

Young Spartacus

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NOVEMBER 1977

Economist

Free All Victims of Apartheid Terror!

Police State Crackdown in South Africa

OCTOBER 27—Since the prison murder of Black People's Convention (BPC) leader Stephen Biko last month, Pretoria's white-supremacist rulers have staged one of the most widespread crackdowns on political dissent in the last decade. To date, 18 anti-apartheid organizations have been proscribed, more than 70 opponents of the regime have been incarcerated in the same jails where Biko was killed and many leading political figures have been "banned" (legally forbidden to engage in political activity).

News of Biko's death rekindled not only the black protest which has been flaring up since the Soweto rebellion of June of last year, but divisions among South Africa's whites as well. Attuned to international protest over the death, the *Rand Daily Mail* (the house organ of industrial magnate Harry Oppenheimer) faced down government threats of censorship and openly refuted the fantastic police claim of a "hunger-strike suicide." Echoing the "liberal" English-language South African press, the British *Economist* (15 October) reported:

"The body weighed 13 stone 12 pounds [194 pounds], which was not consistent with the idea of a prolonged hunger strike. There was a bruise, four inches in diameter on the forehead, marks which looked like burns on the body, and, according to the [Johannesburg] Sun-

day Express, severe damage to the rib cage. Mr. Biko's brain, it seems, was badly damaged."

Having announced that general elections would be held on November 30, Vorster quickly struck down the political opposition—black and white. Among the banned groups were the sole remaining legal black political organizations. The ban extends from the South African Students Organization (SASO) and other expressions of the "black consciousness movement," to the professionals and businessmen of the Soweto Committee of Ten and the Christian Institute of South Africa. The principal black newspaper of South Africa, *The World*, was closed; its editor, Percy Qoboza and the white editor of the *Daily Dispatch*, Donald Woods, were also subjected to the five years of house detention known as "banning."

Enter Andrew Young

Biko's death in a Pretoria prison and the subsequent round-up of opponents of the Vorster regime produced a cry of outrage internationally, including from the imperialist camp. The Carter administration's black mouthpiece, Andrew Young, led off a flurry of sanctimonious chest-beating with a speech in favor of limited sanctions against the apartheid regime. On October 25, the U.S. indicated it might go along with a proposed UN embargo on arms sales to Pretoria—the only concrete commitment which Washington has even hinted at. Although we have long advocated *labor action* to hot-cargo arms shipments to the butchers of Soweto, we recognize the U.S. actions for what they are: simply the latest in the cynical "human rights" bluster of the Carter administration. Young tried to turn attention against the Soviet Union, claiming that the arrests were "tragic" and reminded him of "Stalinist action."

The world outcry against the most recent repression is mainly attributable to the moderate nature of those arrested or banned—as well as Biko himself. The god-fearing Percy Qoboza and Donald Woods are the political favorites of the Western European and American rulers. In addition to the personal ties they maintain to American liberals, they are seen as the pro-Western opposition to apartheid and a defense against the "African Socialists" of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), the Soviet-backed African National Congress (ANC), or the nameless high school militants of Soweto. One need only compare the current



Mourners escort coffin of Stephen Biko, murdered leader of the Black People's Convention

hue and cry with the paucity of concern over the banning of the ANC and PAC or for the victims of the Soweto massacre. The mutterings about sanctions, the recall of several ambassadors and similar gestures are an indication of imperialist disapproval of Vorster's latest attack on South African bourgeois liberalism. According to these statesmen for "human rights," the white-supremacist regime should stabilize capitalist rule through some modicum of concessions to the tiny black middle class which Qoboza or the Committee of Ten represent.

The defense of all victims of apartheid terror and of basic democratic rights in South Africa is a central axis of international proletarian solidarity. But we do not call on U.S. imperialism, or its occasional tool, the UN (as in Korea and the Congo), to reform away the apartheid system. The Carter administration by a few empty phrases directed against Vorster would present itself as the defender of democratic rights around the world—as it continues to arm to the teeth dictatorships in Chile, Iran and South Korea! Revolutionaries can give no credence to the aspirations of U.S. imperialism, the most reactionary power on the planet, to act as moral saviors of the oppressed.

Carter's liberal moralizing intends only to advise the Vorster regime on how to make Southern Africa safe for imperialist investment. The British bourgeoisie on the other hand, with the experience of centuries of colonial rule under their belt, have opted for pushing a softer line. The same *Economist* article which asks "How did Steve Biko die?" advises Vorster to keep a stiff upper lip:

"One way of silencing the press for the time being would be for the authorities to publish the autopsy findings and make charges in connection with Mr. Biko's death against some lowly policeman or prison warden. The whole matter would then become sub judice until the trial, and the trial could be delayed until Mr. Vorster's election on November 30th is over and memories of the Biko affair are dimmed."

Sharpeville and Soweto

Vorster chose not to take the advice of either his American or British big broth-

ers. With top cop James Kruger (who first maintained that Biko's death was "routine") at his side, Vorster now portrays all opposition to his latest police-state measures as being nothing more than the handiwork of front-men for a terrorist conspiracy along the lines of the IRA or Red Army Faction. Vorster recently attacked white liberals, "If we did not act against individuals and organizations as we acted in the 1960's, you and I would not be sitting here tonight" (*New York Times*, 22 October).

The reference to the 1960's can mean nothing other than the infamous Sharpeville massacre. In March 1960, 69 demonstrators in this black township were gunned down in cold blood and 178 wounded while protesting the racist pass law system. In its aftermath, thousands of anti-racist militants were arrested. Then, as now, the banning of oppositional organizations and newspapers extended even to the white liberals: in 1960, the leadership of the Liberal Party, in 1977, Donald Woods.

Unfortunately for Vorster and the white supremacist regime, there is one crucial difference. Sharpeville and the subsequent round-ups silenced mass outbreaks for a decade, permitting the government to easily quash the major black political organizations, the ANC and PAC. The new upsurge, beginning in 1973 with the emergence of the South African Students Organization and a student movement embracing blacks, Indians and "Coloureds" (mulattoes) and the simultaneous strikes of black and Indian workers, has not been crushed.

The protests which rocked the black townships following the uprising of high school students in Soweto continued after the murder of Biko. Neither the mass arrest of 1,200 black student demonstrators at the University of Fort Hare nor the vicious attacks on mourners travelling to Biko's funeral silenced the massive outcry. As tens of thousands gathered to bury Biko, small scale revolts broke out across the country. School boycotts expanded in scope in Soweto and one black youth was killed by the

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THE GERMAN REVOLUTION OF 1848



SEE PAGE SIX

EDITORIAL NOTE

FBI Claims New Leftists "Cuban Agents"

On October 8 the FBI released a "top secret" report alleging that the Cuban and North Vietnamese governments had covertly aided the New Leftist Weather Underground Organization (WUO). The August 1976 report charged that the American antiwar movement had been manipulated through the medium of international peace conferences held in Eastern Europe and North Vietnam and that Hanoi had encouraged the 1969 streetfighting campaign in Chicago known as the "Days of Rage."

Claiming to draw on information from the CIA and various domestic and foreign police agencies, the FBI also alleged that members of Cuba's General Directorate of Intelligence, attached to the Cuban Mission to the UN, were in contact with the WUO after they went

out the shopworn fables of "Cuban subversion."

In light of the Cuban and Vietnamese Stalinists' desire to appease American liberals, the FBI's latest charges are almost laughable. Castro devotes ever more attention to mindless interviews with Barbara Walters than to American radicals. The most the Havana regime has done has been to allow a few Americans political exile in Cuba.

Since the 1962 "missile crisis," the Cuban regime ("90 miles off the Florida coast") has been targetted by right-wing public opinion as the source of all manner of violence and subversion in the Western Hemisphere. While the CIA passes off stories speculating that Castro commissioned the assassination of John Kennedy or was involved in a supposed plot by the San Francisco-based New World Liberation Front to assassinate Gerald Ford and Ronald Reagan, it is the CIA which is implicated in numerous attempts to murder Castro (including one bizarre attempt to administer a drug which would cause his beard to fall out).

Although the Cuban Watergate burglars may have believed that McGovern was on the Cuban payroll, there is absolutely no proof that Havana ever provided material aid to American radicals for any sort of terrorism. The New Left was not a "Manchurian Candidate" writ large, nor were its origins and growth attributable to any foreign conspiracy. Even by its own standards of slander and allegation, the FBI's findings fail to hold water.

For example, the FBI "discovered" that WUO contacts were centralized through the Cuban embassy in Canada with the code name "Delgado." Anyone even vaguely familiar with the New Left remembers "Delgado" as none other than Marion Delgado, the California youth who the New Left at the height of its childishness raised to the level of a folk hero for having laid a brick on a railroad track that caused a train to derail. Similarly, the extent of "military training" of the Venceremos Brigades consisted of the more-or-less adequate use of a machete on sugar cane. While the Weathermen were full of voluntarist notions of how to "bring the war home" to "the heart of the imperialist monster" through militarist adventurism, few were foolhardy enough to imagine the "U.S. military-industrial complex" would be jewelled by one fell swoop of a machete.

If some New Lefters did indeed ask for some basic instructions in the use of arms, this was hardly characteristic of the Venceremos Brigades. Even the *New York Times* (9 October) concluded, "the report appeared to be more significant for the paucity of support by Communist bloc nations than for the extent of it."

While much of the New Left did come to solidarize with Cuban Stalinism, it was, as we wrote in our basic document *Youth, Class and Party*, the result of:

"... the conflict between liberal idealism and the reactionary character of American society and government policy... opposition to Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations' attempts to crush the Cuban Revolution was motivated less by solidarity with the social revolution in Cuba than by repulsion at the naked intervention of the U.S. in other countries."

The New Left, not unlike today's right-wingers, took Castro's militant internationalist rhetoric for good coin. But the attempt to distinguish the manifest conservatism and opportunism of the Soviet bureaucracy from the apparent militancy of "Third World" Stalinism (as with China, Cuba and the Vietnamese National Liberation Front) was short lived. Long before the

death of Ernesto "Che" Guevara in Bolivia a decade ago, the Cuban deformed workers stated showed every intention of trading anti-imperialist rhetoric for diplomatic favors. Today the Castro regime supports the "progressive" military regimes of Peru and Panama and the bourgeois populism of Manley in Jamaica— not to mention the "patriotic" armed forces of Allende's Chile before the Pinochet coup.

LNS



Venceremos Brigade with sugar cane harvest.

The Weathermen believed they could replicate the exploits of Castro's July 26 Movement and aid the "Third World" struggles by engaging in isolated, futile terrorist actions against symbols of American imperialism. In so doing they wrote off the working class as a force for revolution, dooming themselves to political impotence.

Ironically, while imperialism's hit-men slander the WUO as Havana's agents, the American left rushed to disassociate itself from the Weathermen when they were under attack from the FBI—the worst example being Progressive Labor which labelled the Weathermen cop agents! The forerunners of the SYL struggled to win Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) to the defense of the Weathermen, and today we are one of the few groups calling for dropping all outstanding charges against the Weather Underground. *Hands off the Weather Underground! U.S. imperialism: Hands off the Cuban Revolution!* ■

LETTER

The following letter was received by the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC). The PDC is a class-struggle, anti-sectarian defense organization which is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League. For information on the Michigan State trial see "Hands Off Iranian Militants," *Young Spartacus* No. 57, September 1977.

Partisan Defense Committee September 15, 1977
Box 633, Canal Street Station
New York, New York 10013

Dear Friends:

Thank you for your support and solidarity. The charges against our two Iranian friends have been dropped, due in part, to the pressure put on the prosecuting attorney by the letters and telegrams from across the country. Your generous gift will help to defray the attorney costs so far.

The struggle continues,
Kathy Sigman
for the Committee to Stop the MSU-Iran Film Project



Marion ("Live Like Him") Delgado reenacting 1947 derailling of train. New Left Notes appeared listing Delgado as editor.

underground, and that Cuba aided their travel to Europe. Lastly it is claimed that members of the Venceremos Brigades (groups of Americans who had gone to Cuba to harvest sugar cane as an act of solidarity with the Cuban Revolution) were either trained in guerrilla warfare or encouraged to infiltrate the U.S. government.

No doubt these tales of Cuban aid soothe the wounded egos of the FBI, which had been able to capture only a few members of the Weather Underground before one faction opted for "inversion" (surfacing). More significant, however, if the WUO could be passed off as "secret agents" the FBI's increasingly well publicized "dirty tricks" against the left could, in their eyes, be written off as "legitimate counterintelligence measures." In 1970 a furious J. Edgar Hoover authorized "any means necessary" to catch the Weathermen, including illegal break-ins, wiretapping and mail opening. After years of surveillance on thousands of Americans, FBI agent John Kearney has now been indicted for illegal wiretapping in connection with the FBI's manhunt of the WUO—predictably the FBI has dutifully looked out for one of its "own" and now trots

Young Spartacus

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

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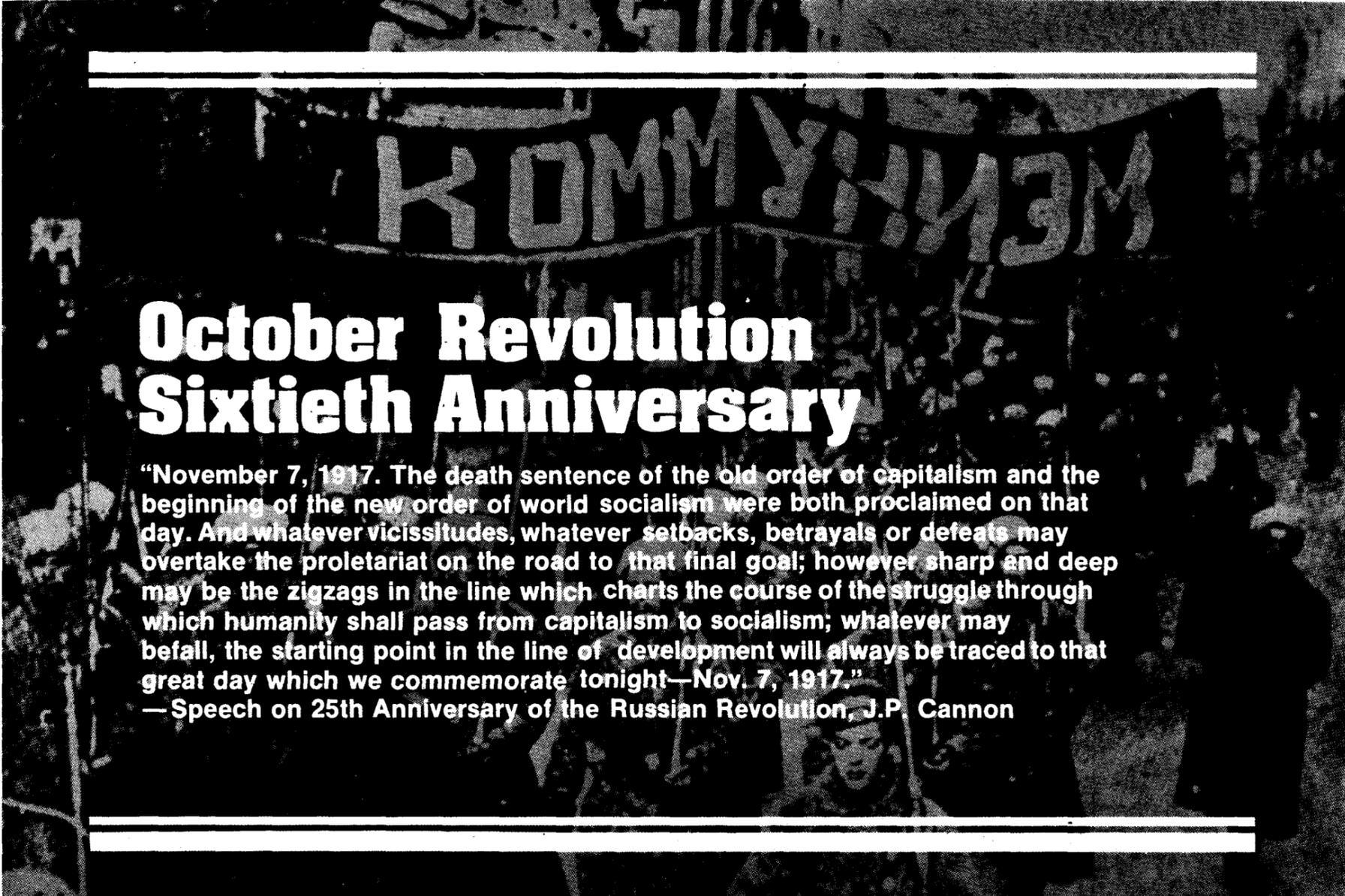
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11. I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.

(Signed)
Samuel Lewis,
(managing editor)

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October Revolution Sixtieth Anniversary

"November 7, 1917. The death sentence of the old order of capitalism and the beginning of the new order of world socialism were both proclaimed on that day. And whatever vicissitudes, whatever setbacks, betrayals or defeats may overtake the proletariat on the road to that final goal; however sharp and deep may be the zigzags in the line which charts the course of the struggle through which humanity shall pass from capitalism to socialism; whatever may befall, the starting point in the line of development will always be traced to that great day which we commemorate tonight—Nov. 7, 1917."

—Speech on 25th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution, J.P. Cannon

Prophets of Despair Become Allies of Reaction

Soviet Dissidents Find No "Third Camp"

With the opening of the Belgrade talks this October, the U.S. delegation created a few ripples in the great puddles of "detente." In the hallowed name of "human rights," U.S. envoy Arthur Goldberg launched a few choice salvos, charging domestic repression in the degenerated and deformed workers states of the Soviet bloc. Even at this meaningless spectacle of "East-West dialogue," the alleged neutrality and "even-handedness" of Carter's "human rights" crusade quickly yielded ground to its true character: a menacing attempt to refurbish imperialism's Vietnam-scarred image and lay the basis for an "aggressive foreign policy" aimed at the Soviet Union.

It comes as no surprise that occupying center stage in Carter's crusade has been the question of the treatment of dissidents in Russia. From the "I was a Commie dupe" serials in *Reader's Digest* to the publicity afforded pro-Western Soviet exiles, the American bourgeoisie has gleefully paraded those who have extricated themselves from the "red menace." While recognizing the necessity for the international workers movement to defend freedom of expression, even of anti-Marxist views in the USSR, communists must sharply distinguish between oppositionists who seek to defend Marxism from bureaucratic perversion and those who seek a return to the system of capitalist exploitation.

Among the current Soviet dissidents are a number who have placed themselves squarely at the service of the U.S. State Department and whose calls for imperialist intervention in non-capitalist countries lend needed credibility to Carter's "human rights" pretensions. Included in this unholy alliance are many rather blatant neanderthals. Beginning with revulsion at the heinous

crimes of Stalinism, there are those who have moved so far to the right as to actually embarrass their imperialist mentors.

Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, for example, openly yearns for the "good old days" of Russia under Rasputin and the tsars—and would be considered a reactionary even under Ivan the Terrible. Vladimir Bukovskiy rushed headlong from imprisonment in Russia to cold war ravings—including a White House meeting with Carter, a one-man picket at the Soviet embassy in Paris and a vociferous denunciation of communism before a rabid audience of right-wing Ukrainian nationalists in New York. Meanwhile, Andrei Amalrik attacks American "softness" on the USSR and calls for an embargo on grain sales to starve the Soviet Union into submission.

But perhaps the most disturbing and shameful aspect of this grotesque parade of turncoats and renegades is that a number of dissidents began their short trek to the imperialist camp from "socialist" principles. On tour in North America is the most recent addition to this category: former Soviet mathematician Leonid Plyushch. In its own way, Plyushch's personal evolution provides striking confirmation of the Trotskyist position on the Soviet Union.

Soviet Defensism

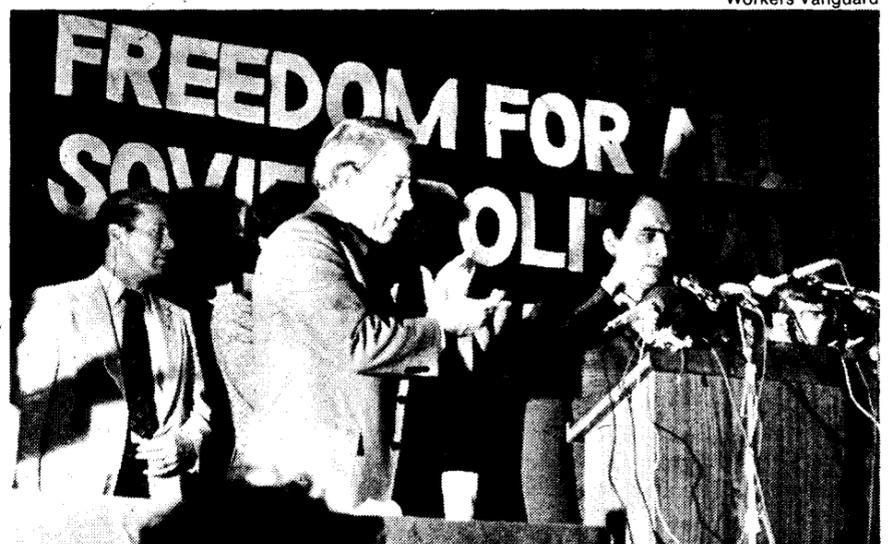
Trotsky described the bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet Union and the parties of the Comintern as the expression of the syphilis of the workers movement: Stalinism. But, as Trotsky maintained, revulsion over the labor camps, political assassinations and internal police-state terror does not suffice; the task of overthrowing the bu-

reaucratic caste in the Soviet Union (as well as China, Cuba, *et al.*) rests with a proletarian political revolution. On the basis of the collectivized property relations of these states must rise the rule of soviet democracy. To advocate the intervention of imperialist "democracy" is to ally oneself with the forces of counterrevolution around the world. The countries where capitalist rule has been

hang in the balance.

Just after an international defense campaign secured his release from Soviet "psychiatric" confinement, Plyushch reaffirmed his allegiance to the goal of socialism and declared Stalinist bureaucratic repression to be a "shameful taint on the great ideals of Communism." While not renouncing the Bolshevik Revolution—Plyushch previously

Workers Vanguard



Warhawk "Scoop" Jackson applauds Plyushch at March, 1976, New York rally.

successfully overthrown must be unconditionally defended against the imperialist powers by all revolutionists.

The question is posed for the Soviet dissidents, as well as their Czech, Yugoslav and Polish counterparts: will the eradication of the Stalinist syphilis come through the reforging of the working-class soviets or with the blood-drenched armies of counterrevolutionary white terror? The historic gains of the international workers movement

described the Stalinist rulers as "the Thermidoreans of October"—the Soviet mathematician was already referring to "state capitalism" as he went into exile. As Plyushch left the Soviet Union we warned:

"...now that he is out of the USSR, Plyushch must face a concrete choice. He will either reaffirm and systematize his socialist, anti-bureaucratic convictions or become a witting or unwitting pawn of pro-imperialist, anti-

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SWP/YSA: Liberals Wanted, Communists Need Not Apply

For years the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and its youth organization, the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), have sought to defend themselves from the Trotskyist politics and polemics of the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) by dismissing the "Sperts" as an irrelevant, bizarre sect.

But recently the revolutionary criticism of the SL/SYL has increasingly struck home as the YSA's fictive National Student Coalition Against Racism collapsed with the withdrawal of support by liberal Democrats, and as the SWP's headlong entry into the bourgeois National Organization of Women came to naught while "progressive" feminists attacked the SWP with virulent red-baiting.

Thus, for example, the SWP felt compelled to re-issue *Intercontinental Press* two-part, anti-Spartacist polemic by former SL-member Bob Pearlman as an *Education for Socialists* pamphlet (see our reply, "Alibis of a Social Democrat," *Workers Vanguard* Nos. 168 and 170, 29 July and 26 August 1977).

Symptomatic of the pressure on the SWP leadership to take the SL/SYL more seriously is a recent contribution to the SWP's internal bulletin by a Berkeley SWP member, Ken Kluczor, entitled "We Should Publish an Education for Socialists Booklet Against Sectarianism in General and Against the Spartacist League in Particular" (*SWP Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. 35, No. 10, July 1977).

On the face of it, Kluczor's document represents nothing new. The SWP and YSA have consistently tossed around the terms "ultraleft" and "sectarian" as some sort of magical incantation designed to ward off the evil spell of Trotskyism. Trotsky himself dealt quite often with this accusation:

"Reformists and centrists readily seize upon every occasion to point a finger at our 'sectarianism'.... Coming from opportunists, the accusation of sectarianism is most often a compliment."

— "Sectarianism, Centrism and the Fourth International," October 1935

But Kluczor has a particular gripe. His document was apparently provoked when a Berkeley YSA activist resigned in solidarity with the SYL (see letter of resignation in *Young Spartacus*, No. 54, June 1977). Thus Kluczor writes:

"And consider the impact it has on our periphery (not to mention our comrades!) when 'one of our most active YSA members' on a campus drops out of the YSA and joins the Spartacus Youth League."

"Politically Healthy McGovernites"

The significance of Kluczor's document is that, in a naive way, he fully corroborates what we have long known about the SWP's recruitment policy: it wants to recruit liberals, it does *not* want to recruit those who regard themselves as Leninist cadre.

Kluczor frankly states:

"There seems to be general agreement among comrades in both the YSA and the SWP that people who are 'politically healthy' (whatever that is) never join sectarian organizations. Conversely, anyone who joins a sectarian organization is not 'politically healthy' and therefore belongs in a sectarian organization. This general agreement among comrades has virtually been elevated to the level of a 'theory,' although the 'theory' may not be as prevalent now as it was a few years ago, when it was most often applied to the Spartacist League.

This was particularly true when the Spartacist League was ranting and raving 'All Indochina Must Go Communist' and 'For a Sino-Soviet Nuclear Shield Over Vietnam' and other assorted sectarian rhetoric.

"This 'theory'—though it is seldom verbalized and never put into print—goes something like this: People who are 'politically healthy' sometimes make errors in judgment and become involved in reformist politics, like the Democratic Party or the New American Movement, or even the Communist

Party establishment. From the vantage point of the super-reformist SWP, the burgeoning of groups to the left of the CP since the mid-1960's can only be viewed as an explosion of ultraleftism. Not only is this not the case, but it reflects the SWP's orientation to the "left wing" of the Democratic Party establishment.

With this methodology, the SWP abstained from SDS, denounced the Student Non-Violent Coordinating

reason to believe he is left-of-center within the SWP. Underlying his document is a strong sense of "family of Trotskyism" unity mongering on the basis of the SWP's current reformism. Thus Kluczor is overjoyed about the fusion with the Shachtmanite Revolutionary Marxist Committee, either not realizing or caring that its position that the USSR is "state capitalist" is a social-democratic attack on Trotskyism.

The difference between the SWP and SL is not that of Leninist realism versus ultraleft communism; it is rather the difference between social-democratic reformism and Trotskyism. The SWP's demonstrated commitment to "free speech for fascists"; its call for federal troops and cops to "protect" the embattled black populations of Boston and Chicago; its all-out support to United Steelworkers out-bureaucrat Ed Sadlowski; and its cynical adaptation to Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" campaign (e.g., "human rights for gays") all testify to its distance from the Trotskyist tradition it once upheld. Even on the question of recruitment policy, the SWP's "opening to the right only" stands in stark contrast to the positions of Lenin and Trotsky.

The Leninist Attitude Toward Ultraleft Communists

While he accepts the standard SWP dogma that the SL is ultraleft and sectarian, Kluczor, in a naive empirical way, dissents from the SWP's policy toward such supposed sectarians. He wants to win over the best elements of the sectarian groups. If the SWP was a revolutionary party, it would act toward ultraleft communist groups much the way that Kluczor proposes; Lenin and Trotsky certainly did.

But because of the vast gulf separating the SWP from revolutionary Marxism, it must recruit *to its right*. SWP heads Barnes/Camejo/Hansen rightly fear that the recruitment of politically experienced elements who regard themselves as Leninists would prove an obstacle to the SWP's evermore rightward social-democratic course. That is why the SWP's recruitment policy is: liberals—yes, communists—no.

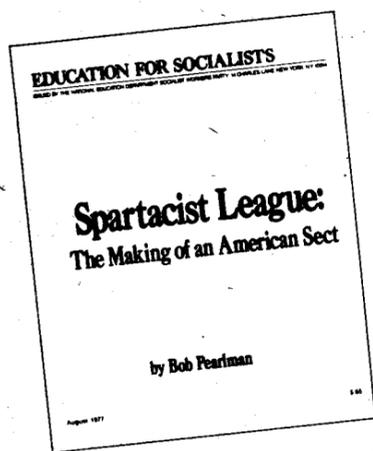
Not all sectarians and ultralefts (the two are not necessarily the same)

"For some peculiar reason, we seem to feel that people who can relate to reformist politics are 'healthy,' but people who can relate to sectarian politics are 'unhealthy.' What peculiar logic! Is it any more 'healthy' to vote for McGovern to end the war in Vietnam than it is to demand that all Indochina go Communist?"

—Ken Kluczor, SWP
Discussion Bulletin

deserve to be taken seriously as good human material for the revolutionary cause. There are unprincipled sectarian maneuverers and hopeless ultraleft muddleheads. However, the Leninist attitude toward ultraleft communists is not, in general, one of contempt. On the contrary, Leninists adopt a more positive attitude toward ultraleft communists than toward centrists reformists and nationalist radicals, not to speak of bourgeois liberals such as the McGovernites. Contrast the comradely, pedagogical tone of Lenin's "*Left-Wing*" *Communism, An Infantile Disorder* with the savage hostility of *The Prole-*

Coming from the SWP...



"Reformists and centrists readily seize upon every occasion to point a finger at our 'sectarianism'.... Coming from opportunists, the accusation of sectarianism is most often a compliment."

—Leon Trotsky

Party. The McGovern campaign was a perfect example of a reformist campaign that was just overflowing with 'healthy independents.' But, the 'theory' continues, people who are 'politically healthy' never get involved in sectarian politics. The Spartacist League, according to the 'theory,' is a crazy sectarian organization which almost no one can relate to. Anyone who can relate to the politics of the Spartacist League is, therefore, a crazy sectarian and belongs in the Spartacist League. The 'theory' goes even further: sectarian organizations are actually beneficial to us because they provide a place for crazy sectarians to funnel their energies. If it wasn't for the sectarian groups, all of the crazy sectarians would be joining our organization!" [emphasis in original]

"Ultralefts" and Hare Krishna

For the SWP the category "ultraleft sectarian" is far from limited to the SL/SYL. On the contrary, the term is liberally applied to virtually every ostensibly revolutionary organization to the left of Gus Hall's pro-Moscow Communist Party and the mainstream civil rights movement. Thus when the SWP was hot on the tail of the McCarthy/McGovern camp, it condemned as "ultraleft crazies" the dominant current of anti-war radicalism—New Left Maoism, as exemplified by Students for a Democratic Society (SDS).

Committee (SNCC) for its alleged "ultraleft tactics" and interjected a consistently *rightist* element into the student movement of the 1960's/early 1970's.

The SWP's "ultraleft" rubric covers over the fundamental differences among the constituent outgrowths of the New Left. New Left adventurism a la Weathermen is not "ultraleft," but a species of petty-bourgeois radicalism; "liberals with bombs" as Marxists once described the Russian nihilists. Many Maoist/Stalinist groups (e.g., Progressive Labor Party) are certainly organizationally sectarian, but they are scarcely ultraleft in their overall program. And the anti-Moscow Stalinoid groups are pervaded with economist, reformist and class-collaborationist policies and practices.

Moreover, the *Militant* echoes the bourgeois media in treating American communism as a form of social pathology akin to scientology or Hare Krishna. By condemning most would-be communists as lunatics, incapable of intersecting reality, the SWP reinforces a political climate which tolerates the repression of leftists. After all, crazy people should be segregated from the "healthy" elements of society, shouldn't they?

Although Kluczor regards the SL/SYL as more credible organizations than do Barnes, Camejo & Co. (at least in their public statements), there is no

tarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky.

Here is how Lenin writes about William Gallacher, then a young Scottish ultraleft communist:

"People who can give expression to this temper of the masses, and are able to evoke such a temper (which is very often dormant, unconscious and latent) among the masses, should be appreciated and given every assistance. At the same time, we must tell them openly and frankly that a state of mind is by itself insufficient for leadership of the masses in a great revolutionary struggle, and that the cause of the revolution may well be harmed by certain errors that people who are most devoted to the cause of the revolution are about to commit, or are committing." [emphasis in original]

"Left-Wing" Communism, An Infantile Disorder" (1920)

Trotsky likewise sought to win over and re-educate ultraleft communist groupings. The Italian Bordigists participated in the initial phase of the International Left Opposition. When Trotsky separated from them in late 1932, he wrote to them:

"Separation from an honest revolutionary group like yours need not necessarily be accompanied by animosity, personal attacks, or veiled criticism. I hope on the contrary that by eliminating organizational frictions, the inevitable result of fictitious unity, we shall be able to create favorable conditions by mutual criticism based on the lessons of events." [emphasis in original]

"A Letter to Prometheus,"
Writings of Leon Trotsky
1932-33

In building the Fourth International, Trotsky dealt seriously with ultraleft political positions. One of his most important articles on the national question, "Independence of the Ukraine and Sectarian Muddleheads" (*Writings of Leon Trotsky 1939-40*), was a polemic against the American followers of Hugo Oehler who split from the Trotskyists in the direction of ultraleftism.

Ultraleft communist groups of the Bordiga/Oehler type have been insignificant in the far left in the past period—with the exception of Italy. Therefore, in building the international Spartacist tendency, we have not had to confront ultraleft communist groupings. We have had to confront, however, New Left militarist adventurism (e.g., the terrorism of the Weathermen), Maoist-Stalinist sectarian posturing (e.g., Progressive Labor's opposition to the demand for a workers party based on the trade unions and in opposition to the pro-capitalist bureaucracy), and, in Europe, ultraleft attitudes toward the traditional, mass reformist parties (e.g., the German Spartacusbund which maintained that Willy Brandt's SPD is a "bourgeois-technocratic party"). By dealing seriously with such ultraleft and sectarian positions, the Spartacist tendency has been able to win valuable cadre from among New Left radicals, Maoist-Stalinists and European Pabloite centrists. ■

YSA Lauds Friedman's "Contributions"

Chicago Demo Hits Junta Braintruster

CHICAGO—"Chicago Boys from Friedman's school—Henchman for the junta's rule!" Angry chants echoed at the University of Chicago (UC) law school auditorium when former UC professor Milton Friedman lectured here on October 3. The collaborator with the blood-stained Chilean junta and advisor to Israeli prime minister Menahem Begin returned to his former haunts to deliver a diatribe entitled "What is America?" Twenty-five students and supporters of the Spartacus Youth League demonstrated at this appearance by the "distinguished" traveling salesman of "shock treatments" for mass starvation.

For many years the laureled lapdog of the right wing of the Republican Party, Friedman trained the infamous Chilean junta's "Chicago Boys" of the UC economics school. These "free-enterprise" advocates of slashing vital social services and the living standards of working people were "champing to be unleashed," as the *Wall Street Journal* (2 November 1973) put it, when their gorilla masters came to power. The military assassins put them to work implementing the economic program ("shock treatment") worked out by Friedman during his March 1975 consultations with Pinochet and other junta chiefs in Santiago.

Since the exposure of Friedman's collaboration with the Chilean junta, the SYL has led a determined campaign to protest his continued presence and "affiliation" with the University of Chicago. Now Friedman has gone on to include among his clientele Begin, the Zionist murderer whose Irgun slaughtered 254 innocent Arab villagers at Deir Yassin in 1948. After two and a half years of "successful" experiments on the body of the prostrated Chilean proletariat, Friedman is extending his "cures" to the American working masses. For example:

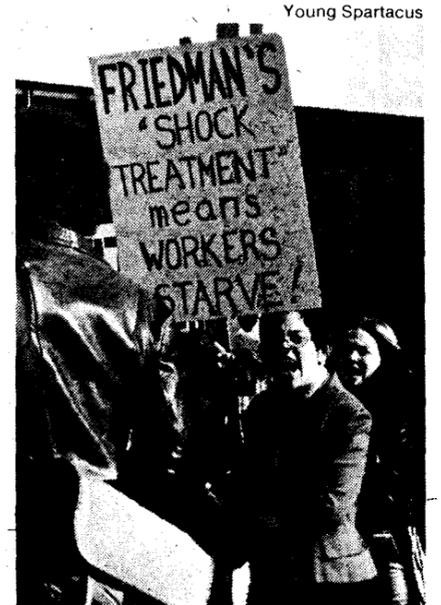
"The illegal infmigration of Mexicans is a socially virtuous act because they take jobs most Americans would not, but it is good only so long as it is illegal—so long as they do not qualify for welfare."

Chicago Journal, 5 October

While the protesters demonstrated solidarity with Friedman's victims, other campus "radicals" led by the reformist Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) demonstrated their craving for bourgeois respectability. Refusing to endorse or join the demonstration, the YSA seized the opportunity to issue a leaflet entitled (creatively enough) "What is America?"

phony Democrats. The self-preservation of the working class demands that it cut through all abstract chatter and smash the fascist gangs by decisive and relentless action." (*Socialist Appeal*, 3 March 1939). The point is not to call on the state to take away free speech for fascists, because any ban on right wing armed groups will certainly also be used against the left. We must instead, help lead independent workers' organizations in action ourselves and intimidate the fascists—let them know that the workers are stronger and more numerous than they are, and that we will not put up with their fascist program of racial genocide and the destruction of the labor movement....

In the trade unions, it is imperative that socialists oppose all government intervention into the labor movement. Affirmative action schemes that allow the government control over hiring and firing procedures will be used in the future to integrate the trade union machinery into the capitalist state apparatus. It is necessary for socialists to raise a program within the labor movement that calls for a sliding scale of wages and



Young Spartacus

In a repulsively open bid to curry favor with Friedman-loyal UC students the YSA virtually lauds Friedman for his "major contributions to modern American economics" and his "interesting speaking style."

This is hardly surprising given the YSA's history of refusing to participate in the numerous SYL-initiated united-front protests against Friedman. In this case the YSA's leaflet only once touched on Friedman's "well-publicized advising of the Chilean junta." Meanwhile the YSA noted that Friedman "makes much of the repression carried out by the totalitarian Soviet government," and complained only that this former Nixon advisor is "silent" on FBI victimization of the YSA and the questions of abortion and homosexual rights.

With the downturn in the U.S. economy and rampant right-wing demands for further attacks on workers, blacks and the poor, Friedman has been touring the country sensing that his "economic theories" might well come into vogue. But Friedman's "theories" have already been translated into the harsh language of mass starvation in Chile and the deportations and *migra* terror he advocates for Chicago. Friedman's "What is America?" is only a glimpse of what the policies this right-wing economist has put into practice abroad would look like if transferred to the United States. It is for these crimes against working people that Friedman must be protested by demonstrations of international proletarian solidarity with the victims of his "shock treatment." ■

Resignation from YSA

"Why Does the SWP Claim Trotskyism...?"

We reprint below portions of a resignation from the Riverside (California) chapter Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) by comrade Alice F. After coming into contact with the Trotskyist politics of the Spartacus Youth League, this comrade became disenchanted with the Socialist Workers Party (SWP)/YSA and resigned earlier this year in solidarity with many of the political positions of the SYL.

3 September 1977

Dear Comrades of the SWP/YSA,

Although I am new to the left, having only been involved with Marxist politics since January of this year, I have been studying, reading, discussing, and critically thinking about the program of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. Based on what I have learned, I have decided I can no longer support the political activities and tactical decisions of the SWP/YSA, and therefore resign as a member of the YSA.

I want to discuss a few current issues to point out major differences I have with the SWP/YSA. The first is the situation in Boston. Professing to be Trotskyist, the SWP/YSA calls for federal troops to stop the racist violence committed against black school-children and their parents. This is in direct opposition to what Trotsky wrote in the *Transitional Program*: "In connection with every fight and street demonstration, it is imperative to propagate the necessity of creating workers' groups for defense... It is necessary to advance the slogan for a workers' militia as the one serious guarantee for the inviolability of workers' organization, meetings, and press." Why then is the SWP's primary demand for "Federal Troops to Boston"? Neither Marx nor Trotsky (nor yet Lenin) would ever have called on the armed forces of the bourgeois state to "defend" the workers.

In Boston, it is the sons and daughters of the black community who need to be protected against "spontaneous" as well as highly organized racist groups such as

the South Boston Marshals, etc. who carry out violence against blacks and any sympathizers. In these circumstances of fascist and racist attacks, the need for organizing workers' defense guards (labor/black defense) applies here as much as it does when faced with attacks on "strictly" workers' organizations, press, etc. It is clearly not in the interest of the ruling class to protect the working class against such attacks. One sees this in the examples of Little Rock and Birmingham where the National Guard troops ineffectively "defended" and/or openly diffused the independent mobilization of the black working class. Calling for federal troops of the bourgeois state does nothing to instill confidence in the working class that only they alone can defend themselves against these anti-labor, anti-black organizations. It is a short-cut to the only real solution to the problem now—black-labor defense.

In close connection with this, is the SWP's insistence of free speech for fascists, with the contention that if the right of freedom of speech is taken away from the fascists, then it will certainly be taken away from left-wing political organizations and workers. This reason presupposes that in order to take away fascists' free speech, we would call upon the state to do so. No! Again Trotsky would never have supported that: "The tactical, or if you will, 'technical', task was quite simple—grab every fascist or every isolated group of fascists by their collars, acquaint them with the pavement a few times, strip them of their fascist insignia and documents, and without carrying things any further, leave them with their fright and a few good black and blue marks."...

Furthermore, the SWP in 1939 would have opposed such libertarianism: "The workers who spend all their time and energy in the abstract discussion of the Nazi's 'democratic rights'—to say nothing of working themselves into a lather in defense of these 'rights'—will end their discussion under a fascist club in a concentration camp... The wailing and weeping about the Nazi's 'rights' can safely be left to the prissy Liberals and

hours, creating more jobs for the unemployed, and for union control of hiring, demanding special union-run programs to recruit and upgrade minorities.

Along the lines of the struggle against the capitalist employer/capitalism, comes the whole question of [Ed] Sadowski being a Democrat and advocating support to Carter as well as his history of bringing the Labor Department into [United Steelworkers of America] elections. There was never any discussion or reasons given for why the SWP was supporting a Democrat in the trade unions, in fact not until another comrade brought up the question at an educational on trade unions did anyone attempt to deal with the question. The reason given was that it was necessary to get a "foothold" in the unions before one could come out with a strong socialist program. In other words, if you can't win the workers to socialism now, try to convert them under the leadership of the Democrats.

Trotsky said in "The Death Agony of Capitalism and Tasks of the Fourth International": "To face reality squarely;

continued on page 11

In April-May of 1848 the Communist League as a functioning organization dissolved. Although both Marx and Engels served on the League's Central Authority, Marx made no attempt to preserve its organizational existence. There is, however, a considerable body of evidence—although far from conclusive—to indicate that there was significant internal opposition to the dissolution. This came from a section of the Communist League old guard, namely Schapper and Moll, which had gone to Cologne with Marx and had stayed with him more-or-less throughout this period.

The dissolution of the Communist League has been the focus of a certain amount of controversy. For example, there is a rather venomous polemic between the Stalinist historian E.P. Kandel and the Menshevik historian Boris Nicolaievsky centering on how in fact the League was dissolved. Nicolaievsky argues that Marx himself formally dissolved the League while Kandel in an ambivalent manner denies it. Actually the whole argument is irrelevant; the real question is what led Marx and Engels to proceed along this course.

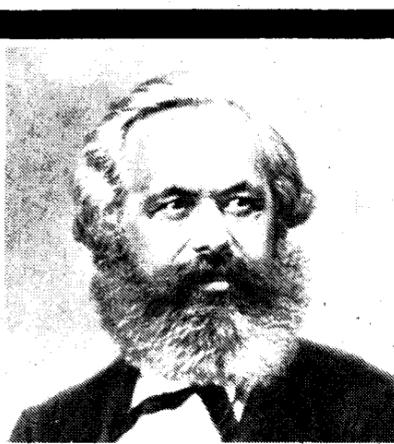
In Marx's and Engels's subsequent writings there are scattered references to what happened to the Communist League in the spring of 1848. I've never found any of these references particularly satisfactory and they don't seem to provide a profound explanation. Basically, they present two distinct arguments.

One is that given the conditions of legality which accompanied the dual power of the constituent assemblies a secret organization was no longer necessary. On the face of it this is not very convincing. Marx had always fought against clandestinity on principle and there was no reason that the Communist League couldn't have been transformed into a public organization.

A second explanation is that the members of the Communist League abandoned it in favor of mass agitation, which to a certain extent was true. But again this doesn't address the reasons for Marx's participation in the self-liquidation of the Communist League.

Here I think we're forced to deal on the terrain of speculation and supposition and I'll offer what I think are the two central reasons. First, one must keep in mind the relatively heterogeneous character of the Communist League and the fact that it numbered less than 1,000. Any attempt to preserve the League would have resulted in the major part of Marx's political energies being involved in factional struggle against people like Gottschalk and Born. Moreover, this would have involved trying to cohere an organization which was undergoing a spontaneous dissolution in which its component parts were throwing themselves into the mass movement.

Therefore Marx did not want to limit his political agitation to a relatively small population of old members of the Communist League. Rather, he believed that on the basis of a solid core of politically united cadre he could achieve mass influence through direct mass agitation.



KARL MARX AND THE GERMAN REVOLUTION OF 1848

PART 10



MARXISM AND THE JACOBIN COMMUNIST TRADITION

Second, Marx's guiding conception in this period was to aid in the construction of the German equivalent of the French Jacobin organization in which he would play the role of proletarian left faction. The formal existence of the Communist League, whether underground or public, would have made it much more difficult to establish a basis for collaboration with the bourgeois democrats. In fact, it was very difficult for him to establish this collaboration even known as an individual communist, let alone a member of what was supposedly a centralized and disciplined organization.

Marx in the Democratic Society

Now most historians, in particular Nicolaievsky, at this point (and here Nicolaievsky's Menshevism becomes simple historical distortion) tend to argue that because of the dissolution of the Communist League there was no organized Marxist grouping and that Marx had transformed himself into simply a radical democratic publicist.

This is not the case. What happened in the spring of 1848 is that the core of the Communist League, the London core, remained intact in an informal way; Schapper and Moll as well as other London Communist League cadre continued to act in an informal way as the Marxist party. Marx and comrades effected a division of labor which

corresponded to their past histories and respective authorities. Marx took charge of the work among the bourgeois-democratic organizations, while Schapper and Moll set their sights on the working-class organizations. The latter two went into Gottschalk's Cologne Workers Association and Marx went into the Cologne Democratic Society where he soon took over the presidency.

By June of 1848 it appeared that Marx's tactical orientation was picking up steam and meeting with a certain amount of success. A Rhenish District Congress of Democratic Associations was formed. This consisted of two representatives from the Democratic Society (one of whom was Marx), two from the Workers Association (Schapper and Moll) and two representatives from the organization known as the Association for Workers and Employers which strangely enough was the organization of the artisans and their apprentices; i.e., the democratic propertied petty bourgeoisie.

As it turned out, the Marxists did not fare so badly in the workers organizations either—although for partly fortuitous reasons. In early July, Gottschalk and his second-in-command Anneke were arrested. Schapper and Moll were therefore able to fill the organizational vacuum in the Workers Association and take over as vice president and president, in addition to being representa-

tives to the District Congress. Thus by August, when the District Congress organized its first large meeting at which forty delegates represented sixteen organizations, Marx was clearly in command.

Alienation from the Radical Democrats

It is interesting to note that, in accordance with the importance he attributed to it, Marx himself decided to work the big bourgeoisie and not the petty bourgeoisie. But the question remains, how successful was Marx in his attempt to cohere a radical-democratic organization with him representing an influential pole within it. In a general sense it must be stated that he was not successful, but as we have seen, at least in the early stages of the revolution, Marx's efforts were not altogether fruitless.

However, Marx's strategy ran into trouble early on. We had already seen resistance from within the Communist League coming from Born and the artisan protectionists. Now Marx encountered resistance from his would-be bourgeois revolutionary-democratic allies.

In early June Engels found himself writing what by today's standards would be considered a rather gentle criticism of the revolutionary/radical parliamentary factions—criticism not from the standpoint of communism but

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

In this series comrade Seymour has set out to demonstrate how Marx and Engels assimilated the political worldviews and experiences of the preceding generations of revolutionary militants who struggled to achieve an egalitarian-collectivist social order by ensuring the triumph of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. In stressing the living continui-

ty of the Jacobin communist tradition and its shaping influence on the young Marx and Engels the series debunks the currently fashionable New Left/academic interpretation of Marxism as simply a self-contained, armchair ideological derivation from Hegelian philosophy.

Preceding articles in the series have covered: the Great French Revolution and how Jacobin communism was continued in the conspiratorial organizations and insurrectionary struggles of Babeuf and Buonarroti; the French democratic opposition and how it underwent a profound political differentiation from the Carbonari Conspiracy and

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

in the victorious revolutionary-democratic forces.

The current article is the second of three focusing on the German Revolution of 1848. Comrade Seymour gave this presentation at a public meeting in New York City on 24 July 1977.

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

rather from the perspective of their own ostensible principles. Engels warned that the Frankfurt parliament did not have the means to enforce any of its decisions. One must realize, he commented, that the forces of reaction still have state power firmly in their hands and that the task of the revolutionary/radical democrats must be to organize the population against the reactionary danger.

This alone cost the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* roughly one-half of its subscribers who objected that one couldn't say such things about their representatives. In late June the Parisian proletarian insurrection was put down with wanton savagery by the troops of Eugene Cavaignac, and Marx was the only ostensible democrat to rally to the support of the Parisian plebeian masses. This episode cost him the rest of the subscribers.

There is an interesting quote directed against Marx by another republican democratic journal, the *Bonner Zeitung*. The *Bonner Zeitung* took Marx to task for his support to the insurgent masses in the streets of Paris:

"The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* calls itself an Organ of Democracy. We call it an Organ of the Red Republic. No one who preaches riot and anarchy is a supporter of democracy."

—quoted in Oscar J. Hammen, *The Red '48ers* (1969)

So, Marx scratched his head and answered that in reality the Paris uprising was a great struggle for democracy. But this response didn't do him much good with the German bourgeois democrats.

Failure of German Jacobinism

The underlying problem is that Marx's tactics and strategy had been worked out on the assumption that the bourgeois revolution in Germany would replicate in a more radical form, rather than a far less radical form, the Great French Revolution. However, Marx was not alone in having read the histories of the French Revolution. Even the democratic bourgeoisie in Germany had done so and had no intention of playing Robespierre to Marx's would-be successful Babeuf.

Therefore the Paris June insurrection was not merely an episodic problem in Marx's relations with the democratic bourgeoisie, but was in fact the turning point of the entire revolution of 1848. On the one hand, the Paris "June Days" emboldened the reactionary forces and, on the other, scared the German bourgeois democrats out of their wits. They believed that if they established some sort of bourgeois-democratic situation they too would face a plebeian insurrection.

So the relatively advanced character of European society forced the German bourgeoisie—as Marx himself concluded about six months later—to be much more cowardly and far to the right in the struggle against absolutism than had been the case with the French bourgeoisie from 1789 to 1793. And it was only a few months later, with the strengthening of the counterrevolutionary forces, that Marx was again able to reach some sort of rapprochement with bourgeois democracy. And here once again it was only in a partial and ultimately frustrated form.

Here one might engage in a certain criticism of the tactics Marx devised within the workers movement. With the assistance of Schapper and Moll, Marx succeeded gradually and through pedagogy in changing the policy of the Workers Association—without however in any sort of formal factional sense counterposing the Marxists to the policies laid down by Gottschalk. In fact, they attempted to present a continuity of policy while easing the political line of the Workers Association in the direction of Marxism, and did so successfully.

Nonetheless, there were die-hard Gottschalk-loyal members of the Workers Association who did not like this, including the editor of the newspaper.

There was the anomalous situation in which Moll, the president of the organization, was engaged in a running battle with the editor. The Workers Association newspaper would denounce Marx and the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* for selling out to the bourgeoisie and Moll would then write an article correcting this. In the end Moll and Marx won out and greatly strengthened Marx's organizational leverage in Cologne. But it was not easy, and as we shall see, the victory in the Workers Association was far from decisive.

The Danish War

In the aftermath of the Parisian June insurrection the pace of the German Revolution intensified and quickly led to total and utter disaster. The decisive point proved to be between September and November and focused on the two major parliamentary arenas. By the end of this period both the Frankfurt all-German National Assembly and the Prussian National Assembly in Berlin were under a state of siege and the forces of absolutism had scored an immediate victory. Also in this period a state of siege occurred in Cologne where Schapper was arrested, and Moll and Engels driven into exile.

All of these events took place simultaneously and reinforced one another. I'm going to deal with them sequentially and separate out the Frankfurt, Cologne and Berlin situations.

The Frankfurt events were precipitated by the Danish/Prussian war over Schleswig-Holstein. Schleswig-Holstein was a province in Northern Germany whose population, in an overwhelming majority, was German. As a result of the Congress of Vienna, Schleswig-Holstein was both a part of the German federation and a province of Denmark. With the onset of the Revolution of 1848 the German population rose up against the Danish government and wanted to be part of a bourgeois-democratic great German state.

Although Marx and Engels didn't particularly like the chauvinist ballyhoo it engendered, they nonetheless regarded the war as progressive in two senses: the majority of the population was in fact German and also the unification of Germany was a progressive historical development (which they strongly supported until the Franco-Prussian war of 1870). Furthermore, both England and Russia (correctly from their perspectives) were opposed to the unification of Germany and gave diplomatic and, potentially, military support to Denmark. Marx and Engels therefore viewed this as a revolutionary national war on the part of German unification.

The Prussian army found itself drawn into the Schleswig-Holstein uprising, but only in a half-hearted way. The Prussian rulers did not want a major war which they believed—as did Marx—would naturally tend to radicalize the population. They did not want a mass army, particularly since their hold on state power was extremely tenuous. After doing everything possible to avoid getting drawn into the conflagration, Prussia agreed to an armistice which basically reestablished the old status quo and constituted a victory for Denmark.

Marx and Engels opposed the armistice which they viewed as another setback for the German Revolution. In the course of the polemics and agitation, Engels, who specialized in putting down those peoples who stood in the way of the German Revolution, went so far as to voice certain opinions on the nature of Scandinavians. For example, in an article entitled "Danish-Prussian Armistice" he commented,

"Scandinavianism is enthusiasm for the brutal, sordid, piratical, Old Norse national traits, for that profound inner life which is unable to express its exuberant ideas and sentiments in words, but can express them only in deeds, namely, in rudeness toward

The German bourgeoisie... from the very start, did not 'make' the revolution, but disassociated itself from it. Its consciousness rose against the objective conditions for its own domination. The revolution could only be carried out not by it but against it. Democratic institutions represented to its mind not an aim to fight for but a menace to its welfare."

—Trotsky, *Results and Prospects*, 1906



Top: Street fighting at Cologne. Middle: Royal troops storm Frankfurt barricade. Bottom: Leaflet issued by the Central Committee of the Communist League, bearing the signatures of Marx and Engels.



Forderungen
der
Kommunistischen Partei
in
Deutschland.

*Proletariat aller Länder vereinigt Euch!

1. Ganz Deutschland wird zu einer einzigen, unteilbaren Republik erklärt.
2. Jeder Deutsche, der 21 Jahre alt ist, wählt und wählbar, vorangelegt daß er keine Kriminalstrafe erlitten hat.
3. Die Volkswirtschaft werden befreit, damit auch der Arbeiter im Parlament des deutschen Volkes sitzen könne.
4. Allgemeine Volkswirtschaft. Die Armeen sind in Zukunft zugleich Arbeiter-Armeen, so daß das Heer nicht bloß, wie früher, verzehrt, sondern noch mehr produziert, als seine Unterhaltungsstellen betragen. Dazu ist außerdem ein Mittel zur Organisation der Arbeit.
5. Die Berechtigtenpflege ist unentgeltlich.
6. Alle Grundbesitzer, alle Abgaben, Steuern, Zehnten, u. d. h. bisher auf dem Landbesitz lasteten, werden ohne irgend eine Entschädigung abgeschafft.
7. Die herrlichen und andern herrlichen Landgüter, alle Parzellen, Gärten, u. d. m., werden in Staatsbesitz umzuwandeln. Auf diesen Landgütern wird der Ackerbau im Großen und mit den modernsten Hilfsmitteln der Wissenschaft zum Zweck der Gesamtheit betrieben.
8. Die Hypotheken auf den Bauerngütern werden für Staatsbesitz erklärt. Die Interessen für jene Hypotheken werden von den Bauern an den Staat gezahlt.
9. In den Gegenden, wo das Pächtersystem herrscht, wird die Grundrente oder der Pachtzins als Steuer an den Staat gezahlt. Alle diese unter 6, 7, 8 und 9 angegebenen Maßregeln werden sofort, ohne ein offentliches und andere Reizen der Bauern und kleinen Pächter zu vermindern, ohne die zur Befriedigung der Staatsbedürfnisse nötigen Mittel zu schmälern und ohne die Produktion selbst zu gefährden.
10. Der eigentliche Grundbesitzer, der weder Bauer noch Pächter ist, hat an der Produktion gar keinen Anteil. Seine Konsumtion ist daher ein bloßer Mißbrauch.
11. An die Stelle aller Privatbanken tritt eine Staatsbank, deren Zweck geistliche Kurs hat.
12. Die Währungsregel macht es möglich, das Kreditwesen im Interesse des ganzen Volkes zu regeln und untergründet damit die Herrschaft der großen Geldmänner. Indem sie nach und nach Papiergeld an die Stelle von Gold und Silber setzt, vermindert sie das unentbehrliche Instrument des bürgerlichen Verkehrs, das allgemeine Zahlungsmittel, und erlaubt, das Gold und Silber nach außen hin werfen zu lassen. Diese Währungsregel ist schließlich notwendig, um die Interessen der proletarischen Bauern gegen die Revolution zu schützen.
13. Alle Transportmittel: Eisenbahnen, Kanäle, Dampfschiffe, Wege, Posten, u. d. m., nimmt der Staat in seine Hand. Sie werden in Staatsbesitz umgewandelt und der unbemittelten Klasse zur unentgeltlichen Verfügung gestellt.
14. In der Befreiung sämtlicher Staatsbeamten findet kein anderer Unterschied statt, als der, daß diejenigen mit Familie, alle mit mehr Gehältern, auch ein höheres Gehalt beziehen als die ledigen.
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17. Einführung von freien Progressivsteuern und Abschaffung der Konsumsteuer.
18. Errichtung von Nationalwerkstätten. Der Staat garantiert allen Arbeitern ihre Erhaltung und versorgt die zur Arbeit Unfähigen.
19. Allgemeine, unentgeltliche Volkserziehung.

Es liegt im Interesse des deutschen Proletariats, des kleinen Bürger- und Bauernstandes, mit aller Energie an der Durchsetzung obiger Maßregeln zu arbeiten. Denn nur durch Bewirkung derselben können die Millionen, die bisher in Deutschland von eurer kleinen Zahl ausgebeutet wurden und die man weiter in der Unterdrückung zu erhalten suchte, zu ihrem Recht und zu ihrer eigenen Macht gelangen, die ihnen als den Berechtigten aller Rechtmäßigkeit, gebührt.

Das Komitee:
Karl Marx, Karl Schapper, J. Bauer, J. Engels,
J. Wolf, W. Wolff.

continued on page 11

South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

police on September 26. Protests against the "Bantu education" system spread to Grahamstown, where 100 were arrested, and Port Elizabeth and Dimbaza, where the offices of the Bantu Administration were burned down. Police retaliation resulted in the deaths of one protester at Dimbaza and two more at Queenstown.

The most recent arrests and bannings sparked new protests and clashes with the cops. Scores of white student demonstrators have been arrested. 54 black youths were arrested in Sharpeville alone, and, significantly, 97 Indians (normally absent from the protests) were arrested in the township of Lenasia. *Free All the Anti-Apartheid Prisoners!*

Dead-End Guerrillism

Valiant as the young black militants are, their heroism alone will not bring down the apartheid behemoth. As the ANC and the South African Communist Party discovered when they undertook their ill-fated Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) guerrilla campaign in 1961, the South African state will not fall because of bands of youth "picking up the gun" (let alone rocks and bricks). Nor do the surrounding black African states pose a significant challenge to apartheid, military or otherwise.

South African society is unique. It is an advanced capitalist country which plays the role of a local imperialist power in sub-Saharan Africa and accounts for over 40 percent of African industrial output. Yet South Africa maintains a political and social structure more akin to colonialism with extractive industry the center of its economy and the political disenfranchisement of the overwhelming majority of the population. The availability of white skilled workers, engineers and technicians combined with the ability to exploit the native black population in the gold and diamond mines has allowed South Africa to develop as the industrial powerhouse of the continent.

As a result, South Africa is able to economically dominate the entire southern African region. Despite the rhetorical anti-apartheid militancy of many of the neighboring black states, it is not just states such as Botswana or Lesotho (in reality little more than glorified bantustans) which serve as South African neocolonies. Last year a leading South African state official congratulated the would-be "socialists" of the MPLA for its "excellent protection" of the sanctity of South African investments in Angola, such as the Diamang diamond mines and the Calueque hydroelectric complex (*African Development*, November 1976). Similarly, despite the leftist preachings of Samora Machel, Mozambique continues to hand over hundreds of thousands of contract laborers to slave away in South African mines without the most minimal trade-union or democratic rights and provides the key rail-sea link for the export of South African



Massive outpouring of black rage at Biko's funeral.

ores—just as in the days of Portuguese colonialism. It comes as no surprise that the most left-talking of the "front line states" preaches "self-reliance" to the anti-apartheid fighters of South Africa!

Both the economic/military strength of South Africa and the size of the white population preclude its overthrow by guerrilla-led black insurgents relying solely on the numerical advantage of the black masses. In South Africa's tottering neighbor Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) there are about 250,000 whites to 6 million blacks; a ratio of 1:24. The comparable ratio in South Africa is approximately one to four. Moreover, about half the whites in Rhodesia (which was only established at the turn of the century) have been there for less than 15 years and are beginning to trickle out as their situation deteriorates. The ruling South African Nationalist Party is based upon the Afrikaaners—who lost their ties to Holland in the course of three hundred years of settlement and have shown their determination to stay through major wars against the Zulus and the British.

Key to Anti-Apartheid Struggles...

The present apartheid system is torn between the complete military domination of the more than 20 million non-whites and the creation of a modern industrial state resting upon a large black proletariat. The weakness of white supremacist rule lies in the antagonism between the need to exploit black labor for economic advance and the maintenance of the massive terror apparatus directed at every facet of black life.

On the one hand, the ability to banish the vast majority of South Africa's population to roughly 13 percent of the land—the arid bantu "homelands" where blacks can at best eke out their livelihood through subsistence agriculture—frees the capitalists from the costs of maintaining black labor during periods of economic slump and provides easy access to surplus labor during upturns. With the black population divided as much as possible by artificially imposed tribal schemes and stripped away from the urban areas, the "white" cities are also secured against being "overrun" by the black masses.

But the permanent fluctuation of 60 percent of the labor force, the six-month labor contracts and the constant separation of black families are inadequate for anything more sophisticated than plantation agriculture or mining. The Landsdowne Commission on Mine Wages in 1943 commented that the use "of tribal natives from the Reserves at rates of pay which are adequate for this migratory class of native but inadequate for the detribalized native is a fundamental factor in the economy of the gold mining industry" (quoted in Davidson, Slovo and Wilkinson, *Southern Africa*).

The migrant laborers shunted back and forth between the white cities and the bantustans are usually illiterate and unsuitable for employment in modern industry. Large industrial complexes cannot be operated on the basis of unskilled

labor which is forced to turn to sabotage as its only outlet for social protest.

Thus a section of the South African bourgeoisie, primarily English-speaking industrialists, oppose certain aspects of apartheid in the interests of the long-range need for skilled labor. Oppenheimer, their long-time spokesman, complains, "I can't think of any reason why we shouldn't make the best use of African labour." Even the Afrikaaner business organization, the Afrikaanse Handels-Instituut, refers to government policies as having "caused great disruption to industrialists" (quoted in Barbara Rogers, *South Africa: The Bantu Homelands*).

The apartheid system is further designed to cement the white *laager* together through the enormous privileges given to the legally-enshrined labor aristocracy. Again, many employers are ill disposed to paying white workers ten to twenty times what it would cost to hire comparable black labor. But the Afrikaaner rulers are adamant; as the Deputy Minister of Labour explained in 1970, "It can be said that such an outlook is contrary to the economic laws but it should be understood that is the policy of the Nationalist Party" (quoted in Cosmas Desmond, *The Discarded People*).

...the Black Proletariat

Since the Nationalist Party came to power in 1948, the apartheid system (which the liberals of the day declared could never come to pass) has indeed taken hold. Following the suppression of the civil-rights drives of the 1950's and the slaughter of demonstrators at Sharpeville, the government "repatriated" 1.6 million blacks to their supposed "homelands"—which most had never seen before. The Nationalists have rarely made the slightest concession to protest; rather its policies of repression have continually escalated. Today, faced with the mild censure of its policies from its imperialist brethren, Defense Minister Pieter Botha defiantly rants "you can't try and dictate to a people from abroad" and maintains,

"We are self-sufficient enough, without great effort, to fight any non-conventional war against us... And with a special effort, we can sustain anything of a conventional nature they can throw against us, on a limited scale."
—*New York Times*, 27 October

There has, however, been one major exception to the unbroken wave of terror: the mass strikes of black and Indian workers during the 1973-74 economic boom. In the first two months of 1973 alone, more than 30,000 workers ranging from bus drivers to construction workers to bakers went on strike. Although eleven striking gold miners were killed, the regime was unable to simply drown the strikes in blood. The Namibian mine workers received wage increases and improvements in working conditions, and relatively large pay hikes were won in many industries.

In May of 1973, the government announced that while trade unions for blacks were still not legally recognized black workers would have a "limited" right to strike and resulting wage nego-

tiations would be legal—thus providing de facto recognition of the black trade unions. As a result, the general secretary of the racist apartheid-loyal Trades Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA) was forced to declare "If employers and TUCSA did not help organize African unions it would lead to dangerous frustrations." This new-found "concern" was based on the need for white workers, as well as "Coloureds" and Indians, to raise the wages of blacks in order to prevent the undermining of their wage rates.

The weak link of the apartheid system is the need for black labor. It is at this point, the point of production, that there is the potential for an assault on the apartheid regime. Despite the sporadic banning of trade-union organizers over the last few years, the Black Allied Workers Union, which is associated with the black consciousness movement, was not hit in the recent crackdown, unlike SASO or the BPC. Given the extremely effective white racist repression, black trade unions would provide the basis for organization and struggle at the point where black social power is greatest. But while black workers' ability to cripple production has made the South African regime cautious in suppressing them, a bitter struggle will have to be waged to force the bourgeoisie to recognize the unions.

Union organization alone will not lay the groundwork for the revolutionary overthrow of apartheid, nor will unionism in South Africa necessarily transcend the economism prevalent elsewhere. Already there are a few small unions which have demonstrated their desire to conciliate apartheid, such as the Clothing Workers Union, which is affiliated to TUCSA. Even more likely, however, is the possibility that given the extreme racial oppression and the resulting trans-class black solidarity, black unions will give their allegiance to bourgeois nationalist demagogues—the future Samora Machel or Idi Amin.

From the Algerian government's smashing of workers management to the MPLA's assault on the Luanda dock strikes, the African "socialist" and nationalist analogues of the ANC and PAC have demonstrated their program for the African working masses: regimentation in the service of continued imperialist economic exploitation. The social power of the black South African working class must be mobilized by a revolutionary Marxist leadership. With the proletariat at the head, the plebeian masses must be led in a struggle for trade-union and democratic rights such as the abolition of the pass laws and the bantu "repatriation" schemes, and for the convocation of a constituent assembly based on universal suffrage. It is this struggle which will open the road to workers revolution and the establishment of a black-centered workers and peasants government.

Solidarity With Anti-Apartheid Fighters

The demand for sanctions against South Africa, the calling card of liberals

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Cops, Courts, Tear Gas:

Kent Administration on Rampage

KENT, Ohio, October 24 While bulldozers level the Blanket Hill gym-site at Kent State University in an attempt to cover up the murder of four students in 1970, Kent State president Brage Golding poses as a defender of "law and order." This time "law and order" does not mean training National Guard rifles on student protesters, but an announcement on September 17 by the Board of Trustees empowering Golding to ban student political activity at the Kent campus.

After hundreds of student arrests and the regular presence of riot police on campus, the administration selected as its first target the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB) conference scheduled for the weekend of October 22-23. When the conference was postponed in favor of a "nationwide" rally, Golding then turned his thugs on the hundreds of RSB members and supporters and some 500 onlookers who had amassed on campus. Mounted police rampaged through the crowd in an effort to disperse the marchers while cops in riot gear repeatedly tear-gassed the demonstration. The rally's van and speaking equipment were confiscated, six protesters were arrested and two were wounded.

Covering up its criminal complicity and the memory of massive student protest against the imperialist rape of Indochina is not enough for the Kent administration—the clear aim of the ban on the RSB conference and the

vicious cop assault on last weekend's demonstration is to stifle all opposition. Taking their cue, campus ROTC recruiters have reared their ugly heads and advertise almost daily in the pages of the student newspapers, openly attempting to recruit the future murderers of radical students, workers and the oppressed. They and Golding's riot gear clad cops

As we go to press some 30 people have been arrested in the week following the Saturday demonstration, for violating the restraining order against the rally obtained by the university. On Monday, the 24th, 6 people were arrested as they read the Bill of Rights aloud to protest administration attacks. The administration is now seeking a court ban on all May 4th Coalition-related activities on campus until July 1, 1978.

are the "outsiders" who should be kept off campus!

It is the SYL's tradition and principle to defend all members of the workers movement and the left from bourgeois repression and victimization. But our defense of the RSB against the capriciousness of the petty tyrants of Rockwell Hall does not in any way lessen our condemnation of the RSB's role at Kent State in particular or of its wretched political line in general. The RSB, along with its New Leftist cronies in the May 4

Coalition, bears major responsibility for sabotaging the potential for militant protest to demand that the gym be moved, and refusing to demand cops and ROTC off campus—the only genuine tribute to the martyred students.

Having fought for months against the inclusion of demands against ROTC and the cops in protest activities, at times attempting to physically prevent the SYL from raising these slogans at demonstrations, the RSB has now finally allowed "Cops Off Campus" to be chanted—after these killers had the opportunity to bombard the RSB membership with tear gas. The same opportunist "mass line" which led the RSB to grovel before campus parochialism and liberal moralism at Kent has, in different milieus, led them to capitulate to backward, racist attitudes among the working class by opposing busing, the Equal Rights Amendment and democratic rights for homosexuals.

The RSB has made clear its refusal to mobilize effectively against the administration—even when it is itself the target! Their penchant for juvenile antics and sectarianism has led the RSB to reject the SYL's offer to sign a petition protesting the administration's ban on their conference! To date, they have remained passive in the face of an urgent need for a united defense of all students, teachers and campus workers against the administration's arrogant show of force.

The Kent State administration's ban of democratic rights cannot go unchallenged: it is an attack on every student, campus organization, faculty and workers union. An injury to one is an injury to all! Oppose the administration ban! Hands off the RSB! Drop all charges against the anti-gym protesters! Move the gym—Cops and ROTC off campus! ■

same imperialist countries to which Plyushch today appeals which created the conditions for the eclipse of Soviet democracy and the consolidation of a bureaucratic caste which usurped political power from the working class. It was the attempt to strangle the Bolshevik Revolution through economic boycotts and military intervention, and the bloody suppression of communist movements in the West which provided the bureaucracy its own *raison d'être*, as expressed in its catch phrase, "socialism in one country."

As Marx stated in his *Critique of the Gotha Program*, "Right can never be higher than the economic structure of society and its cultural development conditioned thereby." The fullest realization of working-class rights and democratic freedoms in general, the direct political rule of the proletariat through democratically-elected councils or soviets, must have as its foundation the expropriation of the means of production, establishment of economic planning and a state monopoly of foreign trade.

In those countries where the capitalist class has been expropriated, the struggle for democratic rights must be inextricably linked to the defense of the socialist economic forms. Under this heading "Proletarian or Bourgeois Democracy" Trotsky confronted this crucial question with regard to the tasks of the Left Opposition in 1929:

"We are fighting for proletarian democracy precisely in order to shield the country of the October Revolution from the 'liberties' of bourgeois democracy, that is, from capitalism."
—"Defense of the Soviet Republic and the Opposition," September 1929

Those countries where the oppressed masses have been emancipated from the bondage of capitalism are ruled by anti-working class bureaucratic castes precisely because of their relative economic backwardness and the pressure of the imperialist countries where the proletariat has yet to fulfill its historic mission. By appealing to the imperialists against the Soviet Union, Plyushch declares himself a class traitor and an enemy of the rights of working people throughout the world. Before its Stalinist degeneration, the Bolshevik Revolution looked to the proletariat of the West for the fulfillment of its goals. In its 60th anniversary, as part of the international Spartacist tendency, we shoulder our responsibility. ■

Dissidents...

(continued from page 3)

Communists who only seek to use the issue of Soviet dissidents as a cynical justification for exploitation and oppression under capitalism."

"Stop-Stalinist 'Psychiatric' Torture in the USSR!" *Workers Vanguard* No. 96, 13 February 1976

The Road to Anti-Communism

Plyushch in exile quickly demonstrated that between the military defense of the Soviet Union and the "democratic" forces of imperialism there is no "third camp." However strong his professed loyalty to his "great ideals" may have been, it took him little time to find the well-traveled path to State Department social democracy. Within a month of his arrival in the West, Plyushch was not loathe to share a platform with such cold warriors as the Senator from Boeing, Henry Jackson. A month later, while still declaring himself a "socialist," Plyushch was publicly attacking the SL/SYL's characterization of the Soviet Union as a degenerated workers state.

Plyushch's recent speaking tour—timed to coincide with the Belgrade conference—is on behalf of the Helsinki Monitoring Group in the USSR. Publicized as an exposé of the "psychiatric" institutions where for two years he was fed massive doses of neuroleptic drugs, Plyushch's talks have, in effect, become a campaign to demand that the U.S. force Soviet compliance with the Helsinki accords of 1975.

As Plyushch criss-crosses the U.S. and Canada giving increasingly brazen pro-imperialist talks, he has been confronted by the repeated interventions of the international Spartacist tendency (see "Plyushch Can't Duck Issue of Soviet Defenseism," *Spartacist Canada* No. 20, October 1977). The SL/SYL and the Trotskyist League of Canada confronted Plyushch over the exploitation of the plight of oppositionists in the Soviet Union in order to make an open,

direct and unequivocal appeal to the American and Western European imperialist powers to make the USSR "safe for democracy." Plyushch has now seen fit to upbraid governments that "are scared and want peace at any price" and denounces "detente" as a modern-day Munich. Despairing of the capacity of the revolutionary proletariat to confront Stalinism, Plyushch has allied himself with the most zealous, warmongering reactionaries in the West. Plyushch's program for the Soviet

Union—"support Carter's declaration for human rights"—means nothing less than prostration before Carter's thermonuclear arsenal.

For Workers Political Revolution in the USSR

That a self-described "neo-Marxist" can be led to support an anti-Soviet propaganda offensive is a telling indictment of the magnitude of the brutality of Stalinist repression. But it was the

Spartacus Youth League Directory

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Bay Area: SYL, Box 273, Civic Center Station, Oakland, CA 94604, or call (415) 863-6963

Boston: SYL, Box 227, Boston U. Station, Boston, MA 02215, or call (617) 492-3928 or 254-4236

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

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

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Place: Senior Citizens Lounge Britannia Center Commercial at Napier

For more information call: (604) 291-8993

Stearns...

(continued from page 12)

in the highly hazardous Justus mine in Stearns.

A state-of-siege atmosphere has persisted from the beginning with the courts, the cops and the hired thugs of Storm Security Service all in league with the notoriously anti-union coal bosses. A building was erected to serve as a "local hall" on property adjacent to the mine entrance which was purchased by the strikers—a necessary measure for simply safeguarding the lives of the pickets. Almost immediately, its walls were riddled with bullet holes and the strikers' sandbag fortifications testified to the terror methods employed by Blue Diamond and its hired gangsters. Despite ten months of almost nightly gun fire from Storm goons equipped with shotguns, pistols, rifles and even semi-automatic AR-15s; despite court injunctions which have restricted the size of the picket line to no more than six strikers; despite a \$100,000 bond placed on the union by the court "in case of damages," the Stearns militants have refused to relent. Already one striker has been shot and 27 others face up to 60 years in jail on a series of felony charges.

It is the elementary duty of the left and the workers movement to solidarize with and defend the courageous Stearns miners. The UMWA must not stand idly by until miners are killed on the picket line. The drive to organize the non-union mines must be backed up by a nationwide coal strike in solidarity with Stearns. The signal has long been given for the union to unleash its enormous social power. From West Virginia to Colorado, mine workers must put life into the slogan: Victory to the Stearns strike!

The leadership in the UMWA, however, has been woefully inadequate in defending not only the Stearns strikers but the union as a whole from company attacks. Arnold Miller, that latter-day apostle of "union democracy" who rode into the president's seat in 1972 with the assistance of the Labor Department, has done little to bring the Stearns strike to a successful and rapid conclusion. This one-time favorite of virtually every left organization in the U.S.—except the *Spartacist League*—has consistently attempted, with little success, to instill "labor peace" in the coal fields.

From the scuttling of the crucial demand for the local right to strike in the 1974 contract settlement to the imposition of curbs on roving picket lines in the wake of the 1975 wildcat strike, the allegiance of Miller is to the capitalist policies of the Democratic Party. It was Miller's ties to this capitalist party and his program of calling the bosses' government into the union which made his 1972 campaign unsupportable for revolutionaries and militant workers. The Miller bureaucracy's anti-militant policies were most recently demonstrated when the union's International Executive Board smashed a ten-week wildcat over the coal operators' elimination of company-paid medical coverage.

The United Mine Workers union is at a critical juncture, and the UMWA misleaders cannot lead the union forward. With the precipitous decline in mines under UMWA contract (from the previous high of 75 percent to just over 50 percent today) a defeat at Stearns could lead to an all-out union-busting offensive. Miller, who broke three major wildcats between 1975 and 1977, cannot be entrusted with the organizing of non-union miners like those at Stearns—nor with defending the UMWA as a whole. The defense of this strategically important sector of the American working class requires a class-struggle leadership which will break from the capitalist parties and fight for a workers government.

The trial of the Stearns strikers opens October 26 and they are in desperate need of financial assistance. While the UMWA International provides \$100 per

week in strike benefits to the Stearns miners and close to \$100,000 has been contributed by other locals to the Stearns Miners Relief Fund, this is insufficient to aid the strikers arrested during the course of the strike and face criminal prosecution. *Young Spartacus* and the Partisan Defense Committee urge that contributions be sent to: Miners Legal Defense Fund, 1521 16th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 ■

1848...

(continued from page 7)

women, perpetual drunkenness and the wild frenzy of the Berserker alternating with tearful sentimentality."
—Articles from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung 1848-49* (Moscow, 1972)

So much for the Danes.

Because the Danish war was popular and the defeatist armistice unpopular, the Frankfurt Assembly initially refused to ratify the treaty. This brought them into direct conflict with the Prussian government which had already signed the treaty. The revolutionary implications of this opposition soon became patently clear. When the liberals thought it through a bit, they decided that although they were none too happy with the treaty, the thought of an open break with the Prussian government frightened them and they quickly reversed their decision.

This, in turn, led to rioting throughout Germany; in Frankfurt itself two reactionary members of parliament were beaten to death by an angry mob. The Prussian government sent its army into Frankfurt and placed it under a state of siege. Parliament was dispersed and its left-wing members were subjected to vicious red-baiting as fomenters of anarchy. When all was over, the militant opposition to the defeatist armistice had been routed and the German Revolution had suffered a decisive defeat.

Repression in Cologne

By early September the social upheavals had reached the crisis point in Berlin and Cologne as well. Each new street confrontation gave the impression of being the decisive battle between the increasingly plebeian democratic forces and the armies of the counterrevolution. At this time there was a series of outbreaks in Cologne in which the soldiers were brought out to attack the population and the Civic Militia. As with the National Guard in France, the Civic Militia's property qualifications were abolished by the revolution and it was thereby, at least in form, open to everyone. In practice, however, it was limited only to the upper strata of the working class since one had to pay for one's own uniform and equipment and there was no salary.

But there were communists in the Civic Militia and Marx's followers maintained a base within it. As the forces of reaction continued their assault, one of the units of the Civic

YSA Resignation...

(continued from page 5)

not to seek the line of least resistance; to call things by their right names; to speak the truth to the masses no matter how bitter it may be; not to fear obstacles; to be true in little things as in big ones; to base one's program on the logic of the class struggle; to be bold when the hour for action arrives—these are the rules of the Fourth International"....

Why does the SWP claim Trotskyism when it so flagrantly contradicts its writings and past actions. Furthermore, the

formed members who are able to argue convincingly with those who would try to lead the revolution in a less correct direction? I don't believe it is. In my opinion, despite encouragement to read all sources, the vast majority of YSA members, naturally not completely excluding myself, show a remarkable lack of understanding of even the most basic readings of Marx, Engels, Trotsky, and Lenin.

Based on the issues mentioned, I have tried to make my overall dissatisfaction with the program and practice of the SWP/YSA clear and give the reasons for my resignation. I will continue to study Trotskyism as I believe it to be the most logical and conceivable means to achieve a socialist revolution today. I think it is

Wm. Franklin McMahon



YSA offers "free speech" to Marquette Park's fascist scum and federal troops for embattled blacks.

policy of the SWP of merely sweeping under the rug the ideas of any other leftist organizations succeeds only in building a very weak and uninformed membership. It is not enough to tell your members that their opponents are "eccentric sectarians" with "twisted minds" who have nothing to say and therefore should be ignored and laughed at when they criticize the SWP. Time and again I have observed this practice. Is that really the best way to have truly educated, in-

quite clear that I sympathize on many points with the program of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League, and if any comrades in the SWP could put aside their prejudices towards this group long enough to listen and read what the SL/SYL say, I think some very serious questions about the course of the SWP would be brought up.

Comradely,

Alice F.

Militia, which was under communist leadership, proposed the creation of a Committee of Public Safety (modeled after the plebeian military organizations of the same name during the French Revolution).

Despite the manifest strength of the counterrevolutionary mobilization—the army had been sent into Berlin, the suppression of the Frankfurt Assembly was imminent—the Civic Militia voted this proposal down. The democratic organizations and their local representative bodies voted it down as well.

Marx nevertheless felt that the situation was sufficiently urgent and the cause sufficiently popular that he could appeal directly over the heads of the dominant ostensibly democratic authorities and organize a Committee of Public Safety on his own.

This tactic did not succeed. Even the bourgeois democrats who had been

closest to Marx—including those who had been members of the Democratic Society of which he was the president—refused to go along. They resigned from the Committee of Public Safety when it became obvious that bourgeois public opinion in the city of Cologne would not tolerate it.

Marx was forced to retreat, understanding that if he proceeded along this course, whatever forces the communists could mobilize would not only be thrown against the Prussian army garrison, but against the majority of the Civic Militia as well. Marx then urged his followers to hold back, warned against putschism and disbanded the Committee of Public Safety.

On September 26 martial law was imposed upon Cologne. Schapper, the most prominent Marxist working-class leader, was arrested—Gottschalk and Anneke were already in prison. An order was issued for Moll's arrest, but the intervention of the masses defending him against an army garrison allowed him to escape to London where he stayed for a couple of months. Engels' arrest was also ordered and he was forced into exile in Belgium, then to Paris, and then, having no money, was forced to walk all the way to Switzerland in order to stay close to the German events.

Marx himself was in a very precarious legal situation since he had renounced his Prussian citizenship when he had previously been forced into exile. Therefore, he tended to operate behind the scenes and did not engage in public agitation, the main reason why he was not arrested or forced into exile at this time. But the Marxist party as a functioning body was temporarily disorganized by this wave of repression.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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Young Spartacus

Columbia Implicated in CIA "Mind Control" Research

Imperialist Spy Agencies Off Campus!

As revelations of CIA "dirty tricks" continue to fill the pages of the bourgeois press and echo through the chambers of Congress, many students may be wondering whether the next science experiment they sign up for will teach them to dissect a rat or leave some students in a drug-induced psychotic coma. With over a thousand documents proving university complicity with the CIA's \$25 million, 25-year mind-control "studies," the fear is genuine enough.

Recent Freedom of Information Act suits and a two-day Senate subcommittee hearing have implicated 44 universities—ranging from Harvard to Texas Christian—in CIA and Federal Bureau of Narcotics attempts from 1953 to 1963 to manipulate human behavior. With money channeled through "private" foundations, America's most elite institutions and scholarly professors undertook research to determine the effects of pain, sensory deprivation, electrode implantation and LSD on untold numbers of unsuspecting individuals.

Recent revelations provide a glimpse of the kind of "research" which this Murder Inc. of U.S. imperialism conducted under the ever-expanding code names of Project Bluebird, Project Artichoke, Project MK-ULTRA-MK-DELTA. Thousands of dollars were spent in efforts to perfect assassination techniques, although old-fashioned gangster methods such as suffocation with a pillow and strangulation with a bathroom towel were found to be quite satisfactory.

In some cases the corpses began turning up even before the experiments were completed. One of the most well-known incidents involved an Army germ warfare expert who jumped to his death after having taken an hallucinogenic drug in an "experiment." What is not known is the toll taken on the many prison inmates and so-called "sex deviants" who became unsuspecting human guinea pigs for other such drug "experiments." For example, in one drug "experiment," known as Operation Midnight Climax, CIA-contracted prostitutes lured would-be patrons to special "safe houses" decorated to resemble Amsterdam brothels, where they were given drinks laced with LSD and their subsequent behavior observed through one-way mirrors by Agency "researchers."

Many of the press accounts have sought to play up some of the more ludicrous aspects of the MK-ULTRA "research," so as to portray the killer spy agency as merely a latter-day version of the Keystone Cops. It indeed is not difficult to imagine how the "brains" involved in MK-ULTRA in fact seriously pursued such questions as: Could "water divining" be employed to locate submarines? Could rubber be produced from mushrooms? Could the Berlin Wall perhaps be dissolved? But no matter how harebrained its schemes, the CIA has served its imperialist masters

with deadly proficiency: CIA "covert" operations have brought hideous torture and death to leftist militants and nameless "suspected subversives" from Chile to Iran to Vietnam.

University Complicity

Despite CIA director Stansfield Turner's protestations that MK-ULTRA was discontinued ten years ago, ties between academia and U.S. imperialism's secret police continue. American universities provide not only the laboratories and "think tanks" for the CIA and the armed forces, but the "technical" assistance and personnel demanded by their murderous intrigues as well.

With the decline of radical student protest against the Vietnam War and against university complicity with the bourgeois military and secret police, campus recruiters from the CIA and its big brother, the National Security Agency (NSA), are aggressively making their pitch at schools across the country. As they join ROTC and armed forces recruiters in open campus drives, the CIA/NSA report that their university recruitment has increased substantially.

At Kent State, for example, as

protests continue to flare over the memory of four students killed by National Guardsmen, Marine recruiters publically announced a campus visit this month. Even as disclosures of university complicity stir controversies at Stanford and the San Diego campus of the University of California, the CIA has turned up at schools throughout the University of California system—including open NSA presence at UCLA.

NSA Off Columbia!

One of the campuses which is notorious for its collaboration with these agencies is Columbia University. It is, perhaps, not surprising that the school which appointed five-star general Dwight Eisenhower as its president immediately following World War II, and which sponsored Project Jason and the Institute for Defense Analysis, is now implicated in MK-ULTRA activities. Among the numerous "unidentified" professors who received CIA funds for "research" at the Columbia-affiliated New York State Psychiatric Institute is one William Thetford (now conveniently "on leave"), who conducted "personality" experiments in the 1960's.

Ramparts



NSA airborne operators were responsible for murder of Ernesto "Che" Guevara in Bolivia in 1967.

When Columbia students turn to the campus newspaper this year, they can read an article on one page in which

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Victory to the Stearns Strikers!

OCTOBER 24—For the past fifteen months, 153 coal miners in Stearns, Kentucky, have been waging a relentless strike against the Stearns Mining Company, a subsidiary of the hated Blue Diamond Coal Company to win a United Mine Workers (UMWA) contract. The pent-up fury of the strikers escalated last week when Blue Diamond, in an all-out effort to scuttle the drive for union organization, attempted to use scab

labor for the first time since the strike began. On both sides of the class line, from the miners' valiant defense of the strike to the company's determined efforts to break it, the scene was vividly reminiscent of bloody Harlan County in the 1930's.

In a provocative show of scab-herding and union-busting, state cops launched an unrestrained attack on October 17 against the striking coal

miners who had rallied en masse at the picket site to resist Blue Diamond's scheme to use scab labor. Unprepared for the miners' militant defense of their picket line, the helmeted cops called in reinforcements, and then proceeded to plow their way through the battleline of readied strikers. After 10 minutes of club to club combat, the coal miners were overpowered; forced face-down on the ground with their hands cuffed behind their backs, the strikers were savagely set upon by the enraged cops.

In all, 80 strikers were arrested; several, including the local president and five cops, were injured. But the professional strike-breakers went further: with particular vindictiveness they also arrested 39 women at gun point in retaliation for the strike-support work of the Stearns Women's Club which played a militant role in defending the picket lines.

This storm-trooping in Stearns is merely the latest assault on the beleaguered miners—and the UMWA—who have been on strike ever since July 1976 after the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) certified the UMWA as their bargaining agent. In addition to demanding that the company accept the national bituminous coal contract with the UMWA, the Stearns miners are striking over the crucial issue of mine safety. The key demand for an elected union safety committee is especially important

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Aftermath of scab-herding cop assault on October 17.

Wide World