

# Young Spartacus

Number 40

25 cents

X-523

February 1976

## ANGOLA: Cubans Turn Tide Against Imperialist-Led Forces

L'EXPRESS



TIME



NEWSWEEK



Cuban troops manning Russian rocket-launcher (left); Cuban and MPLA soldiers with FNLA prisoner (center); South African artillery (right).

January 28—During the last several weeks the Cuban troops leading the Russian-backed Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) have turned the tide in the war against the U.S./South Africa-led National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) and National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA).

In the northern provinces of Angola the Zaire-based FNLA, which has been backed by both the U.S. imperialists and the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy, was driven from its strategic strongholds in Angola toward the Zaire border by the overwhelming military superiority of the Cuban-spearheaded MPLA offensive. Even Kissinger frankly acknowledged two weeks ago that the FNLA has "all but collapsed" (*New York Times*, 16 January). With its forces routed, the FNLA in desperation threatened to take recourse in acts of international terrorism directed against pro-Russian regimes.

Along the southern front the neo-colonialist UNITA has been dislodged from several positions, and a Cuban tank column covered by MIG-21 jets is now about to seize Huambo, the nominal capital of the imperialist-christened "Democratic Republic of Angola" which has just been abandoned by UNITA. Fighting has broken out between the retreating FNLA and UNITA units; in the southern theater of war the joint FNLA/UNITA command exploded a month ago, when UNITA drove the FNLA forces out of Huambo (*Observer* [London], 4 January).

In the face of the onrushing Cuban-led offensive the South African forces in the last several days have withdrawn from front-line positions along the strategic Benguela Railroad, which links the copper belt region of Zaire and Zambia with the Atlantic port of Benguela. Completely dependent upon the shield of South African armor, the UNITA has retreated to Silva Porto, resolving to make a last stand north of Alto Hama.

But South Africa now realizes that its Angolan intervention is a lost cause and is disengaging on the battlefield while calling for a ceasefire and

Cuban withdrawal. Even Kissinger yesterday declared that "to create a military stalemate with the Popular Movement and Cuban units" was no longer possible (*New York Times*, 28 January). Brushing aside eleventh-hour, for-the-record-only pleas from Ford for aid to Angola, the House of Representatives has just approved a Congressional cutoff of aid to the FNLA or UNITA with *post-mortem* speeches on Angola.

### Angola: battlefield of "superpowers"

In this country various vicarious "Third-World" nationalists who uncritically cheer the MPLA depict the current Angolan war as simply a "national liberation struggle" between the MPLA-led "entire Angolan people" and the FNLA/UNITA "puppets of imperialism." On the contrary, ever since the massive intervention by the American/South African imperialists on the FNLA/UNITA side, and by the Russian and Cuban degenerated/deformed workers

states on the MPLA side, the Angolan civil war between rival nationalist-tribalist forces became decisively transformed into a "war by proxy" between the Soviet Union and the U.S.

The extent of the intervention by the U.S./South Africa and the Soviet bloc involved more than simply an escalation of aid; the MPLA received Russian aid in the fratricidal fighting prior to the formal withdrawal of the Portuguese colonial authorities, just as the FNLA during the same period was aided by the U.S., Zaire and China and the UNITA was supplied by the U.S., Zambia and South Africa. But the massive introduction of thousands of crack Cuban and South African troops militarily transformed the conflict; the limited clashes between often ill-trained, poorly equipped and very youthful guerrilla bands became subsumed in a large-scale conventional war fought with highly mobile artillery, tanks and even helicopter gunships.

*continued on page 3*

**MARXISM  
AND THE  
JACOBIN  
COMMUNIST  
TRADITION**  
... see page 6



# Soares Lectures Yale: "Mensheviks Can Also Beat Bolsheviks"

NEW HAVEN, January 23—Posing merely as a mild-mannered "bibliophile," Mario Soares, leader of the Portuguese Socialist Party (PSP), turned up at Yale University last week as a visiting "Chubb Fellow." First lecturing aspiring "social scientists," Soares glibly dismissed all questions concerning his connections with the CIA. Later, sipping scotch, this social democrat in a grey flannel suit pledged a "nonviolent" advance to a "socialist society" in Portugal, "based on Western European rather than Soviet or Chinese influence."

Yesterday, sandwiched between a closed-door session with the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (Michael Harringtonites) and an audience with imperialist diplomat Henry Kissinger, Soares made a public appearance before 300-400 peo-

ple at Yale. Reading from a prepared text, Soares championed his party as a defender of (capitalist) "democracy" against the "authoritarianism" of both the left and the right. Soares spoke favorably of the defeat of the leftist soldiers' rebellion of November 25, noting that in the repressive aftermath of the coup (during which hundreds of leftist soldiers and civilians have been jailed), "the conditions have now been created in Portugal to institutionalize democracy!"

Soares pointed out that bourgeois democracy "cannot function without a minimum of economic security." He bemoaned the lack of confidence on the part of the Portuguese capitalists and praised the Portuguese proletariat for its "traditional capacity to work." Moreover, Soares endorsed the "stabilizing" measures of the Sixth

Provisional Government and approvingly quoted Andre Malraux, "The Portuguese socialists have proved to the world that the Mensheviks can also beat the Bolsheviks."

However, before Soares began his speech, crazed followers of the National Caucus of Labor Committees, an ultra-paranoid politically bizarre thug-sect, attempted to stop the meeting, presumably as part of their mission of saving the world from nuclear annihilation to be touched off by the Rockefeller Conspiracy during the first week of February... "at the latest"! At the same time members of the Caucus for a Socialist Alternative, a social-democratic/quasi-Maoist campus group, distributed a leaflet designed to politely embarrass Soares with mildly critical questions.

Deftly evading most of the issues, the PSP head maintained his slick pose as the savior of democracy, apparently to the satisfaction of many student liberals. In his answers, Soares stated that his contacts with the U.S. State Department and Congress were only for the purpose of "informing them of the current situation in Portugal"! Yet he flatly denied receiving CIA funds, thereby contradicting his own friends in the State Department who last September admitted channelling \$2-to-\$10 million a month to the PSP. He decried what he called a seeming obsession with



Mario Soares.

his connections with the secret agents of U.S. imperialism, saying, "There are other realities besides the CIA!"

But the real political confrontation took place when speakers from the Spartacus Youth League took the floor. One SYL spokesman stated she was "speaking for Bolshevism" and then exposed the PSP as strikebreakers, partners in the repressive acts of the bourgeois government, leaders of right-wing mobilizations against the Communist Party and defenders along with the Stalinists of the popular-front governments in Portugal. Another SYL speaker declared that far from a "defender of democracy" Soares actually represented the Trojan horse of reaction, since the policies Soares supports only strengthen the Spínolaist/PIDE reactionaries for a future assault on the Portuguese working masses.

In "reply" Soares ingenuously stated that he "obviously didn't understand" the first SYL question; but, he added, he did "understand your speech. It's the same all over the world." He dismissed the political issues by boasting that attacks by communists like the SYL merely testified to the "importance" of international social democracy.

Indeed, social democracy is an important obstacle to proletarian revolution. Soares' PSP stands as a bulwark for capitalism in Portugal, now advocating the disarming of far left soldiers and workers and the subordination of workers commissions to the bourgeois state. The PSP openly fronted for a vicious anti-communist mobilization of rightist terror last July and August, and these so-called "socialists" played a major role in orchestrating the anti-proletarian reaction in the aftermath of the November 25 events by supporting the government offensive against the far left.

By his urbane posturing and sophisticated dodging, Soares proved himself a quite able Menshevik. But the historic lessons are far more powerful than the cracks of this aspiring Scheidemann. The Russian Bolsheviks *did* politically defeat the Mensheviks; and, in the absence of a genuine Bolshevik party, the German Mensheviks paved the way for the triumph of fascism! For a Bolshevik Party in Portugal! Forward to the Portuguese socialist revolution! ■

# Pickets Protest Milton Friedman: Collaborator of the Chilean Junta

BERKELEY—During the last few months University of Chicago professor Milton Friedman has sizzled on a hot seat of controversy as a Chicago campaign initiated by the Spartacus Youth League exposed and protested his direct complicity with the Chilean junta and its barbarous "shock treatment" for the working people.

But when Friedman left Chicago for a December 30 conference at the Bank of America in the Bay Area, he slipped out of the Chicago spotlight only to be greeted at the Bank of America by a militant picket line demonstration with the slogans "Protest Friedman—Collaborator with the Chilean Junta!" and "Free All Victims of the Junta's Repression!" Like the

150-strong demonstration at the Chicago campus last October, the demonstration had been initiated by the SYL.

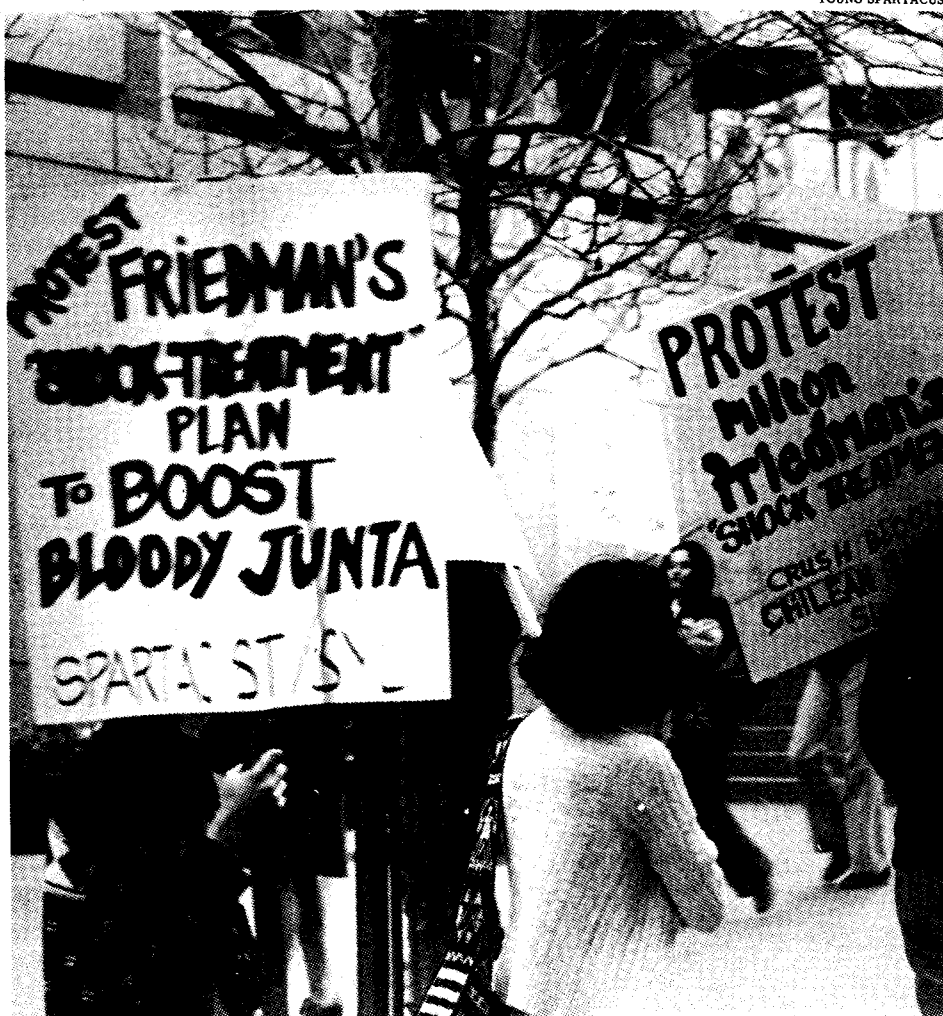
In California Friedman is known as the economic policy advisor for presidential contender Ronald Reagan. In Latin America, however, this conservative economist is renowned as one of the "Chicago Boys" who has collaborated with the bloody Chilean junta in imposing a "shock treatment" of economic austerity upon the workers and poor. Touted as a "cold turkey" solution to the runaway inflation under the junta, the *tratamiento de "shock,"* as it is known in Chile, is a policy of planned impoverishment and even starvation, backed up by the massive and deadly repres-

sion of the junta.

According to the *New York Times* (25 January), the "shock treatment" has not curbed inflation but has thrown one third of the workforce into unemployment and slashed the median income for workers to under \$100-a-month! The same article quotes a Chilean teacher, "a generation of mental defectives is being developed by the anti-inflationary policy," because "almost all working-class children in Santiago suffer from malnutrition." And the *Times* concludes: "the main reason for the draconian economic measures imposed by Chile's military rulers is that Government planners have been following the advice of Dr. Milton Friedman and other monetarist economists of the University of Chicago."

Indeed, Friedman and his cohort in the Chicago economics department, Arnold Harberger, flew to Chile last spring to put their services at the disposal of the butcher Pinochet. More recently, it has been revealed that Chilean proteges of the two "Chicago Boys" were connected with covert CIA operations in 1973, the year of the Pinochet coup which toppled the popular-front regime headed by Salvador Allende. Witnesses testifying before the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Activities have disclosed that students of Harberger and Friedman received CIA money for "economic research" projects done for Pinochet (*Business Week*, 12 January).

Today's demonstration continues the campaign which was initiated at the University of Chicago, where there have been demonstrations, a teach-in and a torrent of controversy over Friedman's connection with the Chilean *gorillas*. As our campaign has amply documented, Milton Friedman is a brain-truster for brutal dictators. His "free exchange of ideas" with the military brass in Santiago means that today the Chilean workers endure frightening suffering and hardship, watching their children slowly starve. This man must not be allowed to appear for public speeches without protest. DRIVE FRIEDMAN OFF CAMPUS THROUGH PROTEST AND EXPOSURE! FREE THE VICTIMS OF THE JUNTA'S REPRESSION!



Bay Area: demonstration blasts Friedman complicity in junta's "shock treatment."

## Young Spartacus

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

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

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

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

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

For penetrating analysis,  
incisive social commentary,  
and a revolutionary  
perspective and program...

**YOU NEED TO  
READ THE MONTHLY  
YOUNG SPARTACUS**

Our monthly YOUNG SPARTACUS plays an important role in expanding the influence of Trotskyism, the program of international proletarian socialist revolution. YOUNG SPARTACUS provides insightful and controversial analyses of major social struggles and issues of political importance, including the current imperialist-led invasion against MPLA forces in Angola, the defense of busing in Boston, and the shameless endorsement by the Maoists of China's bloc with NATO. Reporting the activities of the SYL at more than twenty major colleges and universities, YOUNG SPARTACUS has covered the campaigns against University of Chicago professor Milton Friedman's collaboration with the bloody Chilean junta, against CIA/NSA recruitment at Cal/Berkeley and UCLA, and against the devastating budget slashing in New York City.

YOUNG SPARTACUS provides the program and the historical lessons which make Marxism a guide to revolutionary action. During February the SYL will be conducting a subscription drive in order to make available to even more regular readers the stimulus of revolutionary analysis and reportage. We urge all our supporters and friends to make every effort to help ensure the success of this year's subscription drive.

Local	Quota	Detroit/Ann Arbor	60
		Los Angeles	60
Bay Area	100	Madison	30
Bloomington	10	New York Area	85
Boston	55	Philadelphia	45
Chicago	100		
Cleveland	55	Total .....	600



NAME \_\_\_\_\_  
 ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_ PHONE \_\_\_\_\_  
 CITY/STATE \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

**\$2/one  
year**

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

**Cubans Turn Tide ...**

continued from page 1

For weeks the decisive military engagements in Angola have been fought by the Cuban troops and South African/Portuguese mercenary units. Just as the invading South African armored column rolled back the out-gunned MPLA units during the imperialist-led drive on Luanda in November, the subsequent counter-offensive by a Cuban expeditionary force estimated at 8,000, backed up by some 200 Russian Red Army commanders and a torrent of military aid from the USSR, has recently turned the tide in the field in favor of the Luanda regime.

Only the South African regulars have the military capacity to hold the line against the present Cuban-led tank offensive on the key towns along the Benguela Railway. As one war correspondent in Angola correctly reported, "The basic military decisions in the fighting against the Luanda forces, much of the field-level leadership, most of the heavy weapons and the logistical and communications structure are believed to be supplied by South Africa" (*New York Times*, 22 January). When asked by a journalist two weeks ago to comment on the progress of the war, the UNITA Prime Minister, Jose Ndele, replied: "I don't know. I haven't listened to the Voice of America or Radio South Africa yet" (UPI dispatch, 16 January).

The complete rout of the FNLA front in northern Angola clearly demonstrated that each of the nationalist formations in fact had become subordinated in a "proxy war." Far from representing simply a creature of imperialism, the FNLA has a traditional deep-rooted tribal base among the large Bakongo population in the north and a long history of anti-Portuguese struggle. Prior to the introduction of the Cuban forces the FNLA, reinforced by an estimated 1,000 Zaïre army regulars, drove deep into MPLA-held territory in the offensive coordinated with the South African invasion from the south. But lacking the South African firepower the FNLA forces dramatically crumbled in the

face of the devastating Cuban counter-attack. FNLA leader Holden Roberto now wails that U.S. aid was "too small, too late" (*New York Times*, 12 January).

**Defeat the imperialist-led forces!**

All war is but a continuation of politics by other means. The three-cornered civil war between the MPLA, FNLA and UNITA, which shattered the "transitional government" negotiated with the Portuguese last year, represented the struggle for hegemony by nationalist formations seeking to monopolize state power in a soon-to-be independent Angola; the civil war was not an anti-colonialist struggle, but an *intra-nationalist* conflict. Since each group struggled only to congeal an anti-proletarian, bourgeois regime, the military victory of one force over the others in no way would have objectively advanced the interests of the proletariat.

But the politics of the fratricidal-tribalist feuding became decisively subordinated to the "superpower" rivalry of a "war by proxy." The U.S./South Africa/Portuguese *colon* intervention in Angola is an *imperialist power play* against "Soviet expansionism." In this conflict socialists must stand for the *military victory* of the USSR-backed/Cuban-led MPLA against the imperialist-led forces. While giving absolutely no *political support* to the MPLA, we stand with the Cuban and MPLA side against the South African troops in the vanguard of the UNITA forces.

Even the imperialist powers have spelled out their fundamental objective of blocking Russian influence in sub-Saharan Africa. Last month Henry Kissinger explicitly dismissed the MPLA as an independent factor in U.S. imperialist policy toward Angola. Says Kissinger,

"We were prepared to accept any outcome in Angola before massive arms shipments by the Soviet Union and the introduction of Cuban forces... The issue is not whether a pro-Soviet faction is becoming dominant in Angola..."

We accepted in Mozambique without any difficulty a pro-Marxist faction that came to power by indigenous means... the issue is whether the Soviet Union, backed by a Cuban expeditionary force, can impose on two thirds of the population its own brand of government."

—quoted in *New York Times*, 24 December 1975

Likewise, South Africa intervened in Angola primarily to prevent the USSR from gaining a secure foothold in Angola, thereby straddling the continent and casting an ominous shadow on the white-supremacist Southern African regimes. Recently South African Prime Minister Vorster declared, "It is obvious that South Africa is concerned over blatant Russian and Cuban intervention in Angola."

**Fate of Angola decided in Washington and Moscow**

Despite all the imposing declarations of the "People's Democratic Republic" and its rival "Democratic Republic," the final outcome of the war will be decided not in Luanda or Huambo but in Washington, Pretoria and Moscow. The U.S. ruling class has been clearly divided over U.S. policy toward Angola. The Ford/Kissinger administration gambled on directly aiding the FNLA/UNITA, only very soon to discover that their pawns were losers. The more far-sighted bourgeois strategists have pushed for a political solution, moaning that U.S. involvement unwisely provoked the Russians, smeared the U.S. with an alliance with the South Africans, and involved covert U.S. operations. The articulate bourgeois mouthpiece, the *New York Times*, has been counseling against continued U.S. involvement "in remote and extremely complicated conflicts touching only indirectly on American interests." And Michigan Democrat Charles Diggs, attending the mid-January Organization of African "Unity" summit conference on Angola, fumed: "The American intrusion in the Angolan conflict is the biggest blunder in the history of its relations with Africa and may be the most serious

foreign policy miscalculation ever made" (quoted in *New York Times*, 12 January).

Indeed, in Angola the U.S.-USSR cold war, euphemistically dubbed "detente," became a hot war. With the Ford administration over the barrel the Moscow bureaucracy simply turned a deaf ear to Kissinger's hard-line demands to "remember Helsinki" and pushed for a battlefield victory.

**China allies with imperialism**

In its reactionary crusade against "Soviet social-imperialism" in Angola the Stalinist bureaucracy in "People's" China marches in lockstep with the U.S. imperialists and the abominable South African apartheid regime against the Russian-aided/Cuban-led MPLA. Even before the limited civil war became subsumed by direct "superpower contention" on the eve of Angolan independence, the Chinese government lined up with the U.S. imperialists and directly aided the rabidly anti-communist FNLA and UNITA in their fight for hegemony over the Soviet-backed MPLA. FNLA leader Holden Roberto, who has been receiving CIA funds for over a decade, recently boasted, "All my troops have been trained by the Chinese" (quoted in *New York Times*, 14 December 1975). And with these Chinese-trained troops the FNLA has vowed to massacre "every single communist" in Angola (quoted in *African Development*, November 1975)! Likewise, UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi this week claimed that UNITA could defeat the Cuban Communists, because "we have experts trained in China concentrating on the development of our guerrilla tactics" (quoted in *New York Times*, 26 January).

**Chinese arms for anti-communists**

China has aided the Zaire-based FNLA as part of Mao's courting of Mobutu, that infamous henchman of U.S. imperialism who drools with an-

continued on page 8

# Budget Cuts Spark Militant Actions At Kent State

CLEVELAND, January 21—Despite a driving snow storm 200 students rallied today at Kent State University (KSU) to demand an end to budget cuts and layoffs and the revocation of a recently imposed tuition hike. The united-front rally was initiated by the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) and featured speakers from the SYL, Living and Learning Community, Kent Gay Liberation Front, Socialist Education, Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB), the student government and various organizationally unaffiliated radicals. Two weeks ago, on January 8, another protest against budget cuts ended in a melee between campus cops and students, and today's demonstration also demanded that the administration drop all threats of discipline and legal action against the student victims of this cop rampage.

## Radical mood on campus

The tuition hike is part of a broader campus austerity program which will include the laying off of 77 faculty members, the closing of several campus cafeterias and other "belt-tightening" measures. But the tuition increase itself is relatively minor—only \$15/per quarter. Obviously this issue has served as a focus for disaffection beyond the immediate threat of higher rates for next year.

Unable to recognize and politicize the radical mood motivating student discontent at KSU, the Revolutionary Student Brigade *refused to endorse* today's demonstration, claiming that "the masses of students weren't ready" for what turned out to be the largest and most militant demonstration of the year! The RSB, which at its recent national conference voted to make anti-budget cut actions a national campaign, has sought all year to put itself at the head of such a struggle at KSU. However, by limiting student struggles to an apolitical, campus-parochial strategy the RSB has been unable to spark the kind of enthusiasm and political interest demonstrated at today's rally. Rather, the organizing efforts of the RSB have been dissipated in a series of small, flash-in-the-pan demonstrations sputtering out in a sub-reformist "campaign" to "reopen the three cafeterias."

Since September, the SYL has intervened in meetings and demonstrations calling for united-front actions around the slogan, "No Cuts—No Layoffs," as well as pointing to the necessity of linking the struggles of students to those of the working class. Then, on January 8, 60 demonstrators showed up for a rally and march to a Board of Trustees meeting. The rally had been called by the RSB and its milquetoast front group, "Students for Decent Education." The SYL brought a large and spirited contingent to the rally, and when the crowd began to chant our slogans during the march to the Board of Trustees meeting, one frenzied RSB supporter tried to hold back nearly the entire contingent in an unsuccessful attempt to silence the SYL.

Inside the Board meeting, students confronted the Trustees and demanded that the tuition hike be immediately rescinded. After snorting that they refused to be "intimidated," these small-time lackeys for the capitalist class sat through one mindless "fight back" speech from an RSB member and moved the agenda. The demonstrators, by this time numbering over 100, loudly protested this high-handed contempt for student protest. The response of the



Kent State students rally before march to confront budget-trimming Trustees at sham "speak-out."

Board was to whistle for their security watchdogs, who had been waiting in the wings. SYL members immediately began to chant, "Cops out!" and when the entire crowd joined in, the men in blue retreated.

Unable to continue the meeting, the Board voted to reconvene in "executive session," that is, to beat a hasty retreat. As the students followed the scampering money-bag Trustees and shouted choice epithets, the administration quickly mobilized a large number of cops. The cops clashed with a number of students, and at least one cop was injured. Later, the police requested pictures of the demonstration from the campus *Kent Stater*; though refusing to release them, the paper readily lent itself to false reporting and a campaign of "outside-agitator" baiting which fingered a leading RSB supporter as a non-student.

## SYL strategy adopted

Next a meeting of the "Students for Decent Education" was scheduled for January 12 to discuss future actions. Earlier the SYL had passed out

a leaflet calling for students to attend the meeting and vote for united-front action around the demand, "No Cuts—No Layoffs—No Reprisals!" Undoubtedly, most of the 50 students came to do just that, for when the RSB once again attempted a political exclusion, the students voted unanimously to walk out of the meeting should the RSB exclude the SYL. After systematically attempting to derail the meeting and its democratic decisions for action, the RSB chairperson was summarily relieved of her duties and replaced by an unaffiliated student.

Not content to quietly retreat after an humiliating rejection of its sectarian posturing and apolitical antics, the RSB appeared at subsequent steering committee meetings of the united front only to disassociate themselves from the planned January 21 demonstration. In a leaflet calling for a "Day of Protest" on January 21, the RSB mentioned not one word about the planned united-front demonstration; rather, these tear-jerk Maoists called for... an "Armband Day"! Some "fight back"! These Maoists masquerading as bleeding-heart band-aid liberals refused to raise either the issue of lay-

offs or the threatened victimizations of some of the RSB's own supporters.

## Trustees flayed

After today's successful rally, the 200 protesters marched through the snow to a forum convened by the Trustees to demonstrate their willingness to "communicate constructively" with students. An SYL speaker cut through the bombast of the Trustees and drew applause from those present when he called for the abolition of the administration and its replacement by teacher/worker/student control of the universities. In response the Board chairman rebaited SYL speakers, demagogically claiming that such meetings as this could not take place in Russia or China! An SYL speaker retorted that such meetings will not occur in a socialist America, since the Kent Trustees and all of their ilk will be swept away by the victorious proletarian revolution. Indeed, the Trustees' whining over their "poverty" only brought home the central point of the SYL intervention—the fight against the budget cuts must be broadened into a perspective for struggle against the whole capitalist system. ■

# STOP RACIST DRAGNET AT UCLA!

LOS ANGELES, January 23—For the last several days armed campus cops at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) have been roaming the campus indiscriminately arresting black males in a racist atrocity recalling "Operation Zebra" in San Francisco last year.

The outrageous dragnet is the UCLA cops' method of apprehending "suspects" in connection with a rape of a white woman on campus several days previously. Using a caricature of a composite drawing and a description so vague that it could fit perhaps half of the black male population in this city, the campus cops searched, photographed, detained and brow-beat black students and black UCLA campus workers for several days.

When the campus newspaper, the *Daily Bruin*, featured a story on the round-up and printed the cops' "composite drawing," a storm of outrage swept campus. On short notice the UCLA Black Student Alliance (BSA) today called a demonstration which rapidly attracted about 300 students, pre-

dominantly black, for a protest rally and a march to the campus cop station and administration building. The BSA delivered a formal statement to the administration demanding an immediate end to the campus cop harassment, the opening of police files on students, a formal apology from the UCLA administration and campus security chief, and more black cops at UCLA.

The SYL joined in the BSA-sponsored demonstration. We are determined to fight the intolerable, racist cop dragnet. However, we point out that more black cops at UCLA will not stop such racist atrocities; black cops did not stop the "Operation Zebra" in San Francisco but, on the contrary, carried out the dragnet. The racist cops must be disarmed and removed from campus!

Today's demonstration drew wide support from almost all campus left and labor organizations. In addition to BSA and Mecha members, the Progressive Labor Party and Young Socialist Alliance also participated. A campus union, Local 2070 of the American Fed-

eration of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), had already scheduled a rally for the same day to protest the firing of a union member, but the union postponed its rally in order to merge forces with the students protesting the vicious, racist dragnet.

But the Revolutionary Student Brigade was conspicuously absent from the demonstration. Having at last gathered together a mere 20 followers for their first campus action in months—a skit and "mass rally" against cutbacks sponsored by their "Committee for a Decent Education" front group—the RSB refused to postpone their tiny gathering. As students gathered by the hundreds for the BSA-sponsored protest, the RSB staged its flop about 100 yards away and then marched off alone to the administration building. Only when the large anti-cop demonstration approached the administration building shortly later did the RSB slink in to the protest.

STOP THE RACIST FRAME-UP! COFS OFF CAMPUS! ■

# How Progressive Labor Party "Supports" Open Admissions

As students resume classes at the campuses of the City University of New York (CUNY) the effective destruction of its open admission policy by the budget-cutting Board of Higher Education (BHE) over the Christmas inter-session dominates campus political life. The drastic BHE decision to impose "minimum requirement" admission standards will decimate next fall's freshman enrollment by an estimated 40 percent and will return CUNY to the discriminatory racial composition prevailing prior to the implementation of open admissions.

Last semester, when the elimination of open admissions was only a threat, thousands of CUNY students flocked to protest demonstrations. The Spartacus Youth League energetically intervened in the many meetings, teach-ins and demonstrations, especially at City College, calling for broad labor/student mobilizations against the budget cuts and layoffs of city workers.

Attempting to present itself as the most militant tendency in these protests, the Progressive Labor Party (PL) has flaunted the most inflated rhetoric and at times agitated for the most senselessly and recklessly provocative tactics in opposing the cutbacks. Yet, on the decisive question of open admissions, PL pushes a completely opportunist line. Although in leaflets distributed at cutback protest rallies in New York during November PL came out for the *defense* of open admissions at CUNY, PL fails to *call for* open admissions in its propaganda elsewhere. While denouncing "racist cutbacks" in the abstract, PL refuses to fight for open admissions on campuses where open admissions does not already exist.

In fact, during the massive student struggles over the demand for open admissions in 1969 and 1970, PL open-

ly opposed the demand! Listen to this:

"We can not support the movement for more black working class—or white working class students. The movement [for open admissions] implies that the university is going to teach working class youth how to change society for the better—perhaps even how to make a revolution. It is a slap in the face of Black people, because it gives the ruling class another way to coopt some of the most disciplined forces from the ongoing Black struggle."

—PL Magazine, May 1969

This drivel combines grotesque New Left elitism with Stalinist philistinism. In this period PL made a partial break with elements of Stalinism and New Leftism, but usually drew symmetrical conclusions based on the same conceptions. PL sharply rejected the black-nationalist position advocating exclusively black "open admissions"; but, rather than calling for free, quality higher education for all, PL simply denied the validity of struggles to reverse racial discrimination and undercut the class privileges of the universities.

Thus, PL rejected the New Left's moralistic uncritical tailing of all black movements only to embrace the no-less-moralistic, New Left line that "the most oppressed are the most revolutionary." PL actually accepted the liberal myth that a "good education" was the ticket out of class oppression and racial discrimination. So, fearing that the "American Dream" might really come true, PL insisted that the exploited and oppressed remain uneducated, bigoted, unskilled and, for most black youth, unemployed in the ghetto. Only then would the working people be immune from "cooptation."

Likewise, PL repudiated the New Left illusion that under capitalism the



PL's "Fight Racism" campaigns do not include the call for open admissions.

universities could be transformed into "red universities" or "liberated base areas." From the recognition that educational institutions under capitalism serve the bourgeois order PL, however, adopted the line that all knowledge transmitted by the university is simply enslaving superstition and falsification (which was supremely hypocritical, given PL's heavy orientation on student work). But the universities transmit the most diverse knowledge, some of which is ideological rubbish but some of which is essential for grasping Marxist doctrine; the college campus historically has provided the intellectual stimulation which brings many students to revolutionary politics. One should recall that the initial cadres which formed the Black Panther Party were recruited not from the most oppressed lumpen ghetto youth but from black students at Merritt Community College.

In 1969 the Spartacist League directed a polemic against PL's position against open admissions. Replying to PL's glorification of ignorance, we said:

"Finally, workers with trained intellects will form a valuable nucleus around which will coalesce the means for the destruction of capitalism. The extension of such valuable tools as the ability to make abstractions, to combat the ideas of the bourgeoisie and to understand the modern world will be but the beginning for many workers. Many will want to pursue the search for knowledge far beyond the rote training of the University; many, forced back into the productive process by the necessities of capitalism, will be just that much more alienated and unwilling to work their long hours, and will be constantly unsatisfied and unsatisfiable workers."

—Spartacist East No. 3, October 1969

To our knowledge PL has never repudiated its reactionary line on open admissions. To oppose open admissions at CUNY today would be an act of political suicide. So, the opportunist PL is now defending open admissions. But, just as in the past, so in the future, PL is not *supporting* struggles for what is an elementary democratic demand with a real working-class bias.

Indeed, PL is characterized by just such flip-flops, since it contains contradictory impulses toward ultra-left and adventurist sectarianism as well as toward grovelling capitulation to liberalism. In New York City, for example, PL has engaged in ultra-militant rhetoric and provocative tactics during budget cuts demonstrations; at the same time PL, when working within the CUNY University Student Senate, accommodates liberalism, arguing that mass student mobilizations should simply pressure the state "to guarantee open admissions by law" (New York PL leaflet).

## DEFEND VICTIM OF NAZI ATTACK!

*Young Spartacus* calls the attention of all its readers to the defense campaign presently being waged on behalf of Michael Murphy, a supporter of the Young Socialist Alliance. According to the *Militant* (23 January) Murphy has been charged with disorderly conduct "for defending himself against an assault by a Nazi in downtown Milwaukee last summer."

Clearly Michael Murphy is a victim of a fascist attack and cop frame-up, and his case should be supported by the left and labor movement. The Spartacus Youth League has enormous political differences with the Young Socialist Alliance, not the least of which is our opposition to its position defending "free speech" and "civil liberties" for fascists and its policy repudiating self-defense against right-wing attacks in favor of reliance on the cops to "uphold the law." But an injury to one is an injury to all! We demand that all charges against Michael Murphy be dropped at once!

Contributions for defense can be sent to: Michael Murphy Defense Committee, c/o George Dolph, 806 North 12 Street, Apt. W, Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53233.

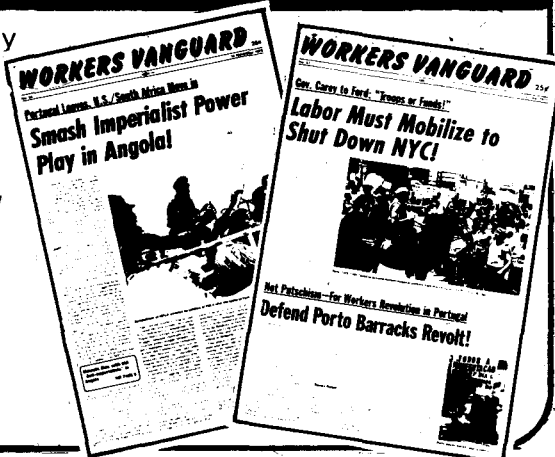
## WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Weekly  
of the Spartacist League

**Subscribe!**

\$5 for 48 issues (one year)

Make checks payable/mail to:  
Spartacist Publishing Co.  
Box 1377, GPO  
New York, New York 10001



## Bloomington

IMPERIALIST WAR IN ANGOLA

SANDOR JONAS  
SYL National Committee

Feb. 3, Tues.  
7:30 pm

Indiana Memorial Union Room 300 B

FORUM

**Now Available!**

**YOUTH,  
CLASS  
AND  
PARTY!**

Basic Documents  
of the SYL.

25c

ORDER FROM: Spartacus Youth  
Publishing Co., Box 825, Canal St.  
Sta., New York NY 10013

# Marxism and the Jacobin

## Buonarroti and Babouvist Heritage

By  
Joseph Seymour

**EDITOR'S NOTE:** Over the weekend of 17-19 January in Berkeley more than 100 supporters of the Spartacus Youth League and the Spartacist League participated in a SYL West Coast educational conference. The program featured presentations on the Soviet economy, the Right Opposition in the Bolshevik Party during the 1920's, and the heritage of Jacobin communism. Beginning with this issue Young Spartacus is publishing the contribution "Marxism and the Jacobin Communist Tradition" by Joseph Seymour, a member of the Central Committee of the Spartacist League. To preserve the character of the verbal presentation we have introduced only stylistic alterations and deletions.



Filippo Buonarroti.



François Babeuf.

I am in the process of giving a seven-part [SYL class] series, titled "Marxism and the Jacobin Communist Tradition." This talk constitutes a compression of the first three parts: it is an attempt to analyze the main European revolutionary movement from the French Revolution until the time that Marx as a left-of-center bourgeois democrat arrived in France and Engels as a utopian socialist, bohemian hellraiser from the University of Berlin arrived in England, where they were transformed into communists.

In the general conception of the origins and background of Marxism there is the tendency toward idealization and individualization which sees Marx as a genius who assimilated Hegel, Ricardo and Adam Smith and who read history and then synthesized these intellectual traditions into Marxism. Now, this is simply not true. In 1847 Marx joined an organization which had a twelve year revolutionary history. He did not join as a member; he joined at the top after he had come to agreement with the leadership. But it was not his organization, and he was a leader not because these people were followers of Marx but because his own ideas were in congruence with theirs.

Objectively, there has been the suppression of the influence of the Jacobin communist tradition and the living organizational links, not simply the ideological and intellectual effects, of the French Revolution through two generations of revolutionary communists who, in the broad sense, educated Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. There are, I think, several reasons as to why there is this false view.

First, since World War II, particularly in the Anglo-Saxon countries, virtually all of the literature on Marxist historiography has been done by academics who have no knowledge of or interest in revolutionary organization,

so that there has been a systematic idealization of Marx. Second, the Stalinists, who have done much of the historical study of the pre-1848 left, are very much aware of the revolutionary movement, but introduce another kind of falsification, namely, the cult of personality projected backwards. When Marx walks on the historic stage of 1843 in the Stalinist writings, he is presented as standing head and shoulders above the people who taught him things which he did not know and could not have figured out for himself. Within the Stalinist historiography of this period there is a strong tendency to deny Marx's assertion that the educator too must be educated. Finally, there is what could be called the obscurity of the obvious. Marx's debt to German philosophical traditions was in many ways unique. But Marx shared with almost all of his contemporaries a profound debt to the Jacobin communist tradition. In 1861 Marx wrote, in effect, "Well, of course, before 1848 everybody was a Babouvist." At that time all communists basically identified with the left wing of the French Revolution.

So, a main purpose of this series, of which the talk is a part, is to restore to the consciousness of our comrades our real debt to Babeuf, Buonarroti, Blanqui, Julian Harney and Karl Schapper. Without them, both as individuals and as tendencies, Marx would have been nothing other than a German academic, just another version of Bruno Bauer.

### Shaping impact of Great French Revolution

The great British historian, William Maitland, said that the most difficult thing about history is to remember that events which happened long ago were once in the future. Indeed, one of the most difficult things is to be

able to put yourself into the political context of the 1820's and the 1830's. But there are two things that stand out, and they are interrelated.

First, one cannot overestimate the degree to which the consciousness of the revolutionaries and communists of those days was shaped by the French Revolution. The Jacobin dictatorship which lasted one year represented for any revolutionary democrat or communist—and the line between them was very thin—the only thing that they had to look back on, the only historic experience that they could build on. The period from the overthrow of Robespierre at least to the revolution of 1830 in France and the Reform Act of 1832 in Britain, but really to the revolution of 1848, was a period of deep reaction, in which the possibility of a radical bourgeois-democratic republic seemed almost utopian. The historic experiences on which to build a communist theory were very meager and were concentrated in one great event—the French Revolution, specifically, the Jacobin dictatorship.

Second, on the basis of the French Revolution and the attitudes of the ruling class, communism was generally identified with democracy. As Metternich remarked, "There is no difference between a liberal and a communist." For Metternich there was no difference: if you had universal suffrage, if you overthrew the government and instituted a bourgeois democracy, then the collectivization of property—the expropriation of the bourgeoisie—was relatively easy. Only the experience of the revolution of 1848 allowed for a general re-evaluation of that premise. But before 1848, from Metternich through Marx, it was assumed that universal suffrage, at least in a country like England, would be associated with the massive economic reorganization in the interests of the proletariat—the proletariat then

being not the industrial working class, but basically the plebeian masses, those who own nothing but their labor or who did not employ labor.

The French Revolution shares with the Bolshevik Revolution the fact that the revolutionaries had a strong doctrinal pre-history. Robespierre, Saint-Just, Babeuf and Marat were no less committed to carrying out the doctrines of Rousseau, Diderot and the other French *philosophes* than Lenin and Trotsky were to Marx. Therefore, one cannot understand the French Revolution, particularly Jacobin communism, without some knowledge of the left wing of the French Enlightenment.

The dominant philosopher who shaped the French revolutionary movement was Jean Jacques Rousseau. I will simply make the following point about Rousseau: unlike the other philosophers of the bourgeois-democratic movement, such as the Englishman Locke, Rousseau did not regard property as a natural right but as a social convention. He believed that as a social convention, property was serviceable in the interests of democracy and individual freedom. While having as an ideal a society of small property owners, Rousseau never regarded property as a natural right; therefore, one could indeed be a follower of Rousseau and be a communist, simply by differing with Rousseau not on the question of principle, but rather on the question of his empirical evaluation of property as the best convention to guarantee individual liberty.

There were also contemporaries of Rousseau, notably a Catholic priest named Mably and an atheist named Morelly, who disagreed with Rousseau. They contended that only under a collectivist system, only when there is equality of consumption and some kind of general collective organization of labor, can there arise a genuinely democratic society. There existed, therefore, in a doctrinal form, concepts of communism which arose out of the ideological preparation for the greatest of bourgeois-democratic revolutions.

### Jacobin dictatorship

The Jacobin dictatorship, the reign of terror, the rule of Robespierre, represented an episode in which the revolutionary bourgeoisie, facing overwhelming international reaction and not yet having established its own strong state apparatus, had to make certain concessions to the masses, particularly the masses of Paris, which tended to be the seat of social power in France. In particular, the need to finance a revolutionary war could be done through either unrestrained inflationary finance, in which the living standards of the population would decline, or some kind of economic controls. Furthermore, the revolutionary bourgeoisie also faced the question of the expropriation of the reactionaries and disposition of their property. Thus, the Robespierre dictatorship, under the direct military pressure of the so-called *sans-culottes* of Paris, instituted elements of economic control in conflict with the basic bourgeois ideology of *laissez faire*, the unlimited expansion of incomes and the historic interests of the bourgeoisie.

However, Robespierre genuinely believed that his policies represented a trans-class national interest. In 1793 Robespierre rewrote the Declaration of the Rights of Man, since the original Declaration, representing an earlier phase, was too liberal. Incidentally, the rewritten Declaration of the Rights of Man is substantially to the left of [Socialist Workers Party candidate] Peter Camejo's electoral campaign. The 1793 Declaration demanded that every able-bodied Frenchman be guaranteed a job or that the

## SL/SYL PUBLIC OFFICES—Revolutionary Literature

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

# Communist Tradition

state provide support; that the state provide free education; that every foreign citizen resident in France for more than six months and not a counter-revolutionary be automatically granted French citizenship; and that when the government violates the rights of the people the people have the sacred right and duty to insurrect.

Now, when the French Revolution had beaten back the external military threat, the conservative bourgeoisie, whose social base was mainly the peasantry, overthrew Robespierre; the conservative bourgeoisie formed a



Robespierre.

parliamentary majority which had an element of a right-left bloc, because Robespierre had also tended to suppress elements of the Paris proletariat who were going too far. And that was Thermidor, the ninth of Thermidor. So the Robespierre heritage was therefore ambiguous. But, nonetheless, it was extremely important that the Jacobin dictatorship was assimilated in the communist tradition even by a certain kind of distortion of history—which saw Robespierre as really a communist—a distortion which certainly did not represent any malice, but rather a kind of false consciousness.

The Thermidorian reaction did not lead to a stable regime; only the overthrow of all elements of representative civilian government by Napoleon Bonaparte five years later stabilized that regime. So in the interim, the Jacobins, although suppressed and dispersed, continued to be a politically organized force and a potential contender for power.

## Conspiracy of Equals

In 1796 there was a regroupment of the left-wing revolutionaries headed by Babeuf which on the basis of their experience had gone over to communism. Now, in some aspects, the Babeuf Conspiracy of Equals represented a genuine, fundamental programmatic shift toward communism. But around the Babeuf Conspiracy of Equals, which was not a small group of fanatics by any means, there were also followers of Robespierre, so they constituted basically a unified left opposition subscribing to two programs which were not really consistent with one another. One was a program simply calling for a return to the democratic constitution of 1793, which was acceptable to the Jacobins and had the historical authority of Robespierre. The other was the doctrine of Babouvists proper, which was that of a communistic regime.

The Conspiracy of Equals suffered from over-confidence; they simply passed out bills saying, "We are the secret committee of insurrection and we're going to insurrect." This agitation actually intersected considerable discontent. Thus, the army mutinied before they got around to organizing it, so that the rebellion was suppressed and the soldiers shipped out, and

the Conspiracy was infiltrated and suppressed. But it is worth noting that simply as an insurrection the Conspiracy of Equals could have succeeded. But the Conspiracy could not have carried out its program, and Babeuf personally would have been displaced by the right wing of his own movement. Nevertheless, one could have had a second reign of terror in 1796.

There was another important duality in Babouism. On the one hand, it had its popular program for return to universal suffrage. On the other hand, the experience of the reign of terror, in which a conservative majority had ousted Robespierre, combined with the recognition that Robespierre had only stayed in power by calling upon the Paris population every once and awhile to invade the Convention and silence the representatives who had been elected by the peasants, convinced the Babouvists that they would need in the initial stages a dictatorship of revolutionaries. Filippo Buonarroti, who carried this tradition forward, described their ideas,

"To found a Republic belongs only to such disinterested friends of humanity and of their country whose reason and courage have shot above the reason and courage of their contemporaries. The spirit of the Republic when established forms that of the citizens and of the magistrates, but at the commencement it is only the wisest and most ardent instigators of reform who can create the popular republican spirit. It was therefore a point resolutely agreed upon by committee [the Babouvist committee] that the magistracies, imposed at first and exclusively of the best revolutionaries, should not be subsequently renewed by the full application of the constitutional laws at once, but only generally and partially as the proportion of progress of national regeneration."

One has here the germs of the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat, albeit deformed through a certain objectively determined false

consciousness. The Babouvists empirically recognized that, had there been a free election in 1796, the communist Jacobins or even the radical Jacobins would not have been a majority; they were a majority in Paris but not in the country. This was not transformed into an understanding of the class differences between the peasantry, which had already gotten what they wanted, namely the land and the abolition of feudal taxes and obligations, and a pre-industrial working class; rather, this recognition was translated into the notion of the difference between the enlightened revolutionaries and the backward masses.

So the revolutionary regime was seen as the dictatorship of a revolutionary party, selected on the basis of individual political morality. In this sense, the Babouvists did not and could not transcend the ideological premises of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. Babeuf and Darthé were executed; but before his death, Babeuf wrote to one of his collaborators—he said, "Here are my notes, here are my ideas. Save these for posterity."

That collaborator for the next forty years worked to realize the Babouvist program. He was an Italian by the name of Filippo Michele Buonarroti. The most important work of his life, I would argue, was in the last five years, when the man was in his seventies. Because he was an Italian, he did not participate as a politician during the Jacobin dictatorship but rather as a revolutionary administrator. He was a troubleshooter and a terrorist. So he began his career as the Jacobin equivalent of the Cheka. Then he was imprisoned for awhile, but following Thermidor he was released. In this regroupment he joined the Babouvists. He was an orthodox follower of Robespierre; he convinced Babeuf for tactical reasons to claim the traditions of Robespierre rather than Hébert, who had less historical prestige with the masses.

Thinking about Buonarroti's career, the parallels with Trotsky are so great as to be overwhelming. They simply force themselves upon one's consciousness, although there is a difference, and it is a difference which appears superficial but is in fact fundamental, the difference between the bourgeois-democratic and the proletarian revolution.

Buonarroti was the only one of his revolutionary generation to carry on against overwhelming historical odds, and in greater isolation than Trotsky faced, the traditions of the French Revolution and its most radical expression. He did this in two forms. In the year 1828, as an old man, he published a book [*History of Babeuf's Conspiracy of Equals*], which both in effect and in purpose was *The Revolution Betrayed* of its day. In fact, the main theme was the original Thermidor, the one in 1794, not the one in 1924. In its day the book actually had a greater mass impact than *The Revolution Betrayed*, and was known as the Bible of revolutionaries. It was the book that educated the generation that educated Karl Marx. However, Buonarroti was not content, being a man of action, to limit himself simply to the literary expression of doctrine as important as that was. He also attempted to establish international revolutionary organizations.

## Reaction and conspiratorial strategy

Yet there is a difference with Trotsky which is fundamental. In a certain sense it encapsulates the whole purpose of this class series. The French counterrevolution, and French Bonapartism, was forced by overwhelming historical objective circumstances. Thus, the entire generation of Jacobins, including many Babouvists, capitulated to Bonapartism, so that throughout the Napoleonic era the bu-

*continued on page 10*



Iconography of bourgeois-democratic revolution: "Liberty Leads the People on the Barricades," by Eugene Delacroix.

# ANGOLA...

continued from page 3

nexationist appetites toward Angola. In 1974 the Maoists began to send Chinese military advisors and aid to FNLA bases in Zaire; in June, 1974, a France Presse dispatch from Kinshasa (Zaire) reported, "A team of Chinese military instructors has arrived in this city to begin the training of FNLA units" (quoted in *A Capital* [Lisbon], 3 June 1974).

A year later, as the fratricidal fighting escalated, a correspondent in Zaire reported that "there are Chinese instructors training the soldiers of a determinedly anti-Marxist FNLA at Kinkusu in the hope of offsetting the influence of a pro-Soviet MPLA" (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 7 June 1975). As Russia boosted its aid to the MPLA, the Chinese sent tanks and heavy artillery to both the FNLA and UNITA (*New York Times*, 14 November 1975). According to the FNLA China even supplied pilots to fly its French-supplied Mirage jets (*New York Times*, 24 August 1975). Even U.S. officials have testified to China's active support of the CIA-funded FNLA/UNITA: "Since the spring we have given minimum aid to the anti-communist movements [in Angola], because we were satisfied to let the Chinese do the work in the field" (quoted in *Le Monde*, 5 December 1975).

## No condemnation of U.S., South Africa

China not only worked with the CIA "in the field," but also allied with U.S. imperialist policy in Angola. From the outset of the civil war China has joined the imperialist chorus, ceaselessly assailing not the U.S. and South African imperialists and Portuguese mercenaries but the USSR as "the enemy" and "arch-criminal" in Angola. *Peking Review* (1 August 1975) roundly denounced Russian shipments of arms to "one organization" (guess which!) as "despicable tactics" and concluded, "These criminal deeds are certain to arouse anger among the Angolan people, open their eyes to the Soviet machinations and cause them to close ranks in the struggle against the enemy." In its articles on Angola *Peking Review* week after week refused to mention U.S. aid to the FNLA/UNITA, refused to mention U.S. machinations with Mobutu and South Africa for an imperialist balkanization of Angola, and refused to mention China's aid to the anti-communist/

neo-colonialist forces! Nor has China even once denounced "the other superpower"—Mao's polite appellation for U.S. imperialism—and exposed its "despicable tactics" and "criminal deeds."

On the contrary, as the Angolan civil war became transformed into a "proxy war" waged by the "superpowers," the Mao bureaucracy increased the decibels of its already thundering political support to the U.S./South Africa axis. During the South African-led blitzkrieg toward Luanda in November, the Chinese government issued a high-level policy statement on Angola which tiraded against...the "expansion and crude interference of the Soviet Union" (*Peking Review*, 21 November 1975). But this stunning policy statement not only refrained from even gently condemning U.S. imperialism but also refused to mention the South African invasion!! Significantly the bourgeois *New York Times* (21 December 1975) chastising Congress for its "emotional prejudice" against South Africa, wryly observed, "Even China has managed to remember its own national interests when regarding Southern Africa and has done its limited best to offset a Soviet advance."

Concerned only with "its own national interests" the Chinese bureaucracy indeed has cautiously probed possibilities for an alliance with South Africa. Recently China shifted its position on "dialogue" between black-ruled African states and the white-supremacist Southern Africa government. Formerly condemning such "dialogue" as "reactionary double tactics," China now has advised at least Zambia to pursue "detente" with the South African regime (*Los Angeles Times*, 14 September 1975). In recognition of China's overtures and backing in Angola, the South African *Rand Daily Mail* recently declared, "A Pretoria-Peking dialogue could be very beneficial to South Africa" (quoted in *Daily World*, 5 December 1975).

## "Marxism-Leninism-Henry Kissinger-Thought"

Warbling its "detente" duet with Kissinger, China has formulated a policy for Angola fully congruent with the aims of U.S. imperialism. Week after week China has called for an end to Russian involvement in Angola and a government of "national unity." Not coincidentally, this has been one major objective of imperialist vizier Kissinger. With U.S. intervention in Angola domestically hampered, with FNLA/UNITA forces now in retreat, and with the South African invasion driving many African countries into the MPLA camp, any solution forcing the withdrawal of the Cubans and the return to power of the FNLA and UNITA in a coalition government would represent a victory for the imperialists at the bargaining table recouping their losses on the battlefield.

Favorably reporting a recent NATO Council meeting (!), *Peking Review* (26 December 1975) extols Marxism-Leninism-Henry Kissinger-Thought on Angola:

"At the meeting U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger condemned the Soviet intervention in Angola and said that the United States would not allow the Soviet Union to get a foothold in the territory. 'At a press conference afterwards, Kissinger said: 'The United States cannot be indifferent to massive Soviet supplies of arms (in Angola).' 'The United States favors a solution in which all of the parties in Angola can negotiate with each other free of outside interference and in which the problem of Angola is handled as an African issue,' he declared. 'Failing that, the United States will try to prevent one party by means of massive introduction of outside equipment from achieving dominance,' he added."

Both the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy and the U.S. imperialists demand an end to the "Soviet intervention in Angola." Both the Chinese Stalinists and the U.S. imperialists advocate a negotiated settlement "free of outside interference." And both the Chinese Stalinists and the U.S. imperialists staunchly support NATO, which equipped the Portuguese colonial army

in Africa; this same *Peking Review* article even called for "reinforcement of Western defence capabilities!"

Yet *Peking Review* carefully edited the remarks of Kissinger at the NATO gathering, remaining silent about his statement supporting the immediate withdrawal of South African forces from Angola. Of course, the South African regime reacted bitterly to Kissinger's call for South African withdrawal from Angola; for example, the *Johannesburg Star* (20 December 1975) headlined, "NATO Takes Tough Line in Angola." But the same issue observed that China had taken no such "tough line" toward South Africa.

## "Two line" double talk

For backing U.S. imperialist policy in Angola and for failing to condemn the South African invasion, China has been pilloried by the Soviet Union and numerous African and other "third world" regimes. Attempting to save face in the United Nations during December, Chinese delegate Lai Ya-li protested:

"We have always treated the three Angolan liberation organizations on the same basis and in a friendly way, and we provided them with various kinds of assistance, including military assistance, in their struggle against Portuguese colonialism."

—*Peking Review*, 12 December 1975

Self-serving exaggerations implying even-handed support notwithstanding, the Chinese prior to the civil war in Angola did support all three petty-bourgeois nationalist organizations at one time or another: Peking received Jonas Savimbi in 1968, Agostinho Neto in 1971 and Holden Roberto in 1973.

But in the very next breath Lai Ya-li claimed,

"After they reached agreement with the Portuguese Government on achieving independence at a scheduled date, we stopped giving new military aid to the three liberation organizations."

Rubbish! During the civil war which erupted "after they reached agreement with the Portuguese Government" (the Alvor accords of January 1975), the Chinese, according to the FNLA as well as journalists both bourgeois and leftist, continued to provide military aid to the FNLA and (to a lesser extent) UNITA.

But embroidered in this tissue of lies seems to be a pattern of truth. According to its official radio broadcast on 26 November, the FNLA unilaterally dismissed "the Chinese who had been serving as instructors for its troops," charging that the Maoist military advisors overly stressed "political indoctrination" (quoted in *Le Monde*, 28 November 1975). This FNLA pronouncement testifies not only to the fact of Chinese aid but also to the deeply anti-communist character of the FNLA.

At the same time, the Chinese bureaucracy certainly must have recognized that, once the U.S. and South Africa became involved in a "proxy war" with the USSR, any "new military aid" to the imperialist-led forces became not only militarily superfluous but also politically compromising for "anti-imperialist" China. However, although the Mao bureaucracy professes disengagement in Angola, the FNLA now receives advisors and aid from... North Korea! "More than 100 North Korean instructors," reports *Newsweek* (8 December 1975), "are helping to train the army in the use of Chinese equipment"! While China pays lip service to so-called "non-interference" in Angola, North Korean advisors put teeth into the FNLA troops. In Angola, China and North Korea are, to borrow a Maoist phrase, as close as "lips and teeth."

## Apologia for Pretoria

China's refusal to condemn the South African invasion provided grist to the



Los Angeles Angola demonstration.

## Boston Area Tour

# — Mao's Alliance With U.S. Imperialism — Angola and Chinese Foreign Policy

SPEAKER: Charles O'Brien

Editor, *Young Spartacus*

Feb. 9 Clark University

Worcester, Mass.

Feb. 10 Boston University

Boston, Mass.

Feb. 11 University of Conn.

Storrs, Conn.

Feb. 12 University of Mass.

Amherst, Mass.

Feb. 13 Harvard

Cambridge, Mass.

For more information, call: (617) 436-1497

## CLASS SERIES

### Chicago

MARXISM TODAY  
University of Chicago

BUILDING THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY  
Circle Campus, University of Illinois.

For more information: 427-0003.

### Kent

REVOLUTIONARY MARXISM: AN INTRODUCTION TO COMMUNIST POLITICS

Wednesdays, room 303, Student Center, Kent State University.

### Madison

THE SEIZURE OF POWER: TEN REVOLUTIONARY CRISES  
Mondays, beginning February 9, 8:00 pm, Memorial Union, UW.

### New York

MARXISM AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE

Date and time to be announced, Columbia University.

For more information: 925-5665.



propaganda mills of its Stalinist rivals in Moscow. Faced with growing international opposition to its opprobrious policy toward Angola, China finally broke its damning silence on South Africa... *nine weeks after the invasion!* In the *Peking Review* of January 9, an article devoted to attacking the Moscow Stalinists for "starting up their propaganda machine against South Africa's invasion of Angola" reluctantly condemns South Africa in a *pro forma*, one-sentence swipe. Yet the article flatly declares that the "chief culprit" is not South Africa or U.S. imperialism but "Soviet social-imperialism," allegedly representing "the most dangerous enemy of the people of Angola and of Africa as a whole."

Of course, this is the position of Pretoria and the Pentagon. At the mid-January Organization of African "Unity" (OAU) conference on Angola, only the most staunchly pro-imperialist OAU regimes decided to admit openly that they regarded South Africa as less an enemy than Cuba and the Soviet Union. As the bourgeois media has ourly observed, the South African invasion of Angola compelled numerous "non-aligned" and even anti-Russian African regimes like Nigeria to side with the MPLA against South Africa as the "Number One official enemy and pariah."

After tersely "denouncing" the South African invasion, the *Peking Review* article then lets the Pretoria brasshats off the hook by charging Moscow with unjustly *provoking* the South African invasion. Just listen:

"However, it is clear to sober-minded people [!] that South African intervention took place only after the Soviet Union had begun dividing the Angolan liberation movement and stirring up the civil war there. It was nobody other than the Soviet social-imperialists who, by their flagrant intervention in Angola, provided the South African authorities with the opportunity [!] to send their troops in and fish in troubled waters. Hence [!], the Soviet social-imperialists, who have been clamouring against the South African invasion are the arch-criminals responsible for the intervention by the South African racist regime in Angola." [our emphasis]

It was not the civil war between the rival Angolan nationalists which prompted the South African invasion; in fact, South Africa invaded "only after" Russian "interference" gave the MPLA the edge over the FNLA/UNITA forces on the eve of formal independence, which provided the "opportunity" for this "proxy war." South Africa invaded Angola and today battles Cuban troops in an imperialist power play with the *objective* of "driving Communism out of Angola." To unload "responsibility" for the South African intervention upon the USSR is to cover for the imperialist aims of Washington and Pretoria!

### Crisis in Maoism

The political impact of the U.S.-USSR "proxy war" on the Maoist and "Third World" Stalinist left in this country has been enormous. The Chinese alliance with American and South African imperialism against the USSR has propelled Peking-loyal, hard-Maoist organizations such as the Revolutionary Communist Party, the October League, Workers Viewpoint and Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization into campaigning for the defeat of the Cuban troops in Angola. For example, in an article on Angola which was reprinted in part in *Peking Review* (16 January), the October League stresses that the Cuban troops ("Soviet social-imperialism") should be crushed *before* a fight is waged against the South Africans:

"While the presence of all foreign powers must be opposed, *only* a united Angolan people will be able to repulse the South African racists. Such unity can *only* come about when the super-powers stop their meddling."

—*True Call*, December 1975 [emphasis added]

This signifies nothing but a "two-stage counterrevolution": first wipe out the Cuban soldiers, then... the South African government will voluntarily, and with great satisfaction, stop its

"meddling."

Establishment Pan-Africanism has also been unsettled over the Angolan conflict. The Organization of African "Unity" split down the middle at the summit conference on Angola this month, as each member state maneuvered to protect and promote its own "Pan-Africanism in one country." In this country, the Pan-Africanist organizations have generally solidarized with the so-called "progressive" regimes of the Organization of African "Unity" and have come out for the MPLA. (None of these "progressive" regimes, however, protested the fierce war against the Eritrean independence forces by the Ethiopian junta, even though the OAU was held in the Ethiopian capital, addressed by the chairman of the Ethiopian junta and graced by the presence of the patriarchs of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.)

At the well-attended "Angolan People's Solidarity Conference" in Boston on January 17, African student organizations like the African Students for Angolan Liberation and the South Africa Research Association simultaneously apologized for the reactionary policies of the MPLA, excused China's alliance with the U.S. and South Africa, and defended "Soviet interference" in Angola. The only rationale advanced was that every "socialist regime"—from Luanda, to Moscow, to Peking—must protect its own "socialism in one country."

During the presentations and discussion the overwhelmingly pro-MPLA audience tolerated criticism of Stalin's feuding heirs—Brezhnev and Mao—but not denunciation of Stalin, the architect who built "socialism in one country" over the corpses of strangled revolutions. So, when SYL spokesman Brian Mendis sharply denounced China and the MPLA in his statement to the gathering, the audience remained quiet. But when he labeled Peking a "Stalinist bureaucracy," the response was booing and hissing. Angola demonstrates that left-wing Pan-Africanists are attracted to Stalinism as an ideology largely on the basis of its profoundly *nationalist* framework.

### YAWF: vicarious nationalists

Among all the cheerleaders for the MPLA the Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF) has attempted to harvest the pro-MPLA sympathy in the petty-bourgeois radical milieu by seeking to broker b-r-o-a-d MPLA support coalitions. In New York City YAWF cemented a coalition of 26 organizations for a January 17 pro-MPLA demonstration which attracted over 500 demonstrators.

YAWF bases its appeal not only on its totally uncritical enthusiasm for the MPLA but also on its "non-sectarian" identification of Russia and China and other deformed workers states as the so-called "socialist camp." Unlike the *Guardian*, which also has become a leading publicity agency for the Luanda regime, YAWF has organizational muscle and an opportunist line unfettered by Maoist apologetics. At the YAWF-sponsored pep rally following the New York City march, YAWF extolled the "people's clinics," "popular elections" and all things good and glorious inaugurated by the "anti-imperialist" Luanda regime. Speakers representing YAWF explicitly declared that its slogan, "Victory to the MPLA," signified unconditional political support to the *bourgeois* government being established by the MPLA. In an anonymous attack directed apparently against the SL/SYL, YAWF spokesman Deirdre Griswold denounced those who call for military victory to the MPLA but politically oppose the Luanda government.

For Marxists, however, the distinction between military support and political support is a principled question. The MPLA is not a proletarian organization but a petty-bourgeois nationalist formation struggling to congeal a bourgeois state apparatus in Angola. Thus, revolutionists are politically opposed to the Luanda regime; our fundamental opposition to the MPLA, which politically represents our class enemy, has not changed, even though changing

objective circumstances (the decisive internationalization of the civil war in Angola into a proxy war) has called for a position of military support to the MPLA.

Perhaps the classic example of the policy of military support combined with political opposition is the Bolsheviks' bloc with the Kerensky regime against the counterrevolutionary Kornilov uprising during August-September 1917. The Bolshevik Party politically opposed the class-collaborationist coalition government headed by Kerensky and refused to give military support to its continued participation in the imperialist war. But in order to defend the revolution from counterrevolutionary mobilizations the Bolsheviks adopted the position of military support to the bourgeois Kerensky government against the advancing Kornilov-led forces.

In his instructions to the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party on policy toward Kerensky for defeating Kornilov, Lenin explained the tactic of conditional military support:

"Even now we must not support Kerensky's government. This is unprincipled. We may be asked: aren't we going to fight against Kornilov? Of course we must! But this is not the same thing; there is a dividing line here, which is being stepped over by some Bolsheviks who fall into compromise and allow themselves to be *carried away* by the course of events.

"We shall fight, we are fighting against Kornilov, just as Kerensky's troops do, but we do not support Kerensky. On the contrary, we expose his weakness. There is the difference. It is rather a subtle difference, but it is highly essential and must not be forgotten.

"What, then, constitutes our change of tactics after the Kornilov revolt?"

"We are changing the *form* of our struggle against Kerensky. Without in the least relaxing our hostility towards him, without taking back a single word said against him, without renouncing the task of overthrowing him, we say that we must *take into account* the present situation."

—*Collected Works* (1964 ed.), Vol. 25, p. 285-86 [original emphasis]

The Marxist distinction between military support and political support also applies to Angola, even though the particular reasons for giving military support are clearly different. In Russia the YAWF position was held by... the Mensheviks, who called for political confidence in the "progressive" coalition government (which, unlike the MPLA, at least contained a reformist workers party) and for support to the "anti-imperialist" war against Germany.

### YAWF fronts for MPLA repression

To draw no distinction between military and political support, or to give outright political support to the MPLA, is to assume political responsibility for the MPLA. YAWF hails the MPLA as the most "progressive" and "democratic" force in Angola. By so doing, YAWF must take responsibility for all the anti-proletarian and undemocratic actions of the MPLA: its smashing of a major dock workers strike, militarization of labor, dismantling of the slum-based popular militias, jailing of socialist militants and establishment of a one-party government (see "MPLA: 'Nationalists of a New Type?'," *Workers Vanguard*, 23 January 1976).

Furthermore, YAWF declares that the MPLA represents the "entire Angolan people." But YAWF then must defend the MPLA's threats to deal with the Bakongo tribe in the north as "Biafra-type" secessionists who must surrender or die. YAWF glorifies the MPLA as the most "patriotic" force in Angola. So, YAWF must apologize for the MPLA's eager collaboration with the Portuguese colonial administration after the fall of the Caetano dictatorship in Portugal and must defend the MPLA's opposition to nationalizing imperialist holdings. Already former Portuguese businessmen are stampeding to return to so-called "anti-imperialist" Luanda (*London Times*, 11 January).

Finally, to evade denouncing either

Moscow or Peking YAWF blabbers about the Angolan proxy war as a battlefield in the so-called "global class war" between the "socialist camp" and imperialism. But the two "Communist" giants—the USSR and China—are on opposite sides! While occasionally noting its "differences" with Moscow and Peking "in other areas of policy," YAWF as a tendency is based on the long-standing opposition to the Trotskyist call for proletarian political revolutions in all the bureaucratically degenerated and deformed workers states to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies and establish soviet power. For years YAWF cheered the Maoist bureaucracy during its Cultural Revolution phase of verbal militancy. Yet the U.S.-China rapprochement was the direct result, so that today YAWF's Peking idols are staunch allies of the U.S. and South African imperialists in Angola.

### For socialist revolution in Angola!

The position of uncritical support to the MPLA has enabled petty-bourgeois radical tendencies like YAWF and the *Guardian* to strike an "internationalist" posture. But in Angola militants who would follow the line calling for "all the way with the MPLA" would find themselves called upon to break strikes, herd workers at gunpoint, round up socialists and terrorize and slaughter like "Biafran secessionists" the Bakongo and Ovimbundu peoples who will resist discrimination and oppression at the hands of the Luanda government.

At this time revolutionists in Angola must support the military victory of the Cuban-led MPLA forces until the imperialist intervention is defeated. But at the same time revolutionists in Angola would struggle against the emerging Luanda government; their perspective would be to construct a Leninist-Trotskyist party based on the proletariat of the Angolan urban centers and linked to parties based on the powerful proletariat of South Africa, the industrial powerhouse of all sub-Saharan Africa. Even while siding militarily with the MPLA against imperialist-led UNITA/FNLA forces, revolutionary socialists in Angola would struggle against the MPLA for democratic and working-class demands, including the right to form independent trade unions and to strike, the right to form workers parties, the convocation of a constituent assembly democratically representing all peoples, and the confiscation and nationalization without compensation of all imperialist holdings.

The so-called "progressive" bourgeoisie represented by the MPLA is incapable of lifting the yoke of imperialist oppression and providing fundamental social amelioration for the masses. The liberation of Angola will be blazed only by the socialist revolution of the workers and vast masses of rural poor. And that upheaval in Angola may well be the spark that ignites the revolutionary bonfire which will sweep across all of southern Africa. ■



The losers: Roberto (left), and Savimbi (right).

# Jacobin Communist...

continued from page 7

reaucracy and the army contained ex-Jacobins, ex-Hébertists, ex-Babouvists and ex-partisans of Robespierre. Even Napoleon himself could declare, "I was never a dictator; I was never an oppressor. I was a true son of the French Revolution. I'm here because I fought to liberate the people against the tyrants." Read some of Napoleon's last letters; he sounds very radical.

Buonarroti's ex-Jacobin comrades tended to abound within the interstices of the French bureaucracy. In fact, one of the reasons Buonarroti survived was that he skillfully exploited the Jacobin "old boys club." This fact conditioned his conception of strategy, which was not the organization of a revolution from the ground up but rather from the top of society, from communist sympathizers within the state bureaucracy, within the army, within these very restricted parliaments. Therefore, the Buonarroti organizations were conspiratorial organizations in several different senses. They were not merely a means of hiding from the authorities, the absolutely reactionary authorities; they were a means of the conspiratorial infiltration and manipulation of the liberal opposition.

\*\*\*\*\*  
Guidelines for recruitment to the first international communist (Babouvist) organization, the Sublimes Maitres Parfaits led by Filippo Buonarroti.

\*Devotion to the principles of the order and willingness to sacrifice to them personal interest and pleasure.

\*Courage, that is to say, scorn of danger of work and hardship.

\*Patience and perseverance.

\*Moderation in the use of intoxicating liquors.

\*The habit of speaking little and to the point.

\*No wish to make an impression, to shine, and to impose oneself.

\*Caution in gambling, in love, in anger, and in the opening of one's heart.

\*Exquisite sensibility concerning the wrongs that weigh on humanity.

\*\*\*\*\*  
Buonarroti's strategy was to attempt to achieve through conspiratorial manipulation the organic radicalization of the French Revolution. You begin with a constitutional monarch, then you go to the liberal bourgeoisie, then the radical bourgeoisie, and then communism. The Buonarroti secret societies would have their members join something like the Society for Freedom of the Press or the semi-legal, liberal nationalistic oppositions in Metternichian Europe. So, you were electing somebody you thought was a good liberal; but he was really a communist on the hotline to Geneva, where Buonarroti was running the operation.

Thus, Buonarroti's strategy, which was in a certain sense realistically

conditioned by the existence of an era of bourgeois-democratic revolution, was the conspiratorial manipulation of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in the service of communism. For that reason these were hierarchical organizations whose ultimate program was not known to its lower ranks. Only Buonarroti and the Central Committee knew the real program. You joined if you were a liberal and believed in universal suffrage. If you were a revolutionary democrat, you reached the second level; and you only got to know the final program after you had been coopted onto the Central Committee. Ultimately, Buonarroti's conception, of course, was utopian. However, in the year 1821, Buonarroti's followers were involved in—even leading—partially successful, simultaneous insurrections in Spain, Naples and Rome. For one man, that is not bad!

In one talk I can only give some index of the importance of Buonarroti. If you read a biography of Marx, you will find under this period just names: he collaborated with this person here and that person there. Well, in almost every case, all of Marx's collaborators in the 1840's were either indirectly or directly influenced or recruited by Buonarroti! To give you just two examples, which could be multiplied *ad infinitum*. In 1847 the front group for the Communist League in Belgium was called the Democratic Association, of which Marx was the vice-president and a man named Lucien Jottrand was the president. In 1828 Buonarroti was in Belgium and he recruited a small circle of Belgian followers, one of whom was Lucien Jottrand. Another example: Marx's leading non-German collaborator throughout this period was the left-wing leader of British Chartism, Julian Harney, a very important figure in his own right. Harney's mentor was an earlier left-wing leader of British Chartism named James Bronterre O'Brien. In 1836, Buonarroti's book on Babeuf was translated into English by James Bronterre O'Brien.

So, I'll conclude with an anecdote indicating what Buonarroti contributed to the communist movement. James Bronterre O'Brien, after he translated the book [*History of Babeuf's Conspiracy of Equals*], began a correspondence with Buonarroti the year before Buonarroti died. At that time O'Brien was an Owenite, or had been an Owenite, Owenite socialism being pacifist and cooperativist. O'Brien translated Owen's writings into French and sent them to Buonarroti and asked him for his ideas on Owenite socialism. Buonarroti wrote back, in effect, "You know, it's remarkable that Owen, independent of Babeuf and I, has the same conception of what society should look like, what we are working for. But he seems to believe that you can get this while keeping the existing British government, while keeping the monarchy.

I don't believe you can do that. I think you first have to overthrow the government and then we will talk about a communist society, but not before."

So that is why Buonarroti is important. He represented the living link between a victorious revolution and a communist movement whose main cadre were forged under conditions of deep repression. And I believe he is one of those people without whom the revolutionary movement would, in a funda-

mental sense, have been different. For example, there would probably have been a far stronger tendency toward revolutionary syndicalism; the strong tendency of the French proletariat to think in terms of state power was heavily conditioned by the living traditions of revolutionaries influenced by the French Revolution.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

## YSA Convention...

continued from page 12

such a new liberal "Out Now" campaign are dim indeed.

### Defense strategy debated—inside and out

During the convention, a delegate from Ann Arbor who claimed to represent the opinion of his branch argued that the SWP/YSA does not "put enough emphasis" on the call for "black self-defense" against the racist reaction in Boston, while conceding simultaneously that its criminal demand for federal troops to "protect" black people is principled and correct. Consequently, much of the discussion under the report on "The Fight for Desegregation and the Black Liberation Struggle" focused on the Ann Arbor delegate's views, with YSA leaders directing heavy fire against "black self-defense" and reaffirming the YSA's commitment to cops and federal troops as "the only force" that can "protect" black people in Boston and Louisville. SWP/YSA leaders Maceo Dixon and Andrew Pulley directed their entire speaking time to attacking the position of the Ann Arbor delegate... and the line of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League for labor/black defense from racist and right-wing attacks! (The Ann Arbor delegate had begun his presentation, "Just because the Spartacist League talks about it doesn't mean it's wrong.") The YSA tops declared that *only* the cops and federal troops can protect black people in Boston: "Even if every black [in Boston] were armed, we would call on the federal troops to defend them!"

The honchos' hack job was made considerably easier by the Ann Arbor delegate's call not for integrated labor/black defense but for "black self-defense." In the context of the massive racist offensive in Boston, this slogan projects isolated actions by a vulnerable black minority. While certainly supporting organized self-defense by the black community against racist terror, the SYL points to the need for the formation of racially integrated defense guards linking the organizations of the black community to the trade unions. As the YSA leadership knows, this perspective and the call for federal troops are *counterposed*—not only as slogans, but in the day-to-day struggle in Boston.

Toward the end of the conference, as an increasing number of YSA members fled from organizational reports and pat recitals of "our successes" in "wheeling and dealing with the student government bureaucrats," large groups often gathered to argue with *Young Spartacus* salesmen in the lobby. By the last night of the convention *Young Spartacus* salesmen attracted larger numbers of YSA members for free-wheeling lobby debates than did the scheduled workshops inside. Often crowds of over 50 YSA supporters gathered around SYL members, despite the efforts of flustered YSA marshals to herd the conference participants away from these political confrontations.

Many of the YSAers flaunted the apolitical cynicism cultivated by aspiring "wheeler-dealers," yet newer members often were open to discussing our revolutionary program. SYL members succeeded in cutting through the race-baiting nationalism of YSA honchos to expose the reformists' reliance on the racist capitalist state to

"protect" black people in Boston. "You tell black people to wait for Ford's 'protection,'" said one *Young Spartacus* salesman. "We say, 'the racist government is our enemy; its cops are beating black children every day in the schools. We cannot rely on the government—let us act now to build black and labor defense!'"

### YSA: quo vadis?

The YSA presently is a relatively homogeneous organization; the bulk of its membership plainly understands the reformist logic that determines the YSA's positions and behavior—from "free speech for fascists" and "troops to Boston," to student government "wheeling and dealing," to an out-and-out "Out Now" minuet with liberal Democrats. The entire focus of the convention was the ambition of the YSA to break into the "big time" as a mass social-democratic youth group. From the stage YSA leaders announced that an organizer for the Fred Harris campaign had joined the YSA at the convention (applause) and that another conference "guest" had stayed up the entire previous night weighing the alternative of running as a delegate for the Democratic Party but then decided by dawn to join the YSA (tumultuous applause). The YSA has become so unabashedly reformist that even the Revolutionary Student Brigade, in its current *Fight Back!*, is able to denounce these social democrats from the left (with polemics borrowed from the arsenal of the SYL!).

Yet some youth are still attracted to the YSA by its Trotskyist "baggage," so the YSA still limps along on a political Achilles' heel vulnerable to our Trotskyist polemics and practice. Thus, while the YSA in its public press avoids even mentioning our politics and campaigns, the SL/SYL was mentioned more frequently at the YSA convention than any other group. For example, Andrew Pulley, currently based in Chicago, said that "at least in Chicago" the SYL is the YSA's main competitor. Quite true, Brother Pulley! While the SWP/YSA seeks to become the mass electoral-reformist party of American social democracy, the SL/SYL struggles to win youth to the perspective and program of proletarian revolution. On campuses across the country, more and more students are recognizing the difference between the YSA or Fred Harris and the SYL. Fight for socialist revolution—Join the SYL! ■

## SYL DIRECTORY

ANN ARBOR: SYL, Box 592, Ann Arbor, MI 48107, or call (313) 995-9645

BAY AREA: SYL, Box 852, Main P.O., Berkeley, CA 94701, or call (415) 835-1535

BLOOMINGTON: Call (812) 332-3235  
BOSTON: SYL, Box 137, Somerville, MA 02144, or call (617) 492-3928 or (617) 436-1497

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

CLEVELAND: SYL, Box 02182, Cleveland, OH 44102, or call (216) 371-3643

DETROIT: SYL, c/o SL, Box 663A, General P.O., Detroit, MI 48232, or call (313) 881-1632

HOUSTON: SL; Box 26474, Houston, TX 77207

LOS ANGELES: SYL, Box 29115, Vermont Sta., Los Angeles, CA 90029, or call (213) 485-1838

MADISON: SYL, Box 3334, Madison, WI 53704, or call (608) 257-4212

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

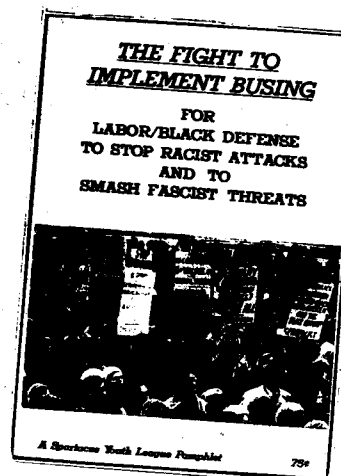
PHILADELPHIA: SYL, c/o SL, Box 25601, Philadelphia, PA 19144, or call (215) 667-5695

## Trotskyist League of Canada

TORONTO: Box 222, Station B, Toronto, Ontario, or call (416) 366-4107

VANCOUVER: Box 26, Station A, Vancouver, B.C., or call (604) 299-5306

## Now Available



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

75¢

## Union Bureaucrats Betray Ranks

# Chicago Strike Defeated Despite Support

CHICAGO—On January 11, after 23 weeks on the picket line, the 240 striking workers of Capitol Packaging in the suburb of Melrose Park ended their strike, which had been both viciously attacked by the company and criminally sabotaged by the labor skates of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) union. The protracted, bitter strike—during which the local union vice president was killed on the picket line by a scab-driven truck—received endorsement from numerous left and labor organizations in the Chicago area. But the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) distinguished itself by its steadfast and active support of the strike, demonstrating in a modest manner our perspective for mobilizing students to solidarize with the class struggles of the proletariat.

At the University of Illinois/Circle Campus (UICC) an SYL-sponsored forum featured Rose Kirk, chief steward of striking OCAW Local 7507; Chuck Marino of the Labor Struggle Caucus (LSC), a class-struggle opposition in UAW Local 6; and Len Meyers of the Spartacist League. Speaking for the striking local, Rose Kirk gave an emotion-charged description of the strike-busting tactics employed by the company since the strike began last August: police attacked the picket lines with guard dogs, harassed and arrested strikers, and threatened deportations of foreign-born workers in the union. Even in the face of this strike-busting offensive, not one Local 7507 member crossed the line in five long months of picketing. This vicious company and cop harassment was sparked by a demand for a mere 25-cent-an-hour wage increase, retroactive to the expiration of the last contract.

Next the LSC spokesman recalled his experiences as the vice president of a Buffalo steelworkers union during a similarly isolated local strike and stressed the crucial need for broad labor support to ensure victory. However, Local 7507 was almost totally abandoned by the OCAW International "leadership," who eventually threatened to cut off the paltry \$25-a-week strike allowance. When the strike committee issued a flyer calling for a demonstration and a boycott of Alberto-Culver products, the OCAW tops demanded it be withdrawn as a violation of the anti-labor law against secondary boycotts. These same union "leaders" eventually refused to endorse the demonstration.

As SL speaker Len Meyers pointed out—and Rose Kirk agreed—the strikers unwittingly played into the hands of the union bureaucracy when they withdrew the flyer, thereby hurting publicity for the important January 10 demonstration at Chicago's Civic Center. At the UICC forum the SYL initiated a collection of donations for the strikers, and the SYL event was covered by the student paper, the *Chicago Illini*.

### Sectarian abstention

Through these efforts to build support actions such as the boycott the strikers again broke through the news blackout; the strike-support picket line marching under the slogan, "Boycott Alberto-Culver Products!," in downtown Chicago during the Christmas shopping season drew prominent publicity in the bourgeois press. However, the Young "Socialist" Alliance simply refused to support the activities of the strike support committee. Moreover, the activities of the strike-support committee were even boycotted by some of its own "supporters." The Maoist organizations, the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) and the October League (OL), were conspicuous in their absence at the UICC strike-support



SYL raised issues of Capitol strike on Chicago-area campuses and worked to mobilize student support.

forum. The RCP youth group, the Revolutionary Student Brigade, even called another meeting conflicting with the forum. The OL excused itself from the boycott picketing to organize for its national "Fight Back" conference, which the OL claimed would greatly aid the strike. But "Fight Back" didn't even pass a resolution of support to the Capitol strikers, and the OL violated every principle of workers' solidarity by excluding from the conference every organized tendency in the support committee!

Furthermore, both Maoist organizations opposed the strikers' democratic decision to allow all tendencies in the support committee to speak at a January 10 rally. Howling political allegiance to the International OCAW bureaucracy, the RCP refused to support the rally and the strike support committee. On the other hand, the OL

gladly used its speaking time at the rally to enthuse about the militancy of the strikers and their invincible "fight back." After all, "workers united can never be defeated." The workers *were* united and did "fight back"; but the following day the strike went down in defeat.

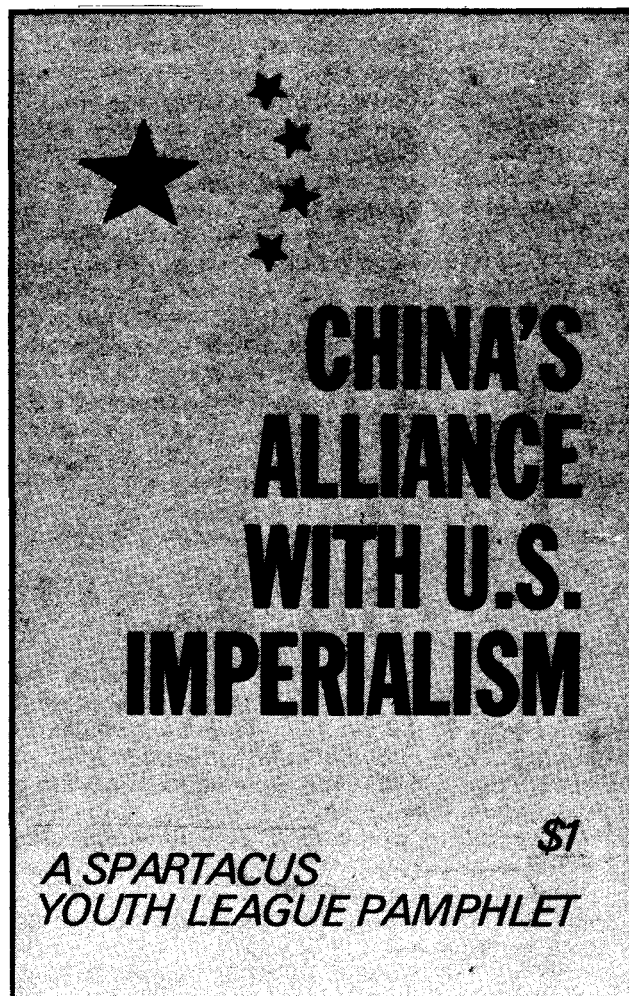
The SL/SYL offered more than empty rhetoric at the large January 10 rally. Amidst cheers from the strikers, Len Meyers pointed to the labor bureaucrats as the saboteurs of the strike:

"If the guys in Denver who collect your dues money had the courage, fortitude, militancy, and plain simple guts that you have, this strike would have been won months ago. If they had the foresight to be real labor leaders instead of giving working people a choice between racist Republicans and millionaire Democrats, they would use the

power of the unions to build a workers party which would understand that your fight is our fight, and our fight is the fight to end criminal deportations of Latino workers, our fight is the fight of black people in Boston and Louisville for quality, integrated education, the fight of women for equal rights and the fight of Angolans to get the racist South Africans out of their country."

The Capitol strike, sold out by the OCAW bureaucrats, was settled at the company's three-month-old offer; the sabotage of the International forced the ranks to accept this outrage in spite of widespread opposition. Unfortunately, this militant labor battle suffered a bitter defeat. The Capitol strike underscores again and once more again the need for a class-struggle leadership in the unions and for the broadest possible strike support. ■

## A new Spartacus Youth League pamphlet—



### Details....

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

### Explains....

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

### Exposes....

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

### Counterposes....

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

**ORDER NOW! Only \$1!**

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

# Young Spartacus

## At National Convention:

# YSA Revels In Respectable "Radicalism"

Respectability was the watchword at the recent national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), held December 28-January 1 at the Milwaukee campus of the University of Wisconsin. Busloads of smug young reformists converged on the small campus for a jubilee shebang of back-slapping self-congratulation, tepid "onward-and-upward" recitations of recruitment statistics and even occasional political discussion. For virtually the entire convention impassive delegates nodded through report after stultifying report, and boredom hung from the rafters like confetti after a Peter Camejo rally.

Yet this "biggest, broadest" convention of the YSA (youth group of the Socialist Workers Party) marked the continuing failure of the YSA to find a big, broad "mass movement" to replace its long-lost alliance with liberal politicians during the antiwar movement. The YSA's most recent "mass" creation, the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR), is looking increasingly ludicrous as its local meetings dwindle down to only NSCAR-buttoned YSA members. So the YSA now cynically turns to Angola and the Equal Rights Amendment as its "mass issues" *de jour*. Also there was hopeful talk at the convention concerning the "vacuum in leadership" in the petty-bourgeois National Organization of Women... which the YSA clearly hopes to vacuously fill.

But as the YSA edges closer to mainstream liberalism, these ex-Trotskyists face stiff competition to their left, first and foremost from the Spartacus Youth League. In fact, political attacks against the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League motivated several of the few political discussions at the convention.

### Bazaars and sideshows

The convention was staged in the student union building, in a large hall on the second floor. A nearby room was festooned with the banners and tables of various SWP/YSA front groups, such as NSCAR, Political Rights Defense Fund and United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), as well as a number of independent organizations, including the Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case and a "who-killed-Kennedy?" group.

Downstairs in the lobby, itinerant peddlers of jewelry, headgear and assorted gew-gaws were welcome to dis-

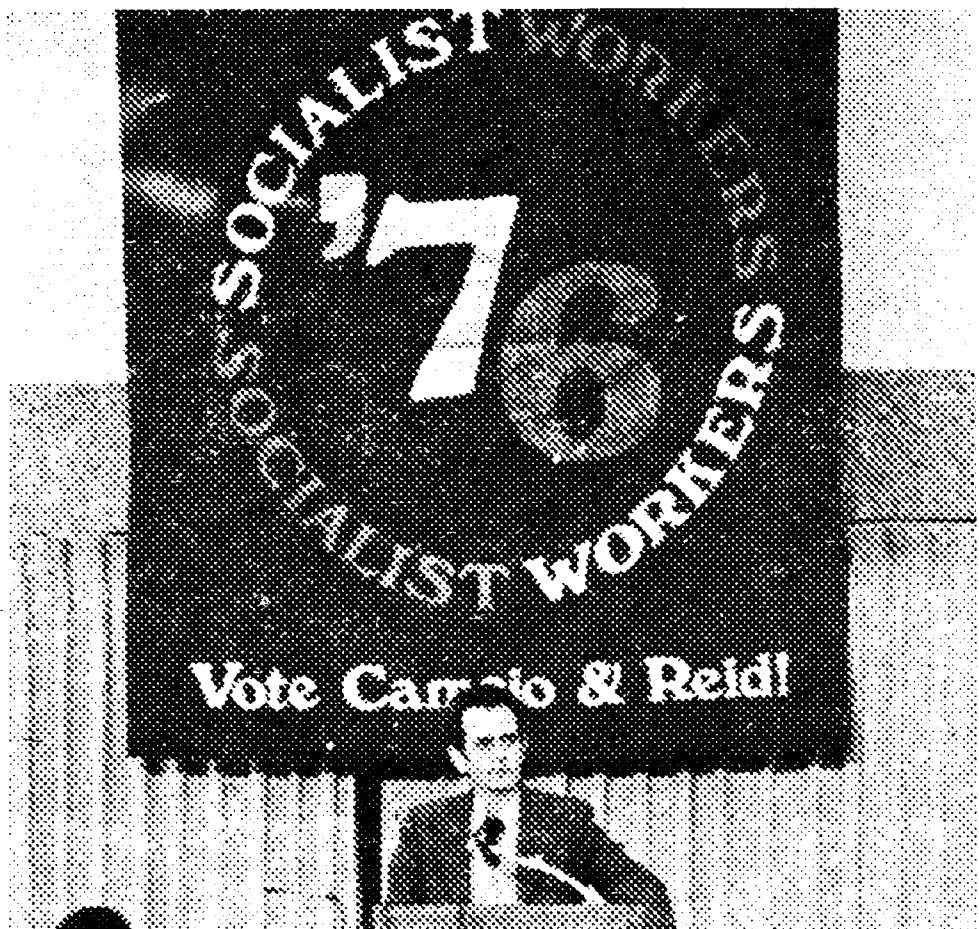
play their wares on tables, counters and bulletin boards. But an imposing YSA goon squad soon prevented leftist organizations, including the SYL, from putting their literature on other tables in the lobby. (Eventually, all tables except those used by the jewelers were carried away.) The YSA at this campus is currently waging a campaign for the right to sell the *Militant* in the very same lobby.

On the opening night the political equivalent of the junk jewelry hustlers was provided at the "15th Anniversary Celebration": Tim Wohlforth. Now, Wohlforth, for years the justly despised and infamous little Stalin of the cynical Workers League, has "changed his mind" and returned to the SWP fold. He gave a frivolous talk on the early history of the YSA, conveniently omitting the struggle of the Revolutionary Tendency. (The RT was formed by several founders of the YSA including Wohlforth nearly fifteen years ago to combat the spreading revisionism of the SWP leadership. Wohlforth split the RT in the service of an attempted reconciliation with the SWP tops; expelled in 1963 by the SWP leaders—with Wohlforth's help—the RT went on to form the Spartacist League, while Wohlforth eventually founded the Workers League.) This "Anniversary Celebration" was simply a sham tribute to the SWP's long-renounced Trotskyist heritage; during the remainder of the convention, the YSA spouted Trotskyist phrases only to cover its naked reformism.

### Portugal problem

In a charade of "internationalism," the YSA arranged a "debate" between a member of the YSA National Executive Committee and one Michel Mill, a leader of the Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire (GMR), one of the two Quebec sections of the misnamed, ill-begotten "United [!] Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec). While the GMR adheres to the centrist International Majority Tendency of the USec, the SWP/YSA politically leads the reformist Leninist-Trotskyist Faction (sic). The factional "cold war" between the two wings of this dis-United Secretariat of phony Trotskyism was heated to the boiling point over the issue of Portugal, with the leaders of the two factions denouncing each other sharply (and at great length) in their public press.

Clearly audible behind the broad generalizations of the YSA spokesman



The "American Revolutionary" Peter Camejo infuses YSA convention with Spirit of '76.

was the SWP/YSA's back-handed support to the CIA-funded, social-democratic party in Portugal. Echoing the *Militant*, he rhapsodized over last summer's Socialist Party demonstrations, which provided the political focus for the orgy of vicious attacks on Communist Party headquarters and members. "For the first time," he enthused, "people chanted 'the people are not with the MFA!'," which was "the most revolutionary slogan raised throughout the period after April 25" (1974—the date of the Armed Forces Movement "democratic" coup). Yet these "people" were "not with the MFA" because the MFA was, according to the Socialist Party and the Catholic Church, "soft on Communism"! When the YSA spokesman claimed that "the masses were aware of their own interests" during these demonstrations, he was brazenly apologizing for anti-communist reaction.

On the opposite side of the factional fence Michel Mill delivered an oozing apologia for the USec majority's opportunist illusion-mongering about the allegedly "progressive" MFA and for the conduct of one of the USec's groups in Portugal: the Liga Comunista Internacionalista (he "neglected" to mention the other USec group, the Partido Revolucionário dos Trabalhadores). Sure, "the LCI has committed ultra-left, centrist and opportunist errors," like joining a front-group for the "left" wing of the bourgeois MFA. But after all, he declared, Lenin and the Bolsheviks "also committed ultra-left, centrist and opportunist errors"! He ended with a pathetic appeal for "unity" between the two factions of the USec. Some "International" is this!

### Angola: "socialist" page boys for Senate

The question of the Angolan war took up much of the discussion on the Portugal reports. While the European-based majority of the USec capitulates to petty-bourgeois nationalism and politically supports the MPLA, the SWP/YSA pursues a social-democratic line of conciliation with imperialism and favors the CIA-bankrolled FNLA. During the three-cornered civil war between the MPLA, FNLA and UNITA—when Marxists could support the military victory of none of the nationalist factions—the SWP/YSA, emulating

its brethren in the European Social Democracy, tilted toward the FNLA. The SWP/YSA nailed the petty-bourgeois nationalist MPLA but consistently pulled its punches and even covered up for the virulently anti-communist, Mobutu-backed FNLA.

With the massive intervention of the CIA, South Africa and Portuguese colons against the Soviet/Cuban-backed MPLA, the Angolan civil war has been decisively subordinated by an imperialist power play to defeat "Red Imperialism." The duty of Marxists today is to support the *military victory* of the MPLA against the imperialist-led forces.

Yet the SWP/YSA, ever sensitive to bourgeois opinion and imperialist interests, does *not* support military victory for the MPLA. The YSA only demands "U.S. Out of Angola," thereby echoing the "antiwar" stance of many bourgeois senators who oppose spending "our" money when a "political solution" can be wrought (see front page article). When the Stalinist-led insurgent forces smashed capitalist class rule in Indochina last spring and established deformed workers states, the YSA refused to recognize the social overturns and call for the unconditional defense of these states from imperialism, in order to accommodate the liberal, anti-communist "out now" reaction. Although the "proxy war" in Angola is qualitatively different, nevertheless the YSA likewise avoids drawing the *class line* in order to accommodate the liberal opposition to U.S. involvement in Angola. Merely to call for the U.S. to "get out" of Angola is to cover for South Africa, the Portuguese colons and the U.S. bourgeoisie!

The YSA's current scheme, elaborated with maximum hoopla at the convention, is to build "another 'Out Now' movement" around the Angola issue, attempting a repeat performance of the SWP/YSA's class-collaborationist alliance with bourgeois liberalism during the Vietnam war. The YSA hopes this new "mass movement" will bring recruitment in the wake of the near-collapse of its National Student Coalition Against Racism, formed under the short-lived tutelage of the ultra-liberalist NAACP. But the prospects for

*continued on page 10*