTE: We reprint below a letter recently sent by the National Bureau of the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) to the leadership of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) proposing a debate between the two organizations on the question of how to defeat racist terror. This debate challenge was first sent to the Bay Area YSA by the SYL at San Francisco State University exactly one month ago. Since then, the Bay Area SYL has received no formal reply from the YSA. We are now publicly challenging the YSA national leadership to debate.

28 October 1976

Young Socialist Alliance  
New York, New York

Dear Comrades:

In the last few years, our two organizations have been in constant conflict over what policy to pursue in the face of fascist and right-wing mobilization. In Boston, where the Ku Klux Klan, the Nazis and other right-wing paramilitary outfits have been on the assault against the black community, the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) has called and organized for the formation of a labor/black defense to defeat the racists and ensure the success of the busing plan, while the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) has called for Gerald Ford's imperialist troops to enter Boston to "defend" the black community. In 1975, at San Francisco State University, we helped organize student protest against the appearance on campus of

Nazi party members, succeeding in driving these scum off campus, while the YSA condemned our actions, calling for "free speech" for these fascists.

We of the SYL think that the only way to defeat the fascist threat is the mass mobilization of the working class, that the "neutral" troops of the federal government, the very same troops that massacred Vietnamese and brutally invaded the black ghetto throughout the 1960's, will only be used to prevent the independent mobilization of labor and the oppressed in rolling back right-wing attacks. We oppose "free speech" for the fascists, as these groups are organized for *action*, and the only way to defeat them is to bring the organized, mass strength of the working class and oppressed minorities to bear. We have nothing to debate with the murderers of Buchenwald, or lynch-mob thugs; we seek their destruction as an organized movement.

Though the SYL considers your position on fascism to be cowardly and reformist, we nevertheless feel that the issue is important enough to warrant a debate between our respective organizations. This debate will provide an opportunity to fully clarify and counterpose the differences between our organizations.

We have noted that your organization has printed a great deal of material dealing with our position on fascism, and what you allege it to be. In a recent document published by your parent organization, the Socialist Workers Party, you state: "In dealing with the question of how to fight the Nazis at San Francisco State... we have the problem of differen-

tiating ourselves from the Spartacus Youth League without appearing to be siding just a little bit with the Nazis, without appearing to be soft" (*Counter-mobilization*, page 12). Well, comrades, this is your chance. As you have debated right-wing groups around the country, any unwillingness to debate the SYL can only be construed as just such a "softness" on your part. Do you find it more productive to debate with racists who are agitating for violence against the black community, than debating the SYL on how to defeat these organizations?

Technical and organizational details for the debate can be best handled through discussion between our two organizations. We look forward to receiving your reply.

National Bureau  
Spartacus Youth League

Past issues of *Young Spartacus* with a three-part series replying to the "free speech for fascists" policy of the YSA are still available from the SYL national office at 25 cents per issue. Our polemic against calling for federal troops to Boston to "protect" black people and the labor movement from right-wing mobilizations is contained in the SYL pamphlet, *For Labor/Black Defense to Stop Racist Attacks and to Smash Fascist Threats*, likewise available from the SYL for 75 cents. Mail/pay to: Spartacus Youth Publishing Co., Box 825, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

## NSCAR...

continued from page 12

virtual impunity. Far from rallying a defense of black people, the flock of liberals and Democratic Party politicians who had agreed to sponsor the April 24 march abruptly withdrew their endorsements and scrambled to join Mayor Kevin White's "March Against Violence," which had been called only after a white man was seriously injured in a racial confrontation.

### Passing the Buck

Even now, after six months, the SWP/YSA still feels compelled to attempt to "explain" why its so-called "independent mass action" collapsed. In a speech before the 1976 SWP National Convention, "Where the Struggle for School Desegregation Stands" (*Militant*, 15 October) YSA leader Malik Miah attempts to lay the entire blame for the April 24 debacle at the doorstep of the liberal black leaders in the city government. According to Miah, it was City Hall's "refusal to stop the bigots" and the black leaders' "default" and "class collaboration" which "made it impossible to mount an effective political campaign to pressure City Hall to protect black and white marchers on April 24." In other words, the SWP/YSA-NSCAR couldn't pressure the black liberals and Democrats into pressuring city hall to protect the march to pressure the government to defend black rights. Some "independent" strategy!

Moreover, after hypocritically warning against "illusions that the government and the Democratic and Republican parties will protect black rights," Miah turns around and calls for an "independent mass movement [to] force the government to use its military might to enforce black civil rights." But as Miah is forced to admit, NSCAR's weekend parades to pressure the racist, imperialist government to defend black rights have left the "relationship of forces" in Boston "unfavorable for supporters of busing."

As the suppression of ghetto rebellions in Watts and Detroit demonstrated so brutally, federal troops can be relied upon only to restore racist "law and order" and to smash any independent black self-defense. Perhaps Bernadette Devlin McAllister, who is one of the scheduled speakers for the NSCAR conference, will recount

the role of British troops in Northern Ireland? In 1969 social-democrat Bernadette Devlin supported the sending of troops to "protect" the Catholic minority in Ulster. But far from "protecting" the working people from sectarian violence, the British army occupation has meant martial law, preventative detention and torture, mainly directed against the Catholics. Subsequently, Devlin dropped her support to the occupation.

### Old Garbage, New Grab-Bag

Defending its disastrous liberal strategy with cynical rationalizations of the April 24 defeat, the SWP/YSA maintains the *defeatist* position that protest actions in defense of desegregation in Boston should be postponed until such time as an array of "prominent" liberals and black Democrats can be enlisted. With the same passivity, the SWP/YSA turns a blind eye to fascist attacks and provocations, preaching that the best way to deal with these small gangs of would-be storm troopers is to champion their so-called "right" to free speech and assembly!

Unable to offer any effective program for defeating the racist offensive in Boston and for driving forward the struggle for black equality, the SWP/YSA has turned its empty-shell NSCAR from a "single-issue" pro-busing coalition into a catch-all "anti-racist" grab bag, not unlike the sub-reformist Committee Against Racism controlled by the Progressive Labor Party. In terms of an activist orientation, however, NSCAR has decided to focus on the issue of apartheid in South Africa.

Demonstrations and other protest actions against apartheid and the police terror in South Africa are indeed necessary. For example, the SYL in Chicago recently initiated two united-front demonstrations against apartheid repression (see page 12 of this issue). At the same time, the SYL continues to call for concrete actions in support of busing and against the racist violence in Boston. In March the SYL organized a broadly endorsed pro-busing rally at Boston University, which the SWP/YSA refused to support and even attempted to sabotage (see "Support Busing! Stop the Racist Terror!", *Young Spartacus*, April 1976).

But NSCAR has seized upon the issue of South Africa as a *substitute* for an activist campaign in defense of desegregation in Boston. At the re-

cent NSCAR steering committee meeting a "National Day of Student Protests Against U.S. Complicity With Racist Regimes in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe" was called for sometime in February on the basis of five demands: "No U.S. aid to South Africa; Boycott South Africa—U.S. corporations out; No campus complicity with South Africa; Free all South African political prisoners; No to apartheid—Black majority rule now."

The key slogan, "no to apartheid, black majority rule now," represents neither a revolutionary perspective nor even a fully democratic slogan. It projects only a fight for democratic rights within the framework of capitalism. To shatter the caste oppression of the South African black workers and unlock the class struggle, it is necessary to *smash* apartheid. As part of this struggle against the complete disenfranchisement of the black people we raise the democratic demand for a constituent assembly elected on the basis of universal suffrage. But our program does not stop with the struggle for democratic rights. We point out the necessity for the construction of a Trotskyist party in South Africa and for proletarian revolution which will smash the capitalist state and bring to power a workers and peasants government centered on the black proletariat.

In addition, several of these slogans imply a permanent, total economic boycott of South Africa. Socialists certainly

should oppose all military aid to South Africa. Moreover, given the unrelenting police terror unleashed against black anti-apartheid demonstrations, at this time to "hot-cargo" goods from South Africa would be an appropriate act of international labor protest.

But, unlike the Stalinists and many liberals, we do not advocate an *unlimited* and total boycott of South Africa. Far from offering any strategy for destroying apartheid, such a boycott, to the extent that it is enforced over a period of time, would tend to increase black unemployment and consequently retribalization, thereby further crippling the capacity of black people to struggle.

Furthermore, militants must oppose the classless, civil-libertarian demand for the freedom of *all* political prisoners, counterposing the call for the freedom of all victims of apartheid repression. Given the history of ultrarightist and even pro-Nazi organizations in South Africa, there are undoubtedly fascist political prisoners in Vorster's prisons. Just as we do not recognize democratic rights for fascists, we do not fight for their freedom.

While the issues raised by NSCAR are new, its strategy is simply a continuation of the liberal protest politics which, through reliance on the government and rejection of a class perspective, led to the defeat of April 24. It is to the Trotskyist program and revolutionary practice of the SYL which militants who are serious about fighting for black equality must turn. ■

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# Young Spartacus

## After Six-Month Dive On Busing...

# NSCAR Gropes for New Gimmicks

BOSTON, October 26—As court-ordered busing moves into its third year here, racist opposition to school desegregation continues to simmer.

Yesterday a one-day school boycott called to protest "forced busing" brought renewed racist violence aimed at black students attending formerly all-white public high schools. The racist hooligans who are now attempting to spearhead another reactionary mass mobilization against black people and their democratic rights must be stopped!

Before dawn six bottles of gasoline and a burning flare came crashing through the windows of a South Boston High School classroom. Only by accident did the flare sputter and fail to ignite a conflagration.

Several hours later a stick of dynamite was discovered at the front door of Charlestown High School. Again, only a defective fuse prevented a blast which would have ripped through the building.

Emboldened by these attempted terror bombings, gangs of white students, who were boycotting classes, later in the day taunted and threatened the black students attending integrated schools. Several times the white gangs tangled with the cops, and 22 were reported arrested.

The left and labor movement must champion the all-sided integration of black people and support busing as a measure which, although limited, enforces their democratic right to equal access to public educational facilities. From the beginning of busing in Boston the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League has demanded the implementation of busing and its extension to the suburbs and has called for the formation of a *labor/black defense* to defend black people from racist attack (see the SYL pamphlet, *The Fight to Implement Busing*).

It is against the background of this continuing racist intimidation and violence that the National Student Coali-

tion Against Racism (NSCAR), the pro-busing front group of the reformist Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA), has announced its "third national conference" to be held in Boston on November 19-21.

However, ever since the fiasco of their aborted April 24 "March on Boston," the SWP/YSA and its captive NSCAR have failed to raise even their usual liberal pabulum calling for actions in defense of busing. At the NSCAR steering committee meeting called four days ago to promote the upcoming conference, Maceo Dixon, a leader of the SWP/YSA and main spokesman for NSCAR, discussed busing only briefly.

Before the cancellation of the April 24 "March on Boston," the SWP/YSA endlessly prattled that the "pressure" of liberal public opinion and protest could force the racist cops to "protect" black people and in fact had "demoralized" the racists. When on April 5 white youth savagely attacked black attorney Theodore Landsmark outside

City Hall, the *Militant* (30 April) went so far as to describe a liberal protest at the City Council chambers as a powerful blow to the racists:

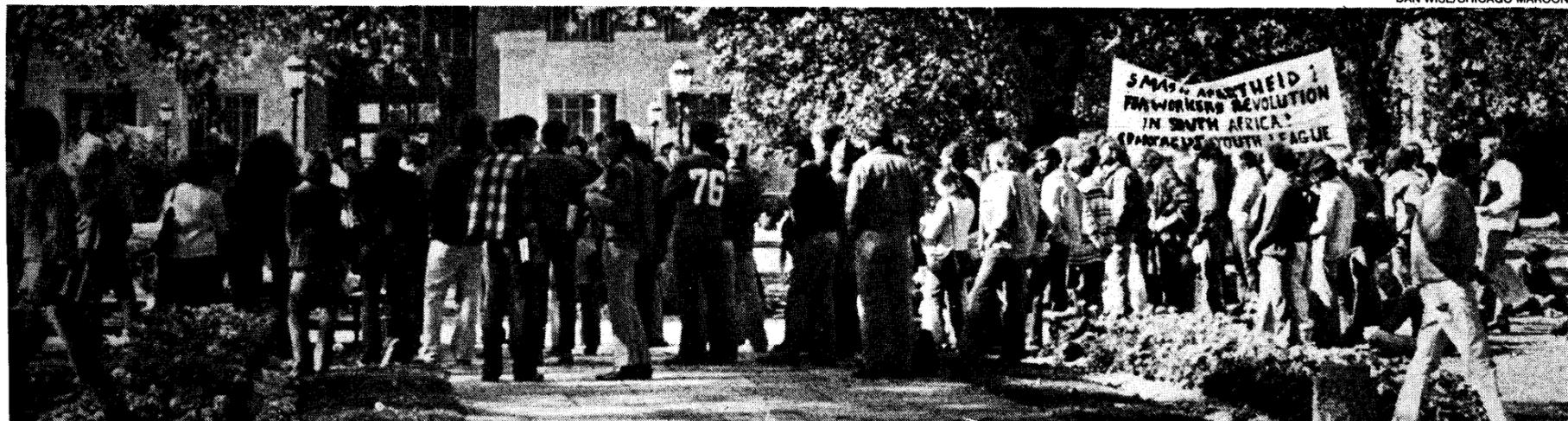
"This meeting is a big victory for pro-black forces in Boston," said Maceo Dixon, as he settled into Louise Day Hicks' oversized real leather chair in Boston's City Council chambers. . . . 'It [the attack on Landsmark] has put the racists on the defensive. The real hot-heads, the most violent anti-black thugs are isolated,' he said."

Yet this same issue of the *Militant* carried the announcement that the April 24 "March on Boston" had just been cancelled! Emboldened by the absence of any significant organized defense of busing, the vigilante squads spearheading the racist mobilization went on the *offensive*. Far from "protecting" black rights, the Boston cops swarmed into black communities to halt "black violence," while the racist goons launched their night-riding attacks with

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# Chicago Demos Blast Apartheid Repression

DAN WISE/CHICAGO MAROON



"Smash apartheid!" This slogan capped the militant demands raised in two recent united-front demonstrations in Chicago initiated by the Spartacus Youth League (SYL). Under the slogans "Stop Racist Police Terror in South Africa!", "Free All Prisoners of Apartheid Repression!", "End All Military Aid to South Africa!" and "Smash Apartheid!", students at the Chicago Circle campus of the University of Illinois (UICC) and the University of Chicago (UC) demonstrated in solidarity with the struggles against apartheid which have rocked South Africa since June.

At UICC on October 7 spokesmen from the SYL, the Maoist Revolutionary Student Brigade and the Revolutionary Socialist League, as well as prominent labor historian Sidney Lens, addressed the rally. SYL banners carried at the demonstration pointed the way forward for the oppressed masses in South Africa: "Smash Apartheid—For Workers Revolution in South Africa!" and "For A Trotskyist Party in South Africa!"

One week later, on October 14, over 150 students and campus employees at the UC turned out for the anti-apartheid protest. It was the largest demonstration at UC since the SYL-initiated campaign last fall against UC professor Milton Friedman, now notor-

ious as the economic braintruster for the Chilean junta and apologist for the white-supremacist Rhodesian and South African regimes.

Among the endorsers of the UC rally were 24 UC faculty members; Dick Gregory; Constantine Cacheris, vice president of the UC Council of Service Employees International Union, Local 321; Archie Campbell, president of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, Local 1657; the Partisan Defense Committee; Spartacist League and SYL; Studs Terkel; Eddison Zvogbo, Zimbabwe African National Union; UC Women's Union; Labor Struggle Caucus, United Auto Workers, Local 6; UC Student Government; the Revolutionary Socialist League; and Dennis Brutus, a well-known exiled South African poet.

Refusing to endorse the rally was the New Left/social-democratic New American Movement (NAM). Not only did NAM boycott the successful rally, but earlier these dilettantes used their campus "parliamentarians" to initiate an unsuccessful attempt to sabotage Student Government support for the demonstration.

Speakers at the UC rally included representatives of the Student Government, Partisan Defense Committee, Revolutionary Socialist League and SYL, as well as UC professor Melvin

Rothenburg and Dennis Brutus. In his speech Brutus, who once was arrested by the South African secret police and imprisoned on the infamous Robben Island, pointed out that while the Vorster regime admits killing nearly 400 black South Africans, the death toll in fact is much higher. He cited reports that more than 2,000 bodies have been counted in mortuaries, hospitals and on the streets of the black townships. Brutus noted that Vorster, Vorster's brother (who is head of the state church) and the South African secret police chief were all interned during World War II for their pro-Nazi activities, and added, "the interests served in Southern Africa are the interests of western capitalism, of imperialism, of the 350 American corporations operating in South Africa."

Next, SYL spokesman Brian Mendis emphasized the central role of the powerful South African proletariat in the struggle against apartheid. Demands for the abolition of the industrial color bar, the discriminatory wage rates, the contract labor system and the bantustan schemes, and for the right to organize political parties and trade unions, are key in the struggle to mobilize the workers against apartheid and pave the way to socialist revolution.

"Apartheid is capitalism with no holds barred," said Mendis. "Super-

profits are being reaped from the blood and the sweat of black workers." He concluded by stressing that "the massive upsurge against white supremacy must be linked to a revolutionary socialist party and the struggle for socialism. For the smashing of apartheid! For a Trotskyist Party in South Africa! Forward to a communist Southern Africa!" ■

YOUNG SPARTACUS



SYL has sponsored numerous forums on South Africa recently. SYLer speaks at Wayne State.