

Young Spartacus

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"Demon and Freak" Haunts Maoists

China: Teng Returns

"See that little man there? He's highly intelligent and has a great future ahead of him." It was more than two decades ago when with these words Mao Tse-tung directed the attention of Soviet Stalinist chief Nikita Khrushchev to Teng Hsiao-ping.

Since then twice purged as a "Khrushchevite revisionist" and a "demon and freak," the durable 73-year-old former Chinese deputy prime minister may still have a "great future" ahead of him high on the bureaucratic totem pole in People's China.

Recent press reports indicate that Teng is the man-about-town in Peking these days. According to one account, Teng drew spontaneous applause when he put in a surprise appearance at one Peking restaurant (cited in *Newsweek*, 24 January 1977). Smiling and waving to the restaurant patrons Teng called out with unconcealed delight, "Continue to criticize Teng!"

Events unfolding in China over the last few weeks quite understandably have put the notoriously abrasive and acerbic Teng in a jocular mood. Not only did the "criticize Teng" campaign cease after Chairman Hua Kuo-feng purged the so-called "gang of four"—Chiang Ching, Chang Chun-chiao, Wang Hung-wen and Yao Wen-yuan. But now a "big-character" poster campaign has been launched calling for the return of Teng. Perhaps only the monk in the Ming novel *The Way West* (a favorite of Red Guards during the Cultural Revolution) has made a series of comebacks that are more dramatic than those of Teng Hsiao-ping.

The Writing On the Wall

Last month pro-Teng "big-character" wall posters hit Peking like a blizzard. Timed to coin-



Dave Swan Bend, Ore. Bulletin

Twice-purged Teng: "Capitalist Roder (Marxist-Leninist)?"

cide with the commemoration of the first anniversary of the death of Chou En-lai, the posters called for the return to office of "Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping." This "spontaneous" groundswell of support for the "rehabilitation" of Teng was linked to an official campaign to create a cult of Chou En-lai, who as Premier brought Teng back from disgrace in 1973 and groomed him to be his chosen successor.

The first posters in Peking praising Teng appeared on January 6. One long eight-page poster hailed Teng and claimed that the "gang of four" (who else!) had provoked the violence at last April's Tien An Men demonstration and then used the incident "to smear the name of Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping" (quoted in *Washington Post*, 7 January 1977).

On January 7 even more posters proliferated in the Square of Heavenly Peace and the Avenue of Eternal Tranquility; typically, they supported Teng as a "very good Comrade" and demanded "arrangements for Teng Hsiao-ping working again." Other posters requested that pardons be granted to all who had been victimized as supporters of Teng.

In the ensuing days the demands and slogans appearing on the posters became more explicit and bold. One poster demanded, "We want Teng Hsiao-ping as premier right away," while another impatiently insisted, "There is no need to keep 800 million people waiting." On another poster the reference to "Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-ping" was changed to read, "Chairman Teng Hsiao-ping" (cited in *Christian Science Monitor*, 12 January 1977).

Even more dramatic than the posters have been demonstrations in support of Teng which have been openly staged in Tien An Men square. In one demonstration several hundred people marched to the residence of Hua Kuo-feng to present a statement to the Chairman. Turned away at the door, the group left a letter urging Hua to expedite the decision about the future role of Teng and announce when he would return "back to work" (*Newsweek*, 24 January 1977). Given the rapidly accelerating pro-Teng campaign manifestly carried out with official approval, Teng at that very moment might have been in the Forbidden Palace observing the pro-Teng demonstration from behind drawn curtains.

Through the Maoist Looking Glass

To be sure, Teng Hsiao-ping is already on his way back to power in China. When the veteran Stalinist will be officially "rehabilitated," and

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Editorial Note

Carter's Amnesty Fraud

Amidst the revivalist incantations of Reverend Martin Luther King Sr., parade floats with Carolina hoedown dancers, puppet shows and bluegrass concerts and endless references to a "new spirit," the "People's Inaugural" baptized the next chief of the U.S. capitalist class, James Earl Carter Jr.

Sworn in as "Jimmy" on a fourth-generation bible, Carter quoted Micah and his high school teacher and pledged himself to "shape a just and peaceful world that is truly humane." Everyone cried. Meanwhile, high above the capital of international imperialism floated... a peanut-shaped balloon.

The bourgeois press had a field day as they pictured the capital being overrun by down-home, back-country bumpkins. "Jimmy" wore a suit instead of a morning coat, threw his topcoat on the ground for lack of a better place and walked a mile and a half to the White House (dragging with him his shivering wife, whose fur coats he had instructed her to leave in the closet). Amy Carter yawned interminably and was cheered at one point when her shoelace came undone; his brother,

NYT Teresa Zabala



Billy Carter, guzzled beer and would only go to the receptions (serving wine and grits) if his wife made him; and his hometown campaign team, the Peanut Brigade, slept on the lobby floor in one of Washington's most posh hotels.

But the former Georgia governor who brought the folks to Washington, though he may be from the back country, is no dirt farmer. Jimmy Carter is a racist, anti-union Southern fundamentalist who owns a multi-million-dollar, open-shop agribusiness enterprise.

Before the carefully conjured "new spirit" had a chance to evaporate and reveal the coldly calculating bourgeois politician who will preside over the next four years of unemployment, inflation and imperialist aggression, Carter ordered "full, complete and unconditional pardons" for Vietnam-era draft evaders and resisters. It was a pretty safe gambit, considering that even the new secretary of state Cyrus Vance now feels compelled to claim, "it was a mistake to intervene in Vietnam" (quoted in *New York Times*, 13 January 1977). Likewise, the German militarists today admit that Hitler made a mistake in "intervening" in the rest of Europe!

In fact, just about everybody wants some kind of amnesty. Senator Hart's widow requested it, and Ford thought about it; many congressmen and innumerable church groups favor it; former Nixon cohort and *New York Times* columnist William Safire has called for it—with the proviso that it's extended to Watergaters. Even the convicted mass murderer of My Lai, former lieutenant William L. Calley, now supports amnesty, because "I don't think it's fair to hold a person accountable for refusing to participate in a war if he isn't told why"

(quoted in *Newsweek*, 27 December 1976).

The rationale for amnesty on the part of the bourgeois establishment at this time is to "heal the nation's wounds" created by the U.S. imperialist war in Vietnam. But Carter's "pardon" is more of a palliative than a bandage. After nominating a cabinet stacked with Vietnam hawks and Washington "insiders" the president is attempting to refurbish his liberal/populist image by making amnesty his first act, eliminating limousine service for his staff and ordering the cabinet to turn in written plans on how to get closer to the American people. Meanwhile, vice-president Mondale is traveling around the world giving assurances to U.S. allies that the Carter administration intends to strengthen NATO—imperialism's 300,000-strong army in Europe.

To be sure, Carter is no liberal "dove." He's an Annapolis man who served in the imperialist armed forces as a Navy officer. Later, in 1972, Carter sponsored a resolution to not make Vietnam a campaign issue against Nixon. Among his hand-picked advisors today are secretary of state Cyrus Vance, who was responsible for overseeing the 1965 Marine invasion of Santo Domingo; secretary of defense Harold Brown, an air force secretary during the Vietnam War who went to work for the Pentagon when he was 23; and foreign policy advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski, who toured campuses during the Vietnam war advocating continued U.S. presence in Southeast Asia. It should come as no surprise that Carter's campaign "promise" of a \$5-\$7 billion cut in defense spending has already been dropped.

Carter's amnesty is a fraud. The "full, complete and unconditional" pardon covers only draft evaders and draft resisters. Thus, it is estimated that the amnesty would affect only 10,000 men—approximately *one-tenth* the number covered by Gerald Ford's 1974 work-their-way-back "amnesty." While Carter feigns concern for poor and black youth who "didn't know where Sweden was," his program in fact covers overwhelmingly the predominantly white, middle-class students who made it to countries like Sweden before they were drafted. For the up to 30,000 who deserted from the military and the approximately 790,000 who received "less-than-honorable" discharges—the overwhelming number of whom are poor and black—Carter proposes to "start a study."

The U.S. attorney general has been ordered to drop all pending indictments of Selective Service Act violators... except those who are accused of acts "so serious as to warrant prosecution": Those who have taken citizenship in another country will have to apply for U.S. citizenship under the same chauvinist rules as any other non-citizen—which means they cannot be hired for any job which a U.S. citizen wants.

As an expression of our opposition to bourgeois militarism the SYL demands immediate, unconditional amnesty for all draft evaders, resisters and deserters. We oppose any victimization by the bourgeois state of those who opposed the Vietnam war by refusing to enter the imperialist armed forces or who deserted during service.

However, we are not pacifists, nor do we support the petty-bourgeois strategy of opposing militarism through individual draft resistance or desertion. During the Vietnam war, the Spartacist League emphasized that those who sincerely seek to struggle against imperialist aggression must, if drafted, go into the army and struggle to organize opposition to the war and win the mass of working-class youth in the army to an anti-militarist program.

In addition, we understand that a significant number of those who deserted or received "less-than-honorable" discharges were not motivated by political opposition to the Vietnam war. Much of what passed as anti-militarism was simply personal inability to cope with the discipline of military service. While we oppose bourgeois military penalization of soldiers, we recognize that revolutionary organizing within the army requires physical courage and the ability to maintain discipline. While we demanded an end to conscription, which enables the bourgeoisie to muster its cannon fodder

from the poor and working-class youth, we recognize that apolitical youth who served often constitute better human material for the revolutionary movement than those who evaded the draft or deserted.

Now that the Vietnam war is over and conscription has ceased, much of the pro-amnesty sentiment generated by liberal protest groups has been focused on those GIs who received "less-than-honorable" discharges from the draft army. These discharges were administratively handed down for "offenses" ranging from political opposition to the war to acts of petty indiscipline, to small-time criminality, to drug addiction. (In fact, Jimmy Carter's son Jack was thrown out of the Navy with a less-than-honorable discharge in 1971 for smoking pot.) Amnesty and veterans groups are demanding that the discharges be upgraded to honorable so that these men will no longer be stigmatized and will be able to receive full veterans benefits.

We support the demand that all discharges below honorable be upgraded to honorable, so that no draftee will be penalized in civilian life for his performance while under the discipline of the capitalist armed forces. The discharge system is used as a disciplinary club that ensures a more effective military.

The system of special veterans benefits represents deferred military privileges. Veterans benefits serve as an incentive for recruitment to the armed forces, a lever for exercising military discipline and an award for having faithfully served the bourgeoisie. At the end of WWII, for example, returning American soldiers were significantly conservatized as a result of the special privileges which were open to them under the GI Bill.

At the same time, especially since many of the recipients of veterans benefits today are workers and black youth who were drafted, we do not *advocate* the elimination of the system of veterans benefits. We do not seek to deprive veterans of the conscript army of state-provided health care, for example; since medical care under the veterans benefit system in many ways represents the closest approximation of socialized medicine in this country, socialists call for such benefits to be extended to all—for free, quality health care for all!

Carter's first act in office is a sham. But neither unconditional amnesty nor a genuinely liberal Democrat can "heal the nation's wounds" or "shape a just and peaceful world that is truly humane." This is the task of the international working class which alone can put an end to the horrors of imperialist wars through smashing the capitalist world order that breeds them.

For Immediate, Unconditional Amnesty!
Down with the Bourgeois Army!

Young Spartacus

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Political Cannibalism In Weather Underground

"Why did we do this? I don't really know."

Thus did well-known New Left leader Bernardine Dohrn express her abject political bankruptcy in the wake of the recent split in the decomposed New Left Weather Underground. Having lost all influence long ago, and saddled with a string of despicable betrayals, Dohrn's confusion has unfortunately been shared by hundreds of disillusioned "Weather People" over the past half decade as they made

their departure from left politics.

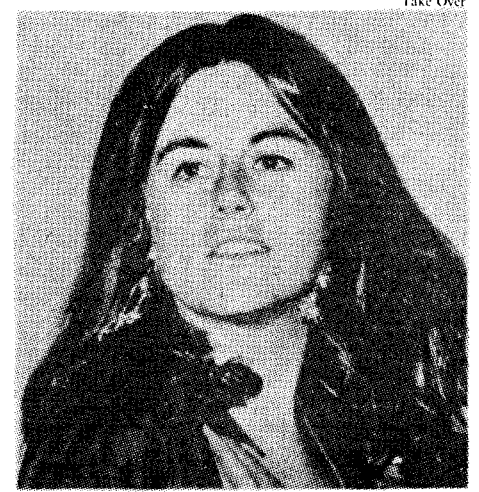
For Dohrn, however, it is stated in the context of a call for the return to the "good old days" of 1969-70, when the Weathermen first emerged as the pro-terrorist splinter of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). The recent rupture in this ingrown, isolated band of "revolutionaries" placed Dohrn and the "Revolutionary Committee" (RC) in opposition to the "Central Committee" majority of Jeff Jones, Bill Ayers and Celia Sojourn which has allegedly been planning to surface the underground organization.

Dohrn and the RC have published in the New Leftist Madison newspaper *Take Over* a vicious indictment of Weather Underground's turn to above-ground organizing through the ill-fated Prairie Fire. (When Prairie Fire was first formed the SYL produced a lengthy critique of its dead-end reformist politics and strategy: see "'Prairie Fire'—Weather Underground's 'Greening of Amerika,'" *Young Spartacus*, March 1975.) Dohrn now scorns the Prairie Fire attempt to acquire a "mass base" via moronic economism and counter culturism—a line which Dohrn helped shape. She flails herself: "In line and in practice, I have given support to the continuing oppression, super-exploitation, violence, brutality, contempt, humiliation and suppression of women..." But how was it that "Weather politics" led to this? As she confessed, "I don't really know."

But what about the RC allegation that Weather Underground "organized for prosecution of undocumented workers" and Dohrn's admission that they were "willing to sacrifice the struggles and rights of Mexican workers for the privileges and immediate gains of those living in the US"? Or lining up with the racists in opposition to busing in Boston? These betrayals of Prairie Fire demand a political explanation. But Dohrn can offer nothing except vicious personalist tirades against her former comrades.

Prairie Fire has, of course, been less than a bust. With politics running from hippie life-stylism, to nostalgic idolization of the Stalinist NLF in Vietnam, to abject capitulation to white racism in the Boston busing struggle, Prairie Fire early on disintegrated into its constituent elements. Ultimately, it proved to be an albatross to an unreconstructed "off-the-pig" adventurist like Dohrn.

With Eldridge Cleaver praising god and cavorting with evangelists, and Timothy Leary traveling the lucrative campus lecture circuit, Dohrn's statement does stand as a solitary voice from an all-but-forgotten past. But while she may not have yet collapsed into the craven depths of many of her New Left cronies, her isolation indicts the suicidal strategy of individual terrorism. Once a significant faction in SDS which declared that



"I repudiate and denounce the counter-revolutionary politics and direction of the Weather Underground... the split in the WUO is real... all ties and relationships with the old organizations are formally dissolved."

—Bernardine Dohrn

through terrorism "We are not just attacking targets—we are bringing a pitiful helpless giant to its knees" ("Fall Offensive" communiqué, 8 October 1970), all that now remains is a "Central Committee" reduced to political cannibalism and a dissipated front group.

As Marxists we will continue to defend the Weather Underground against bourgeois repression. The Spartacist tendency was virtually alone in its defense of these *then* subjectively revolutionary militants at the height of the bourgeoisie's scare campaign against them. At the same time we sharply differentiated ourselves from the futility and despair of individual terrorism. There is but one road: the construction of a Leninist combat party which can lead the working class in smashing the capitalist order and the bourgeois state. ■

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Ann Arbor Campus Union Militant Solidarizes with SYL

EDITOR'S NOTE: Reprinted below is a statement which we recently received from a young campus union activist who has resigned from the Clericals for a Democratic Union (CDU), an opposition caucus which had been active in Local 2001 of the United Auto Workers in Ann Arbor, Michigan. Following the heavy handed decertification of the union by the UAW International, many CDU activists have foundered in political demoralization and disorientation. Others, however, have begun to give serious consideration to the revolutionary program of Trotskyism and the politics of the Spartacus Youth League (SYL).

26 January 1977
Clericals for a Democratic Union
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Dear Brothers and Sisters,

This letter is to explain my reasons for breaking with the Clericals for a Democratic Union and for wanting to join the SL/SYL. For trade-union militants and those interested in revolutionary communist politics, the only group with the program that will lead the working class to victory in its fight against capitalism is the SL/SYL.

UAW Local 2001 was born out of a short-lived drive by the UAW International bureaucracy to expand its dues base, and throughout its two-year life, 2001 remained totally isolated from other workers in the International Union. CDU was formed as a caucus based on the fight for union democracy and vague formulations about "more control over our working lives." The membership, dissatisfied by the sell-out contract, elected CDU to the leadership of the local in January

1976. I was the Recording Secretary and on the Bargaining Committee. In conflict with an increasingly hostile UAW International bureaucracy over such issues as bylaws and union elections, the caucus became the subject of vicious redbaiting attacks. The demoralization of the membership and the isolation of the leadership from the ranks culminated in the decertification of the union in August 1976.

The caucus remained together, with the goal of organizing another union, but never honestly evaluated its work prior to decertification. The lack of an evaluation, the increased personal maneuverism and the rule against contact with the SL/SYL led me to break from the caucus. After the split, I began discussions with the SL/SYL on how to do communist trade-union work. A vital part of such work is the program. The CDU's program consisted of raising piecemeal trade-union demands which capitulated to the present consciousness of clericals and confined the Local 2001 struggles to the boundaries of capitalism. Serious class-struggle militants must fight to raise the level of class consciousness by drawing the everyday struggles of workers towards the necessary conclusion of the need for a socialist revolution by fighting around a program of transitional demands. The CDU's strategy of recruiting activists and trying to assume union leadership on the basis of vague reformist formulations is counterposed to winning militants to a principled programmatic perspective of class struggle. Trade unions, in the epoch of imperialism, become instruments for the suppression of

class struggle by the bourgeoisie working through the trade-union bureaucracy. The rank and file must topple this bureaucracy and replace it with class-struggle leadership, because the unions become instruments of revolutionary change only by fighting for a revolutionary program.

The CDU maintains that it is against capitalism and for union democracy, but refuses to accept the fact that this struggle does not exist apart from the fight to build a revolutionary party and class-struggle leadership in the unions. The party is vital in its connection to the work of the trade-union caucuses it supports. Because the party is the organizational expression of a revolutionary program which represents the historic interests of the entire working class, it counterbalances the deforming influence of the trade-union milieu.

The CDU, with its marginal support and demands no different from those of any out-bureaucrat, capitulated to the narrowness and parochial-

ism of the Ann Arbor petty-bourgeois milieu. The CDU made the winning of their trade-union struggles a prerequisite for even beginning the fight to raise the class consciousness of clericals through political struggle around a transitional program. Because of the narrow focus of its own brand of trade-union reformism, the CDU abstained from other struggles—even those on the Ann Arbor campus. Last spring, when the SYL tried to contact the caucus—by telephone and by letter—to inquire about the possibility of union support to the protest against CIA/NSA recruitment on campus, this request was ignored.

The difference between the CDU and the SL/SYL is clearly the difference between New Left reformism and revolutionary politics. From the fight to expose the collaboration of the CWA with the AIFLD in support of the Chilean junta, to the successful implementation of a labor/black defense of a black union member's home attacked by racists in Chicago, SL-supported caucuses have waged exemplary and successful struggles around the full transitional program. The only principled, and ultimately the only successful, way to do communist trade-union work is with a revolutionary program. This program can only be embodied in people who fight openly for that program to win over militants and to mobilize the working class for the revolution. The only group today building a revolutionary party and class-struggle leadership in the unions is the SL/SYL.

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LESSONS OF LEBANON

How events after civil war expose myth of "progressive" Muslim-Left alliance

During the 19-month civil war which devastated Lebanon all the opportunist left tendencies in this country attempted to portray the Lebanese-Muslim/Palestinian melange as waging a "progressive" and "anti-imperialist" struggle against the Christian-dominated "confessional" order, willfully ignoring or flatly denying the sectarian pogroms of the squalid blood feud.

In contrast, the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League maintained that the bloody Lebanese holocaust from its outset was an *inter-communal conflict*, contrary to the self-serving claims of both the right-wing Christian parties and the misnamed "Muslim-Left alliance." At the time we argued:

"...the overwhelming character of the Lebanese civil war was savage and uncontrollable killing along communal (and not simply religious) lines. From the very first clashes both the Christian and the Palestinian-Muslim forces resorted to indiscriminate bombardment of densely populated residential areas where the rival militias roamed or were based. As the fighting intensified and civilian casualties skyrocketed, trigger-happy vigilante gangs proliferated, and both sides indulged in random kidnappings of unarmed civilians, torture of hostages and wanton slaughter simply for the sake of revenge and retaliation...once the fighting burst into a communal conflagration the political program of the 'progressive and democratic forces' simply became subsumed."

—Young Spartacus, October 1976

Since such sectarian killing poisons the class struggle and can only be reactionary, we called for the revolutionary defeat of *all* the marauding militias and vigilante gangs, while advocating organized self-defense for any community under attack (Muslim, Druze or Christian) and while unconditionally opposing any foreign military intervention (Syrian no less than Israeli).

No less than during the civil war, events in Lebanon over the past few months contradict all the claims and arguments which various fake-lefts in this country have used to rationalize their capitulation to the petty-bourgeois nationalism of the "Muslim-Left alliance." Ever since late October, when Syrian forces in Lebanon imposed the ceasefire negotiated by the Arab League at the Riyadh summit conference, the uncritical supporters of the "Muslim-Left alliance"—from the vicarious "Third-World" nationalist Youth Against War and Fascism, to the "critical-Maoist" *Guardian*, to the social-democratic Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance—have fallen silent about the so-called "anti-imperialist" and "anti-confessional" struggle of

the Palestinian/Lebanese-Muslim forces. No longer do the opportunists even raise the demand for Syrian troops out of Lebanon!

Pax Syria and the Prodigal Son

When Syria shifted sides in Lebanon last spring, turning the tide against the "Muslim-Left alliance," Yasir Arafat of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and Kamal Junblat, the Druze patriarch and titular leader of the Lebanese "left," bitterly attacked their former ally, Syrian president Hafez al-Assad, as a "tool of imperialism." Likewise, in this country petty-bourgeois radical tendencies seized upon the Syrian invasion to argue that the conflict in Lebanon was an "anti-imperialist struggle" on the part of the "Muslim-Left alliance."

But the almost overnight reconciliation between the Lebanese-Muslim/Palestinian forces and Syria following the Riyadh conference doused the anti-imperialist rhetoric of these opportunists. Not only did the Syrian "tools of imperialism" enter Beirut unopposed, but many Palestinian commandos and their Lebanese allies even embraced and danced among the rubble in the streets with their "Arab brothers" of the Syrian army.

"The Syrians who are here today are not the same Syrians who were here a week ago," trumpeted an official in the PLO high command (quoted in the *Guardian* [London], 15 November 1976). Nor was this *volte face* confined to the mainstream Fatah leadership within the PLO.

The "Marxist" Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), which had become a close ally of Fatah after its sharp right turn several years ago, also was seized with the spirit of "Arab unity." Only a few weeks earlier DFLP leader Nayef Hawatmeh had denounced Syria for allegedly carrying out "the American-Israeli plan" for Lebanon and for attempting "to impose a bourgeois confessional solution" (quoted in *Le Monde*, 28 September 1976). Yet on the day when the ceasefire was imposed Hawatmeh declared that the DFLP "welcomes positively the Riyadh decisions" and that with the entry of the Syrian forces into Beirut "a positive step has been taken" (quoted in *Le Monde*, 21 October 1976).

Likewise, that "progressive" patriarch Kamal Junblat, who for months had been demagogically denouncing the Syrian invasion, suddenly welcomed the wayward Assad back into the fold:

"We opposed the intervention of

Syrian forces in the past, because they came to support the isolationists [meaning the Christian parties] and to prevent us from winning, which is in contradiction to Syria's mission. Now that these forces are intervening as part of the Arab peacekeeping force with a view of reestablishing Lebanese security and putting a halt to the plans to create a Maronite state, we can only but congratulate ourselves about their intervention."

—*Le Monde*, 12 November 1976

Even when Junblat was earlier demanding the withdrawal of all Syrian forces from Lebanon his "Muslim-Left alliance" was far from opposed to all foreign military intervention.

In October, the "anti-imperialist" Junblat called upon the French imperialists to invade Lebanon, just as he did immediately after the Syrian invasion in June. After a series of high-level meetings with French officials in Paris Kamal Junblat announced:

"We want to re-introduce France into the Levant, because we don't want to be at the mercy of the great powers... A French peacekeeping force could begin by installing itself in the two sectors of Beirut with the aim of protecting vital installations of an economic character or a general interest, such as the airport."

—*Le Monde*, 10-11 October 1976

When asked about his earlier statements opposing French imperialist intervention in Lebanon, Junblat replied, "It's all just a misunderstanding."

Lebanese "Left": To the Right of Robespierre

Political developments in Lebanon since the ceasefire have also exposed the claim that the Lebanese-Muslim/Palestinian forces are committed to struggling against the Maronite-dominated "confessional" system. As before, Kamal Junblat now demands not the elimination of the "confessional" system of proportional electoral representation, but only its reform.

At the time of the ceasefire Junblat demanded, "The parliamentary system must be reformed, and proportional voting must be instituted" (quoted in *Asie-Afrique*, 18-31 October 1976). While often advocating a "democratic revolution" in Lebanon "like the Great French Revolution," Junblat does not even go as far as Robespierre and call for a

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Palestinian Nationalist Describes "Confessional Nature" of Lebanese War

"Although the battles of April 1975 were conducted against the [Palestinian] resistance movement they also served as a rallying point for the [Lebanese] progressive groups....

"When the battles resumed in August they took on a different character: they were primarily of a confessional nature. The fighting started with shooting between Maronite Christians and Muslims in Zafle, a predominantly Christian town in eastern Lebanon. The fighting spread northward to Baalbek (in the Beka'a valley), to Zghorta and then Tripoli....

"The battles started as a fight between reactionary and progressive forces and ended up as a fight between Muslims and Christians, principally Maronites. Whether or not we like to admit it, it is a fact. The battles ended up on the street, among the ordinary people of Lebanon, between Christian and Muslim....

"On the political level, the [Palestinian] resistance movement represented the private army of the progressive forces, and in turn the Muslims. Whether we like it or not, this is how it was viewed....

"During this time various new dimensions have developed in the progressive forces of Lebanon. First, in some districts local militia or local peoples' committees were formed that were not controlled by, or part of, any of the national progressive groups. The Chiyah district of Beirut, in particular, which has been the center of most of the fighting, is not controlled by any of the progressive parties. It is controlled by people who have 'dropped out' of the other progressive parties and have formed local peoples' militia and committees... it is difficult to form a united front out of such a mixture. For instance, it's really amazing when you have in a certain district a *mukhtar*—the old man of the district—who, with 30 or 40 armed people next to him, decides to establish a barricade and control the neighborhood....

"Kamal Jumblatt's Progressive Socialist Party is a major component of the progressive forces. It is a social democratic party, but it is really based on feudal or tribal affiliations. Jumblatt represents the whole Druze sect as well as the social democratic tendency....

"In addition, on occasion the progressive forces find themselves in alliance with Rashid Karami and Abdullah Yaffi (a former Prime Minister). This is an alliance based on confessionalism. This gives you an idea of the complexity of the situation and of the conditions of the progressive forces of Lebanon. Out of this we are to weave a national front, so wish us luck."

—From an interview with Yusif al-Haytham, a spokesman of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, published in the pro-Palestinian journal *MERIP Reports*, No. 44, February 1976

Liberal Moralizing at YSA Convention

How Revolutionists Approach S. Africa Boycotts

Once a year the little-league reformists of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), youth group of the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), get together to tell each other tales of how well everything is going for their organization and how they will become even more successful very soon.

At this year's YSA convention, held in Chicago over the New Year weekend, these smug Babbitts of the left once again imbibed the usual large doses of faked optimism. In an interview with the *Chicago Sun-Times* (1 January 1977) YSA national organization secretary Rick Berman predicted massive growth for the SWP/YSA, adding: "I've been a revolutionary [sic] for six years and this is the best time to be a revolutionary. When I started, I was scared to tell people I was a Socialist. It's just getting easier and easier."

Behind this Panglossian "best-of-all-possible-situations" rhetoric is a rather different reality. The YSA convention was a flop. Attendance was about half that of last year's YSA convention. Dismally dull, apolitical and repetitious, the dreary presentations and desultory "discussions" failed to hold the attention of most conference participants; many apolitical new recruits as well as cynical cadres chatted, read and even wandered the halls throughout the conference proceedings.

By no means has its low-level reformism catapulted the SWP/YSA into the big-time. Even the YSA leadership has admitted that over the past period more than one third of its membership has resigned. The "biggest-ever" SWP election campaign turned out to be a dud. Although on the ballot in an additional four states, the SWP/YSA candidates polled fewer votes than in 1972; in Massachusetts, where four years ago its candidates had to compete with liberal Democrat George McGovern, the SWP/YSA fell short of its 1972 election return by 3,000 votes.

Furthermore, its main student front group, the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR), has fizzled, no longer able to lure its "quorum" of liberal Democrats. As one YSA member candidly wrote in a pre-conference internal bulletin, "The phantom of SCAR seemed to be making a decisive turn towards the 'twilight zone'" (*YSA Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. XX, No. 4, December 1976).

Attack on the SYL

Significantly, one of the rare political speeches at the convention was a demagogic attack on the Spartacus Youth League (SYL). Over the past several months the SYL has sharply exposed the YSA for its opportunist dive on the busing issue. At the last NSCAR convention in November the SYL argued that the SWP/YSA had abandoned any activist orientation in support of busing and that its proposal for calling two days of local anti-apartheid activities *four months later* was simply a shabby way to liquidate its ailing NSCAR front group with the least possible embarrassment (see "NSCAR Gropes

for New Gimmicks," *Young Spartacus* November 1976).

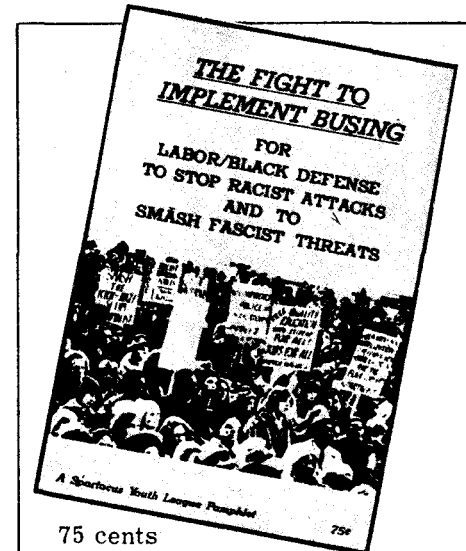
Defending the YSA's support for the liberal/moralist "strategy" of an unlimited, total boycott of South Africa, a YSA delegate at the conference asserted that the SYL "says the corporations are good for South African blacks and claim that it [total boycott] would lead to retribalization or something like that." This only parrots SWP hack Tony Thomas, who termed "bizarre" our slogan, "smash apartheid" and our position that "we do not advocate an unlimited and total boycott of South Africa" (*Intercontinental Press*, 6 December 1976).

The YSA liberals in socialist clothing do not put forward a serious strategy to aid the embattled black and "Coloured" workers of South Africa. Instead they try to hook up with pro-imperialist liberals and "progressive" preachers whose "strategy" of consumer boycotts center upon the exhortation, "Thou shalt not eat South African sardines nor buy Krueger Rands." The reformists' call for a "total, unlimited boycott" is a cheap and empty gimmick. Moralistic posturing is very different from international proletarian solidarity.

Boycotts and Class Struggle

We oppose the strategy of a permanent, total economic boycott of South Africa. In the absence of a proletarian upheaval in the target country, such open-ended, total economic boycotts, if successfully applied to reactionary regimes such as South Africa, would result in the contraction of trade and severe economic dislocation and could only serve to debilitate and demoralize the working class through increased unemployment and destitution. Marxists recognize that the ability of the downtrodden masses to struggle against right-wing repression is the aegis of revolutionary change. In addition, in the specific case of South Africa, a crippling of the economy would abet the plans of the most right-wing Afrikaners who are willing to sacrifice South African economic expansion in order to consolidate a nuclear-armed, white "Israel" in South Africa.

What separates South Africa from the rest of sub-Saharan Africa is



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January 18 demonstration picketing Bay Area pier where South African freighter Kimberly was to be unloaded.

precisely its large and militant proletariat, which is in good part detribalized, urbanized and compacted into a potentially mighty revolutionary force. It is against this that the reactionary bantustan (tribal homelands) schemes of B.J. Vorster's Nationalist Party are aimed.

Between 1960 and 1970 alone, the reactionary Afrikaner drive to exclude blacks from the so-called "white areas"—over 87 percent of South African territory—forced 1.75 million blacks out of the cities and mines and into the arid, desolate tribal "homelands." The Afrikaners sought to diminish the role of black labor in the economy and subdivide the proletariat by fostering tribal divisions between the separate bantustans. What stands in the way of Vorster's vicious assaults is the key role of black labor in the booming South African economy; South Africa's labor force is now 70 percent black (87 percent in the mines).

But under the present apartheid system blacks who are unable to maintain continuous employment and meet the other strict standards required for residence outside the bantustans are forced onto these wretched "homelands" and are replaced by migrant labor (blacks who are granted short-term passes and who are neither permitted to have their families with them nor own property). Each day more than 1,400 are incarcerated under the hated pass law system and face deportation to the bantustans.

Thus, a successful, total, unlimited economic boycott of South Africa would significantly depress the economy and, unaccompanied by the mobilization of workers, and apart from a significant erosion of the apartheid system, would only result in masses of black workers dismissed from their jobs and sent back to the tribal "homelands." Such retribalization would significantly sap the capacity of the urban black workforce to struggle.

Solidarity with Anti-Apartheid Fighters!

Under certain circumstances a temporary international labor boycott of all goods and transport to and from a country whose government has just committed an atrocity against the working people can be a sup-

portable means of expressing international protest and outrage. But unlike liberal "on-principle" economic boycotts, which at best are nothing more than moral protest, labor boycotts should be used to force concrete concessions. For example, in the aftermath of the Soweto massacre, when the black working masses of South Africa were waging a "stay-at-home" general strike, a short-term boycott by the labor movement aiming to halt commerce and to free the anti-apartheid political prisoners would have been a concrete act of class solidarity and would have been of genuine help to the struggles of the South African workers and students. On October 16, after Local 10 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union voted for labor boycott action to protest the Soweto massacre, the SL/SYL picketed the *Nebloy Kimberley*, a ship bound for South Africa from San Francisco.

Another example of a supportable labor boycott was the international boycott called for (but predictably not enforced) by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions for January 17 to protest Vorster's arrest of South African trade-union organizers. Such actions are strictly conjunctural and are intended to solidarize with mass upheavals where the working class itself is seeking to disrupt the economic functioning of apartheid.

Unlike the SWP/YSA, the SYL seeks to mobilize international proletarian solidarity to render real aid to the South African working class and to anti-apartheid fighters. We call for a permanent labor boycott ("hot-cargoes") of all military goods to South Africa—the international working class must act to deprive the white supremacist regime of the weapons used to murder anti-apartheid protesters, shoot down strikers and attack workers' and students' organizations in South Africa and Namibia (South West Africa).

Unlike the SWP/YSA, we call for class action by the American labor movement to force U.S. corporations in South Africa to recognize the right of the black workers they so barbarically exploit to form legally recognized trade unions and secure job upgrading. Contrary to the SWP/YSA slander, we do not think that

continued on page 11

EDITOR'S NOTE: Over the past few years political controversies about the class character of the Soviet Union have come to loom large on the American left. Within petty-bourgeois radical circles the attitude that the USSR is "state capitalist" has become more prevalent, even somewhat popular.

No longer are theories about so-called "Red imperialism" confined merely to "State Department" socialists, "Third Camp" social democrats and assorted anarcho-libertarian New Leftists. Recently the main Maoist tendencies in this country have also concocted their own theories about the alleged "restoration of capitalism" in the Soviet Union. As China ever more openly pursued an alliance with U.S. imperialism against the USSR, vociferously supporting NATO and siding with U.S./South African imperialism during the Angolan civil war, the Maoists felt compelled to elaborate the Chinese line on "Soviet social-imperialism" into a developed theory in an attempt to rationalize the betrayals of their mentors.

The following is the first section of a two-part article refuting the salient arguments common to many of the "state capitalism" theories in vogue today. The article is an edited transcript of a presentation given by Joseph Seymour of the Spartacist League Central Committee at an SYL east coast educational gathering held in December 1975. The concluding part of the article will appear in a future issue of Young Spartacus.

In this talk I want to focus my remarks on some of the theoretical arguments raised by political tendencies which maintain that the collectivist economic system in the USSR is "state capitalism" and that the Russian Stalinist bureaucracy is a "capitalist class." In particular, I will discuss some of the main arguments which are most often used to attempt to prove that the Soviet economy operates according to the laws of motion of capitalism.

In addition, I want to argue that at least for some of these tendencies the theory of "state capitalism" reflects an underlying economist and quasi-anarchist hostility to the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this regard, I'll show how their "state capitalist" theories lead to programmatic positions that are opposed to the economic policies of the Russian workers state under Lenin as well as the economic policies advocated by the Trotskyist Left Opposition in its struggle against the bureaucratic degeneration of the revolution under Stalin. Finally, this talk will consider some of the economic measures which a Trotskyist party in the USSR would introduce following a political revolution that sweeps away the Stalinist bureaucracy monopolizing political power in the USSR and that reestablishes workers democracy and soviet institutions of proletarian rule.

Let me begin with a brief and empirical description of the economic system of the degenerated workers state in Russia. In the USSR today the bureaucratic apparatus responsible for drawing up and overseeing the central plan is known as Gosplan. It is directly responsible to the highest state body, the Council of Ministers.

Except for the later Khrushchev years (1958-64), when economic decentralism along regional lines was introduced for purely factional purposes, the Soviet economy has been administered through the "industrial ministerial system" based on nation-wide, vertically integrated industries (for example, the Ministry of Non-Ferrous

Metallurgy, the Ministry of the Food Industry, the Ministry of Textiles and so on). These are powerful and somewhat autonomous bodies. (Kosygin, for example, had his first major political role, in the 1930's, as head of the Ministry of Textiles.) The lowest level unit in the system is known as the enterprise, which is usually the technical unit of production—a single factory, state farm or mine.

In 1973, during one of the innumerable administrative shake-ups within the Russian Stalinist bureaucracy, the lowest level of the system was to be changed from the enterprise to the association, made up of several related enterprises. Since the significance of this change is unclear, I'll continue to speak of the basic unit of management and account as the enterprise.

Now, in the USSR the economic plan presented by Gosplan to the various ministries is in physical terms: so many tons of steel and coal, so many square meters of plate glass and cloth, and so forth. In any workers state, including the bureaucratically degenerated USSR, the economy must be based on wage labor. Therefore, associated with the physical plan is a set of financial flows reflecting costs and prices.

In the Soviet economy all prices are determined administratively by the Stalinist bureaucracy; prices are *not* determined through the mechanism of the market. There are two basic levels of prices: the price

enterprises receive for their product and pay for their inputs, and the price set for consumer goods. The enterprise (or wholesale) price is determined by average cost of production, plus a mark-up for profit.

Before 1967, the profit mark-up was calculated on the basis of production cost and was relatively small, with 25 percent being retained by the enterprises and the rest going to the ministries and government budget. After 1967, the profit mark-up was calculated on the value of fixed assets and was relatively greater than before, with 40 percent being retained by the enterprises.

"Profit" in the USSR

Many proponents of the "state capitalist" analysis of the USSR make much ado about profit in the Soviet economy. Especially in the crude, subjectivist-idealist "state capitalism" theories of the Maoists, "profit" in the USSR spells "capitalism." For example, in its booklet *How Capitalism Has Been Restored in the Soviet Union* the Revolutionary Communist Party attempts to stun the reader by reproducing a 1966 Soviet poster depicting a worker holding a stack of rubles which are labeled "profit."

But in the USSR enterprise profits are not money-capital; they are not the universal means of exchange, which can be spent by the enterprise on anything they like. In the USSR profits are essentially a *tax* levied at the enterprise level, part of which is granted

to the enterprises subject to very strict guidelines and instructions concerning expenditure.

The difference between enterprise (wholesale) and consumer (retail) price is a sales (or turnover) tax, which in the Soviet economy is very large. Enterprise profits and turnover tax are the principal mechanisms by which the Soviet government finances non-consumption expenditure: education, health, military, investment.

The only major sector outside the centrally planned economy is agriculture. One fourth of all agricultural production in the USSR comes from state farms, which in a formal sense are run the same way as industrial enterprises. Grain—the basic product of the collective farms—is subject to compulsory delivery to the state at a fixed price. About 30 percent of agricultural production, concentrated in fruits, vegetables, meat and poultry products, comes from private peasant plots. About half of this is sold in private peasant markets to individual consumers.

With one major exception (collective farmers), there are no legal restrictions on the movement of labor in the USSR. Labor is allocated primarily through wage differentials—not through administrative or coercive means. Legally one is bound to a collective farm from birth, and official approval is required to leave. However, since the death of Stalin in 1953 this law has not been enforced and has become a dead letter.

With the single important exception of housing, which is rationed, consumers are free to purchase whatever is available at retail outlets on a first-come, first-served basis. At the level of consumer goods, money has generalized exchange value.

What is the Law of Value?

Some of the more sophisticated theories of "state capitalism" attempt to prove that the USSR is capitalist by claiming that the Soviet economy is regulated by the law of labor value. Yet, like the Maoists on "profit" in the Soviet economy, these theories attempt to equate the "law of value" with "capitalism."

Now, the law of value establishes a rigid quantitative relationship between the terms of exchange and the resources, ultimately labor, necessary for production. The law of value is *not* simply a relationship governing exchange. It is a law relating the *terms* of exchange to the *conditions* of reproduction.

Only under the capitalist mode of production does the law of value fully hold sway. Why? Because only in capitalist society does the exchange of commodities totally penetrate the process of reproduction. In all pre-capitalist societies and also in post-capitalist society, key elements of production are not themselves commodities. Thus, in the period of European feudalism labor and land were not commodities; they were not exchanged in a market.

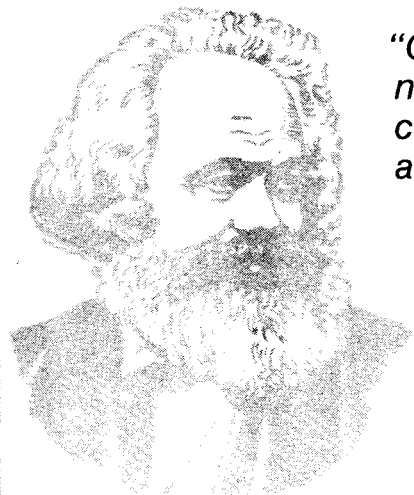
What distinguishes capitalism is the existence of atomized producers who must transform their product into the universal equivalent of exchange value (money) and buy back *all* the elements of production. The law of value cannot operate, for example, in a barter (non-money) economy. Under these circumstances, the conditions of exchange are governed either by accidental supply/demand conditions or by tradition.

Another way of looking at the question is to ask what happens within a capitalist system when the terms of exchange are not equal to the costs of production. If the terms of exchange are *below* the cost of reproduc-

ON THE CLASS CHARACTER OF THE USSR

THE ANTI-MARXIST THEORY OF "STATE CAPITALISM"

A TROTSKYIST CRITIQUE



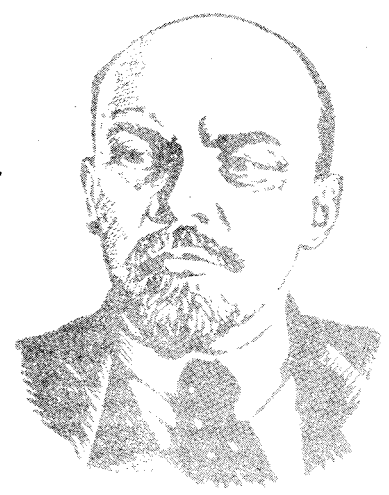
"Conceptually, competition is nothing but the inner nature of capital, its essential character, appearing and realized as the interaction of many capitals on one another..."

Capital exists and can exist only as many capitals..."

—Karl Marx, *Grundrisse der Kritik der politischen Ökonomie*, Rohentwurf 1857-58, pp. 316-317 [our translation]

"The rule of the proletariat is expressed in the fact that landlord and capitalist property has been abolished. ... First of all the question of property. When the question of property was decided in practice, the rule of the class was assured."

—Lenin, *Polnoe Sobranie Sochinenii* [Collected Works], 4th ed., Vol. 30, p. 426, 427 [our translation]



tion, the capitalist is unable to buy back the resources needed to maintain production at the same scale. Consequently, production in that particular firm or industry must contract. If the terms of exchange are *above* reproduction costs, the capitalist will receive above-normal profits. This will attract additional capital, and production in that particular firm or industry will expand.

Marx was quite categorical in insisting that the capitalist mode of production and

USSR the law of value operates in the sector of producer goods. In the Soviet economy producer goods are allocated as specific use values within a single economic collective, which is the *inverse* relationship to capitalism. In a capitalist economy, it is exchange value which generates the production of specific use values: if and only if a particular use value is profitable will it be produced.

In the Soviet Union, however, prices and profits are set by the bureaucracy so that the financial flows associated with production correspond to the planned output of specific use values. Enterprise profit is partly an accounting mechanism and partly serves (although badly) to encourage conscientious management on the part of the Stalinist bureaucrats.

For a Marxist any discussion of the law of value in the Soviet Union must be limited to those areas where markets exist: the private peasant market, the labor market and the consumer goods market.

The private peasant market in the USSR is a real market, in the sense that atomized producers face atomized consumers. However, the conditions of production on the private peasant plot are totally determined by the regulations of the collective farm and, therefore, by the government. Money acquired in the private peasant market cannot be used for the mechanization and capitalization of the private plot, nor can it be used to acquire other plots.

Given the rigid restrictions which the Stalinist bureaucracy places on these private peasant plots, there is no tendency for the terms of exchange to encourage private capital accumulation. Since there is only a very slight relationship between the terms of exchange and the conditions of reproduction, one cannot say that the law of value holds sway.

What about the labor market in the Soviet economy? Since the allocation of wages between different groups of workers is determined by supply and demand, there is something approaching an aspect of the law of value.

However, in a capitalist economy the law of value determines not only the distribution of wages between different groups of workers, but also the division of social product between total wage goods and other uses, such as investment and the military. It is here that the reserve army of the unemployed is vitally important for a capitalist economy. When the wage rate is too high to secure adequate profit, increasing unemployment will depress wages.

But in the Soviet Union the labor market does not determine the *aggregate* wage bill; that is determined by the planned output for consumer goods. In the aggregate the Soviet economy works just the *inverse* of the capitalist labor market. When employment is greater than planned, as in the early Five Year Plans, wages fall. In contrast to the capitalist economy, such conditions in the labor market do not produce a tendency for wages to be bid up, leading to increased demand for and production of consumer goods. And when the level of employment is less than planned by the Stalinist bureaucracy, wages will rise, because the more-or-less fixed supply of consumer goods is spread over a relatively smaller labor force. In the USSR, there is no reserve army of the unemployed.

What about the market for consumer goods? I will argue, and I believe this was Marx's position, that in a workers state under conditions of scarcity, consumer goods should generally be priced at their cost of production. This is not a law arising from the autonomous operation of market competition; rather, it is a planning norm. However, in the bureaucratically degenerated Russian workers state this norm is violated. There is no tendency in the Soviet economy for consumer goods' prices to conform to the cost of production. If the turnover tax, which is an index of the difference between supply and demand, is particularly high for some product, there is no mechanism to shift production toward that good.

Thus, we can see that in each of the three markets in the Soviet economy, there is a qualitative attenuation of the law of value. In fact, these markets do not operate as they do in capitalist economies.

[TO BE CONTINUED]



Maioist "proof" of "capitalism" in USSR: 1966 Soviet poster promotes higher plant profits.

the law of value are inextricably bound up with atomized competition. Here is a quote from Marx which leaves very little room for misinterpretation on this point:

"Conceptually, *competition* is nothing other than the inner nature of capital, its essential character, appearing and realized as the interaction of many capitals on one another, the inner tendency as external necessity. Capital exists and can exist only as many capitals, and its self-determination therefore appears as the interaction of these on one another." [original emphasis]

—Grundrisse, translated in *Young Spartacus*, May 1975

Thus, one cannot speak of the law of value in the absence of a market, since the law of value is generated by competition on the market. It is, however, possible to have markets in which the law of value does not operate. In pre-capitalist societies, exchange was sufficiently removed from the conditions of reproduction that the law of value did not operate. For example, the Roman empire purchased luxury goods from China on a large scale. I do not believe that this trade was governed by the law of value. When this trade dried up with the collapse of the Roman empire, this had little effect on the production of luxury goods in ancient China.

Markets and the Law of Value in the USSR

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Maoist Exclusionism Backfires

CHICAGO—Adding another episode to its history of cowardly sectarianism, the Maoist Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB) on January 10 forcibly excluded members of the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) from an "open meeting" called to fight a recently announced \$90-120 tuition hike at the Chicago Circle campus of the University of Illinois.

The RSB's sectarian antics, however, have netted them nothing but unfavorable publicity. Its spineless hooliganism landed on the front page of the campus paper, the *Chicago Illini* (17 January 1977).

In recounting the exclusion, the article quoted an SYL spokesman: "We protest the RSB's exclusion of the SYL and the YSA and call on students interested in fighting the tuition hike to make clear to the RSB that such behavior prevents the mobilization of the broadest possible support. However, we oppose any Administration reprisals against the RSB."

Stung by this exposure, the RSB issued a leaflet advertising an "Introduction to the Revolutionary Student Brigade" and a free showing of "The Murder of

Fred Hampton" which queried, "Who is this group, the RSB, who excludes Trotskyite organizations, like the YSA and SYL, from their meetings?"

Incapable of any political defense of its mindless student-power rhetoric, the RSB also excluded SYL supporters from this film. But the RSB could not hide from our revolutionary criticism; the SYL immediately called a boycott of the meeting, and approximately half the students arriving for the film joined us in protest of this anti-communist exclusion.

The RSB is understandably reluctant to politically counterpose its "program"—which fails even to call for an end to tuition—to that of the SYL. While the RSB mindlessly blusters about "confronting" Circle president Corbally, the SYL raises the perspective of labor/student mobilizations against cutbacks and layoffs and demands no tuition, open admissions with a full state stipend and campus-worker/student/faculty control of the university. The RSB's exclusionism can only provoke administration harassment and prevent a united struggle against capitalist attacks.

Peking Apologist Exposed at Toronto Forum—

Hinton Caught in Maoist "Contradiction"

On January 21 some 400-500 people gathered at the University of Toronto to hear long-time Maoist apologist William Hinton speak on "The Current Situation in China."

Among the unusually large audience were many Maoists and left-liberal "friends of China" who no doubt have been left confused and disoriented by the purge and continuing obscurantist campaign of vilification against the Maoist clique now known as the "gang of four." Yet anyone who naively thought that the former head of the U.S.-China Peoples' Friendship Association would provide an analysis of Chinese politics at all different from what appears in the pages of the unreadable *Peking Review* and *Hsinhua Weekly* was mistaken.

Hinton opened his speech by admitting that "talking about the current situation in China creates a problem." Putting "Mao Tse-tung Thought in command," Hinton then proceeded to babble for the next hour trying to explain to an increasingly confused audience why the four top-ranking leaders of the so-called "anti-rightist campaign" all along were "capitalist roaders" and at the same time how the Chiang clique had been promoting an "ultra-left policy" at least since 1971.

Although the charges against the "gang of four" are mind boggling (when not simply hilarious), Hinton could back up the charge that the so-called "Shanghai leftists" were capitalist restorationists "in disguise" only by mouthing Maoist litany: the "gang of four" wanted to "overthrow everybody (?)," "turn non-antagonistic contradictions into antagonistic contradictions (??)" and "turn friends into enemies (???)".

During the discussion period Hinton was asked what his position would be had the "gang of four" come to

power instead of Hua. "If the 'gang of four' had come to power, they would be a form of fascist dictatorship," announced Hinton. However, speakers from the Trotskyist League of Canada (TLC), section of the international Spartacist tendency, exposed the nonsensical rationalizations and double-talk spewed by Hinton, demonstrating that the bureaucratic dogfighting in China was not based on fundamental political differences over policy, either domestic or foreign. Between the Chiang clique, Hua and Teng there never have been any "contradictions" over suppressing strikes in China or pursuing a counterrevolutionary alliance with U.S. imperialism against the USSR.

In his closing remarks, Hinton sheepishly admitted that many in the audience probably were confused about why Mao Tse-tung did nothing to stop the "gang of four." Shamefaced, Hinton suggested that Mao put the Chiang clique into power... "in order to expose them." Yet even Hinton felt compelled to add that he didn't understand "why Mao let it go this far": If Mao could expose a small clique of allegedly enormously unpopular, double-dealing "fascists" only by elevating them to the summits of power, then there certainly cannot be any workers democracy in China.

In contrast to Hinton's blithering obfuscation, the TLC held a forum on China the following evening which analysed the current power struggles within the Chinese deformed workers state and their impact on Maoists in Canada and the U.S. The featured speaker at the Toronto forum was SYL National Committee member Irene Gardner, who as a member of the Communist Working Collective in 1971 broke with Maoism and came over to the Trotskyist politics of the Spartacist League.

Fight Berkeley Administration Harassment!

Gains of Free Speech Movement Under Attack

BERKELEY—On January 10, the first day of winter quarter at the Berkeley campus of the University of California, campus police began a policy of systematic harassment of groups that set up literature tables in Sproul Plaza.

In an attempt to clamp down on political activity on campus, the Berkeley administration has unearthed an obscure and previously unenforced statute of the Berkeley Campus Regulations. This rule stipulates that any literature tables set up on campus "shall be the approximate size of a standard card table" and that posters cannot "extend beyond the sides or above the top of tables."

In the *Daily Californian*, of January 14, Associate Director of Students Roland J. Maples stated that the "confusion" of tables in Sproul Plaza during the recent national election led to this attempt "to get some degree of control on the plaza." He also complained about organizations "constantly having signs above the table and people at the table who were not students."

Such incidents of petty harassment of groups with "overly" large tables are minor in themselves, but serious in their implications. The Berkeley administration appears to be testing the political climate on campus to see if the simple democratic rights won through the massive demonstrations of the Free Speech Movement of 1964 can now be overturned without significant campus protest. At Berkeley ROTC is back on campus and fully accredited; in addition, the CIA and NSA place ads in University of California student newspapers to facilitate their recruitment drives on campus. Furthermore, the reactionary Bakke decision by the California Supreme Court negated even the token gains of the special admissions program for minorities in the state of California (see article in this issue).

Yet similar issues of administration harassment sparked the Free Speech Movement: the right of organizations to set up display tables, to distribute literature, to hold rallies and to actively organize on campus. Maples' statement regarding non-students on campus—another important issue fought out in 1964—may indicate that the Berkeley administration is preparing to enforce the infamous Mulford Act, which gives the cops open season to arrest individuals with no "legitimate business" on campus—a law explicitly drafted to keep "radicals" off campus.

In contrast to the passivity of the other radical organizations on campus, the SYL immediately began organizing a counter-offensive to these moves by the administration. It was as a result of the SYL that the front page article appeared in the *Daily Californian* on January 14; that same day the SYL issued a leaflet protesting the harassment and called for a planning meeting to build a united-front protest rally on Sproul Plaza. In addition, the SYL has contacted the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) to take advantage of any legal pressure which can be brought to bear on the administration.

At Berkeley the SYL is well-known for its militant activism, such as its leading role in building a series of demonstrations against ROTC and the imperialist spy agencies last year. It is also the SYL that is known as the foremost defender of democratic rights; for example, recently the SYL

exposed an attempt by conservatives in the student senate to require "membership lists" of organizations requesting office space on campus, just as the SYL publicly and successfully defied undemocratic election regulations in the recent campus elections. The recent harassment by the

Berkeley administration poses a threat to the democratic rights of all organizations on campus—from the Christian Fellowship to the SYL. It is necessary to mount an effective united-front campaign on campus now to stop the administration harassment! ■

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Labor Faker...

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government.

Reformists like the CP and SWP have attempted to justify their groveling support to out-bureaucrats like Sadlowski by claiming "that is where the workers are at" and that oppositions based on a full transitional program are "too advanced." Such self-serving paternalistic excuses, however, cannot dismiss the fact that class-struggle caucuses supported by the SL and SYL have mobilized significant support for actions throughout the country.

On the West Coast, for example, the Militant Caucus of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 6 has for several years had one of its members, Bob Mandel, elected to the Local 6 executive board on the basis of a class-struggle program.

In 1974 militants who later formed the Militant Caucus were instrumental in organizing a mass picket composed of Local 6 members from surrounding warehouses to defend the KNC Glass strike in Union City, California. When Mandel, together with other militants, initiated the mass picketing and "hot-cargoing" of shipments bound for the plant, the employer was forced to abandon attempts to bring in scabs. After dragging their feet during the strike the Local 6 leadership—many of whom are supporters of the CP—unsuccessfully attempted to provoke a vicious slander campaign against Mandel.

Since its formation three years ago, the Militant Caucus has fought the government's chauvinist attempts to blame foreign-born workers for the depression, advocating mass labor action against Gestapo-style deportation raids in San Jose and Los Angeles; called for union action against racist police terror like the savage round-up of blacks in San Francisco during Operation Zebra; initiated union support in defense cases like Tyrone Guyton; and pressed a successful boycott action of Chilean cargo in protest against the bloody junta.

While championing the formation of anti-capitalist oppositions in the unions, revolutionaries will occasionally extend critical support to an individual or group whose program does not raise a socialist alternative but which does pose on a fundamental issue a qualitative break from the straightjacket of pro-capitalist unionism.

However, Sadlowski has shown that on all key questions he represents a latter-day Abel. Militant workers and students who seek a genuine alternative to the oppression and exploitation of capitalist society must look towards the class-struggle program of oppositions like the Militant Caucus and Militant Solidarity Caucus. ■

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YSA Votes Against Open Admissions

Confab on Bakke Decision Mired in Liberalism

BERKELEY, 16 January—In response to the recent California Supreme Court ruling against special-admissions programs at University of California (UC) law and medical schools, several hundred students met here yesterday at a "Statewide Organizing Conference Against the Bakke Decision."

A large part of the all-day meeting at the Berkeley campus of UC was devoted to a counterposition between the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) demand for open admissions with a state-paid stipend and the demand of the conference's major sponsor, the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), for a return to the minority quota system overturned by the "Bakke Decision" five months ago.

In its September 16 decision the state court ruled in favor of Allen Bakke, a white student who had sued the UC Davis School of Medicine for discrimination in its admissions policy. The Bakke decision puts an end to the present admissions program at the Davis Medical School which reserves for minority students 16 of the 100 openings for each incoming class.

In addition, the UC Administration has brought the case to the US Supreme Court. Given its recent reactionary decisions against busing and for re-institution of capital punishment, the Supreme Court might very likely uphold the lower court's ruling. Such an action would strike down all special admissions programs nationwide.

Chicano Students Walk Out

The conference began with a spokesman from MECHA (a state-wide Chicano student organization) reading a lengthy statement which denounced the conference for lacking "authority" to represent the demands of Chicano students and called for a walk-out. No substantive political reasons were given; the only apparent explanation was a nationalist distrust of the super-opportunist YSA—despite the YSA's uncritical support of Chicano nationalism. Although most of the Chicano students present sat through the morning session, nearly half the audience left after the lunch break to caucus with MECHA leaders. At the caucus plans were discussed to form an "alternate" coalition which would organize separate actions to protest the Bakke decision.

This left the YSA in an embarrassing situation: these inveterate tailists now found themselves without a significant minority group to uncritically tail. In desperation, these small-time opportunists spent the remainder of the meeting placating supporters of the August 29th Movement (Marxist Leninist)—an obscure Maoist sect with a small Chicano following.

At this point the YSA proposed a "unity" motion, merging its two slogans with those of the August 29th Movement. The result was a laundry list of demands, some simply sub-reformist, others implicitly anti-union: Reverse the Bakke Decision; Defend and extend special admissions; For proportional representation in admissions and hiring of minorities; UC must plead guilty to past and present discrimination as documented by us; UC must accept our co-counsel to represent minorities; No more cutbacks in minority programs—increase of funds and control to minorities; Expand hiring and admissions

of women; and More funds for women's programs.

Why Minority Quotas Aren't the Answer

Amidst much cynical unity-mongering the SYL offered the only counterposed united-front proposal, calling for actions around the demands, No to the Bakke Decision!—For Open Admissions with Full State Stipend!

The SYL opposes the California Supreme Court decision, which will eliminate even the limited increase in minority enrollment which has resulted from special admissions policies. However, academic quota systems do accept and quantify racial discrimination and are not our program. As socialists, we are opposed to institutionalizing racial divisions in any aspect of society. At best, quota requirements represent a lesser evil to the existing discriminatory admissions systems. (For a full discussion, see "Reactionary Court Ruling Bars Minority Quotas," *Young Spartacus*, November 1976.)

At best, the program overruled by the Bakke decision is token. It covered only four percent of all UC admission slots—and only half of those went to "economically disadvantaged" students. While Chicanos represent 17 percent of the state population, the 1976 UC Task Force Report indicated less than three percent Chicano enrollment. Although "proportional representation" of minorities would increase these figures, it cannot provide a solution; especially for professional schools, those applying are overwhelmingly white, male and middle-class. Moreover, any quota admissions program would be administered by the racist, anti-working-class Board of Regents.

Fight for Open Admissions!

In motivating their proposals at the conference, SYL supporters stressed that any demand short of open admissions—the elimination of the discriminatory entrance requirements—cannot significantly undercut the racist and anti-working-class bias inherent in the university system under capitalism. In addition, a state-provided living stipend as well as special remedial-education programs are necessary to make open admissions economically feasible and aca-

demically meaningful for minority and working-class students. It is also necessary to fight segregation as well as "tracking" and flunk-outs in the public school system, since they stand as barriers preventing most minority and poor youth from ever reaching college.

At the same time, SYL speakers drew a distinction between quotas for university admissions and "affirmative action" schemes in the workforce which opens the door to state intervention in the labor movement. Socialists and labor militants must fight for the unconditional independence of the organizations of the working class from the bosses' state. In opposing the demand for proportional hiring of minorities raised by the YSA, the SYL posed the need to unionize unorganized workers on campus and to strengthen existing unions through union control of hiring and aggressive union-run recruitment of minorities and women. Independent class-struggle unionism is essential to defend minorities against racist victimization and harassment.

During the summaries the YSA and August 29th Movement demagogically attacked the SYL for being "unrealistic." The SYL motion for open admissions was voted down by the YSA-ATM bloc, and the conference decided to sponsor a series of local events. Perhaps the "realistic" political perspective of the YSA and its bedfellows of the moment may at some point prod the UC administration to "plead guilty to past and present discrimination." But their reformist pressure-politics cannot mobilize a struggle capable of forcing the capitalist class to provide educational opportunities to the masses of the working people, especially blacks and other minorities.

The barriers to a college degree faced by minority students run throughout capitalist society. Racist admissions policies are only one manifestation: the poverty of ghetto existence, inferior schools in the inner cities, the tracking system and the absence of remedial programs present formidable obstacles. Neither "Tammany Hall" nationalist politics, nor piecemeal reformist "solutions" will reverse this situation. Only the victorious working-class will remove the material foundations of racial oppression. ■

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Trotskyist League of Canada

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

Vancouver: Box 26, Station A, Vancouver, B.C., or call (604) 291-8993

Lebanon...

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constituent assembly based on universal, direct adult suffrage. Moreover, the program of the Lebanese "progressives" headed by Junblat does not even differ qualitatively from the political reforms advocated by Syria during the entire last year. Last February Assad first proposed equal representation for Muslims and Christians in the Lebanese parliament.

Far from opposing the present Syrian "solution" Junblat recently announced that he "would facilitate the work" of the new cabinet assem-



The face of sectarian war: Muslim militiamen riddle corpse of mutilated Christian being dragged in Beirut street.

bled by Christian president Sarkis with the approval of the Syrian regime (*Le Monde*, 11 December 1976). To date, however, the "work" of the quisling regime headed by Sarkis has centered on enforcing the 1969 Cairo agreement, which would confine Palestinian commando units to the refugee camps in Lebanon and strip them of much of their heavy weaponry. Even before the ceasefire Junblat declared, "All the left groups are just as determined as the right wing to see Lebanese national sovereignty respected by the *fedayeen* [Palestinian guerrillas]. Thus, we were about to reach an agreement with the Phalange party when Syria invaded Lebanon at the beginning of June" (quoted in *Le Monde*, 10-11 October 1976).

Dead End For "Rejection Front"

Since the ceasefire, the only opposition to the Syrian occupation of Lebanon has come from the "Rejection Front"—the Palestinian organizations and "radical" Arab states which oppose any negotiations with the Zionist state of Israel. "The Syrians have not changed at all," recently declared the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), the main Palestinian commando organization within the "Rejection Front" (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 21 November 1976).

Quite true, but what has changed is the line of the petty-bourgeois nationalist PFLP on Syria. Earlier in the Lebanese civil war, when Assad was supporting the Palestinians in Lebanon only to increase his control over them, the PFLP vociferously fostered illusions in the Damascus Ba'athists, who as early as September 1973 had arrested Palestinian guerrillas in Syria and closed their training bases and trails near the Lebanon border. In a typical accolade, the PFLP declared, "the Syrian regime has at its disposal a historic chance to lead the Arab masses, all the Arab masses" (*PFLP Bulletin*, July-August 1975).

Nor was this fawning praise of the so-called "radical" Ba'athist regime in Syria anything new for the PFLP. In 1969, for example, the PFLP declared that Syria had "accomplished a number of revolutionary achievements on the way to the democratic

national revolution" (PFLP, "A Strategy for the Liberation of Palestine"). Contrary to the fiction of a "democratic national revolution," the Syrian Ba'athists, no less than every bonapartist bourgeois regime in the "Third World," cannot accomplish even the most basic democratic tasks. As in Lebanon, under the Ba'athist regime the many religious, national and ethnic minorities in Syria suffer fierce discrimination and oppression (the army massacred Druze villagers in 1954 and Sunni Muslims in 1964, while Syrian Jews have always been denied civil liberties); the state accommodates Islamic clericalism (the Constitution stipulates that the chief of state must be a Muslim and

Gamma-Liaison

lenged the rickety Hashemite monarchy were massacred in the thousands by the U.S.-equipped/British-trained Arab Legion of "anti-imperialist" King Hussein, Fatah concluded that "Arab unity" demanded a policy of "non-interference in the internal affairs of the Arab regimes." In return for its "moderation," which included dropping its past opposition to the West Bank/Gaza "mini-state" scheme, the PLO was granted recognition as the "sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people on any liberated territory."

But from the Arab-Zionist war of 1948 until the Lebanese civil war last year the Arab nationalist regimes in Egypt, Syria and Jordan have never fought to "liberate territory" for the Palestinians. In fact, the Zionist-occupied territories which the Arab regimes vow to "liberate" were stolen from the Palestinians; in 1948 Egypt gobbled up Gaza, Syria seized the Hama district on the Golan Heights, and Jordan swallowed the entire West Bank. It was when the Palestinians were winning in Lebanon that Syria shifted sides and sent its army to "liberate territory."

With the setback of the Palestinians after Lebanon the Arab regimes in Cairo, Damascus and Amman are at last united in their maneuvers to negotiate a settlement with Zionist Israel based on the creation of a Palestinian "mini-state." Its dead-end strategy of "Arab unity" and "non-interference" has led the PLO to willingly settle for a scrap of "liberated territory" where the unwanted refugees from the surrounding Arab states and Israel could be dumped and dominated, vulnerable to continued Zionist aggression and Jordanian "Black Septembers."

In contrast to Fatah the Hawatmeh group, at that time the most left-wing expression of Palestinian nationalism, made a scathing criticism of the strategy of "non-interference" and the past failure of the Palestinian nationalist leadership to raise "a revolutionary programmatic alternative to the program which caused the defeats of 1967 and 1948" (*Septem-*

ber Counterrevolution in Jordan, November 1970). But unable to break with a "two-stage revolution" framework which left the door open for capitulation to the "progressive" Arab bourgeoisie, Hawatmeh and his DFLP degenerated into left apologists of Fatah, today supporting the same "mini-state" proposal which they once so trenchantly criticized.

Other "rejectionists" such as the PFLP could do little more than preach illusions in the "radical" Ba'athist regimes and counterpose "armed struggle" to the maneuvers of Arafat, while functioning in the PLO as a loyal "left" opposition. Yet no Palestinian group carried out the PFLP policy of reliance on "radical" Syria more consistently than Sa'iq, whose "armed struggle" in Lebanon led to the bloody fall of Tel Zaatar and the massacre of "rejectionist" commandos.

With its militants murdered and driven out of Lebanon by Syrian forces the PFLP has no regime to lean on except Iraq, which during "Black September" refused to intervene in support of the Palestinians. It is a tragic demonstration of the bankruptcy of the "Rejection Front" that many of its militants in Iraq are turning to the self-defeating and often indiscriminate terrorism of the "Black June." The Iraqi Ba'athists are willing to sponsor these "suicide squads" only because they are so impotent.

Both the Zionist state of Israel and the Arab nationalist regimes stand as obstacles to Palestinian self-determination. Any strategy which pits Arab against Jew instead of class against class can only serve to keep the working masses in the Near East chained to their own ruling class, even as Israel reverberates with strikes and as Egypt explodes in a massive working-class upsurge. Only through the class struggles of the Palestinian Arabs and the Hebrew workers will the Zionist state of Israel and the reactionary Arab nationalist regimes be smashed in the revolutionary upheavals which create a bi-national Palestinian Arab/Hebrew workers state, part of the socialist federation of the Near East. ■

YWLL HIDES BEHIND HARVARD COPS

How Stalinists "Answer" Revolutionary Criticism

Letter

EDITOR'S NOTE: We reprint below a letter submitted to the *Harvard Crimson* by the *Spartacus Youth League* on December 15. The letter exposes and protests an incident at Harvard where the reformist *Young Workers Liberation League* (YWLL), the youth group of the pro-Moscow Communist Party U.S.A. (CPUSA), has called upon the campus cops in an attempt to prevent the *Spartacus Youth League* from functioning on campus. On January 19, however, the *Harvard Crimson* informed a SYL spokesman at Harvard that the letter would not be printed.

To the Editor:

On December 9 Neva Seidman, a supporter of the Young Workers Liberation League (youth group of the Stalinist Communist Party) called the cops on two SYLers who had set up a literature table in Adams House. The SYLers had already been harassed by the rabidly anti-communist House security guard, who had requested and seen the "precious permit" issued by the Dean of Students office and reluctantly recognized our right to be there. When the security guard told the YWLLer that he unfortunately couldn't kick us out, she ran away, shouting over her shoulder, "this is my House and I don't want you here."

Such practices are mere routine for the YWLL, who, unable to answer politically the revolutionary Trotskyist criticism of the SYL, call on the thugs of the capitalist class—

in this case, the Harvard administration—to "answer" for them. Last spring, when the YWLL surfaced on campus in the Progressive Film Society (PFS), their supporters regularly called Harvard cops to eject SYL salesmen from the Science Center, where the PFS films were shown. At that time, the SYL issued a leaflet vigorously protesting this gross betrayal of the elementary principles of workers democracy and solidarity against the class enemy. We issue our protest again here. The cops, the hired guns of the capitalist class, who daily break strikes and brutalize black people, have only one interest in the socialist movement: to crush it. Crossing the class line benefits only the Harvard administration, who will use the same cops and bureaucratic regulations for student organizations against the entire campus left, including both the YWLL and SYL. In fact, a YWLLer was thrown out of the Science Center last spring also!

When the two-bit Stalinist hacks of the YWLL call the cops on revolutionary Trotskyists, it is in full keeping with the history of their "parent" group, the CPUSA: support to the "gentlemen's coup" in Argentina, the Gandhi government in India, and the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, to name a few of their positions. The Harvard YWLL is in training for tomorrow's sellout bureaucrats.

Spartacus Youth League

non-Arab social or cultural institutions have been suppressed); and the press and minority parties are under the thumb of the state.

The Lebanese civil war left the "rejectionists" badly battered. Since December the Syrian-controlled Palestinian group Sa'iq has launched attacks on PFLP and other "Rejection Front" units in Beirut. In addition, on December 26 two high-ranking leaders of the PFLP were found assassinated.

At the same time the "rejectionist" Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command (PFLP-GC) has been torn asunder through violent internal polarization. Its recognized leader, Colonel Ahmed Jibril, recently defected to the Syrians.

Faced with Syrian repression in Lebanon, "rejectionist" commandos have been fleeing to Iraq in ever larger numbers over the past weeks and months. In Iraq many "rejectionist" commandos from Lebanon seem to be joining forces with the "Black June Organization" led by Abu Nidal, who was expelled from Fatah several years ago. Apparently the "suicide squads" of the "Black June Organization" were responsible for the recent terrorist attacks on Syrian embassies in Rome and Islamabad, on the Semiran Hotel in Damascus and the Intercontinental Hotel in Amman, and on Syrian foreign minister Abdel Halim Khaddam (*London Times*, 15 December 1976).

Also operating from Iraq is the terrorist organization headed by Wadi Haddad, who last year was expelled from the "Foreign Operations Group" of the PFLP. The Haddad group claims responsibility for the kidnapping of OPEC ministers from Vienna and the hijacking of an Air France jet held at Entebbe.

What Road Forward?

The debacle in Lebanon, which cost the lives of many subjectively revolutionary militants, was rooted in the inability of the nationalist Palestinian leadership to draw the main lesson of its earlier defeat in "Black September": the main enemy of the oppressed masses in the Arab Near East is the Arab ruling class.

After the Palestinian commandos and refugees in Jordan who had chal-

S. Africa Boycott...

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U.S. corporations are "good" for the black workers of South Africa. We think that they exploit the black proletariat—as do the South African imperialists. Why does the SWP/YSA target only the U.S. multi-national corporations in South Africa? Does the SWP/YSA think that the South African corporations are "good" for the workers of South Africa and Namibia? Undoubtedly not, but refusal to attack the South African bourgeoisie with specific demands is the end result of an accommodation to liberalism.

While the Kautskyan SWP/YSA limits its program on South Africa to democratic demands, we raise the call for the expropriation of the imperialist corporations and the South African bourgeoisie. We call for a South African workers and peasants government centered on the black proletariat, which will serve as the powerhouse for the southern African proletarian revolution.

The difference between the YSA and the SYL on the question of boycotts of South Africa is once again that of reform or revolution. Moral boycotts are part and parcel of a reformist accommodation to the capitalist system. Only the international Spartacist tendency puts forward a Marxist strategy for international working-class solidarity with the struggle of the oppressed black masses of South Africa and struggles for the forging of the Trotskyist leadership which will carry that struggle through to the victorious workers revolution. ■

China...

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what positions he will be given, still remain to be hammered out by the bureaucratic cliques which monopolize political power in the Chinese deformed workers state.

But many Maoists in this country and abroad may well wince at the specter of Teng Hsiao-ping smiling and waving from a lofty parapet of the Forbidden City. Unlike the purge of the "gang of four" by an obscure Hua Kuo-feng, the downfall of Teng following the Tien An Men riots last April (as well as when he was first toppled in 1966) carried the full authority of Chairman Mao.

As in earlier intra-bureaucratic power struggles, Teng Hsiao-ping at that time was viciously denounced as an "unrepentant capitalist roader." Bureaucratically orchestrated and enforced "mass mobilizations" to "criticize Teng" were portrayed as so-called "class struggle" against "capitalist roaders" who threatened to "restore capitalism" behind the backs of over 800,000,000 people.

Today Maoists will be hard put to rationalize their "two-line struggle" dogma with the rehabilitation of Teng. Not long after the purge of Teng the October League (OL), those ever-servile flunkies of the ruling regime in Peking, wrote:

"Last summer he [Teng] came out with his 'program' for development in China over the next 25 years. In this program he launched an attack against all the revolutionary achievements of the Cultural Revolution and in fact tried to reverse the very verdicts he swore to accept... It is within the party that the capitalist roaders are the most dangerous because it is there that they can achieve power and implement their reactionary program."

—The Call, 17 May 1976

How will the OL welcome back "within the party" that two-time

double-dealing "unrepentant capitalist roader"? No doubt we will soon be hearing about how past differences with Teng were not "antagonistic contradictions" but rather "non-antagonistic contradictions." Maoist "dialectics" does bear a remarkable resemblance to Catholicism: since Teng's alleged sins are not "mortal" but only "venal," he has been plunged into purgatory, repented and now is ascending to the Heavenly Palace. And the role of the devil in all this is also predictable: the nefarious "gang of four."

Even more hard put to rationalize the return of Teng will be the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), which to date has maintained a stonewalling silence on the purge of the Chiang clique. Only days before the "gang of four" was purged in October the RCP brought out an issue of *Revolution* with a lengthy article on "class struggle" in China. Says the RCP,

"Teng pushed a policy of 'rectification' of the Party, which meant driving out proletarian revolutionaries, including those who had come to the fore during the Cultural Revolution, and bringing back into the Party, and into leading posts, revisionists and degenerates of all kinds... But this defeat of Teng Hsiao-ping [by Mao] and the blow directed against the bourgeoisie in this struggle does not mean that the bourgeoisie has been eliminated, that their attempts to reverse things have ended..."

—*Revolution*, 15 October 1976

And how will the RCP "explain" this new "rectification" of the Chinese Communist Party? By their condemning silence the RCP reveals that it does not know who are the real "revisionists and degenerates" and whether "their attempts to reverse things" have succeeded.

A "See-Saw" Struggle?

To explain the rollercoaster career of Teng Hsiao-ping and the "anti-rightist campaign" which backfired on the Chiang clique it is necessary to understand the intra-bureaucratic conflict misnamed the "Cultural Revolution."

Despite its "anti-bureaucratic" and "egalitarian" rhetoric the Cultural Revolution represented an attempt by Mao Tse-tung to subordinate the Chinese party and state apparatus to his complete control. Following the disastrous Great Leap Forward of 1958-60, which Mao stubbornly defended even after its fiasco, Mao was elbowed out of the day-to-day central party leadership, which at that time was in the hands of Liu Shao-chi, Teng Hsiao-ping, Chou En-lai and Peng Chen. As Mao later complained:

"Teng Hsiao-ping is deaf, but at meetings he would sit far away from me. In the six years since 1959 he has not reported to me about his work... Teng Hsiao-ping respects me but prefers to stay away from me."

—quoted in *Current Background*, 8 October 1969

With the support of Lin Piao and the People's Liberation Army command Mao in 1966 swiftly ousted his main bureaucratic opponents—Liu, Teng and Peng. It was only later that Mao mobilized the student youth as Red Guards to intimidate or pry from their bureaucratic niches recalcitrant officials in the apparatus.

Despite all his rhetoric about "capitalist powerholders" and "anti-bureaucratic struggle" during the Cultural Revolution Mao had never raised a counterposed program or charged Liu and Teng with "revisionism" in the years 1961-1965. In fact, the main polemics against "Khrushchevite revisionism" flowed from the pens of Liu and Teng, and not Mao. It was Lin Piao and Mao who launched the Cultural Revolution in 1966 to dump those Stalinist leaders who wanted to prepare a joint intervention in Vietnam against U.S. aggression; the "radical" strategy of "self-reliance" and "people's

war" represented a rationalization for accommodation with U.S. imperialism and scabbing on the Indochinese revolution.

The fall of Teng and the rise of the Chiang clique during the Cultural Revolution did not involve any struggle over a "proletarian" versus a "bourgeois-restorationist" line. The Chiang clique rose to power with the sole "line" of Mao sycophancy and, once entrenched, pursued policies no less anti-proletarian than Liu, Teng and their bureaucratic supporters.

Consider the case of Wang Hung-wen. Much touted as a "factory worker" who by "putting politics in command" rose to be second-ranking vice chairman of the Communist Party, Wang in fact was a secret police cadre assigned to the Shanghai Seventeenth Cotton Mill (*China Quarterly*, January-March 1974). In October 1966 Wang went to Peking to "make accusations" against the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee and was recruited into the Cultural Revolution Group, then headed by Chiang Ching and Chen Po-ta.

Backed by Mao and Lin Piao, and joining forces in Shanghai with Mao satraps Chang Chun-chiao and Yao Wen-yuan, Wang formed the "Shanghai Workers Revolutionary Rebel Headquarters" to factionalize against the local party bureaucrats opposed to Mao. Far from representing a "proletarian headquarters" Wang and Co. climbed to power in Shanghai by smashing the semi-spontaneous workers strikes which were manipulated by rival bureaucratic groupings, such as the Scarlet Guards.

Following the suppression of the Shanghai general strike and the establishment of the Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee in February 1967, Wang and his mentor Chang imposed policies not qualitatively different than the "capitalist roaders" they had purged. In fact, Wang and Co. at once began to reinstate so-called "repentant capitalist powerholders," while at the same time often brutally suppressing disillusioned "revolutionary rebels" who had helped put them in office. When the workers of Shanghai raised demands for better working conditions and against "egalitarian" pay cuts, Wang denounced these demands as an "evil wind of economism" and took the lead on several occasions to smash strikes.

The Second Coming of Teng

The downfall of Lin Piao (who was saddled with a number of bankrupt policies and who was pushing for a new Great Leap Forward) represented the final liquidation of the Cultural Revolution and paved the way for the "rehabilitation" of Teng; in 1975 when asked by a foreign journalist about his years in disgrace, Teng laconically replied, "This question cannot be separated from the Lin Piao affair" (quoted in *New York Times Magazine*, 30 November, 1975).

Following the purge of Lin the Maoist bureaucracy was confronted with the task of restructuring the party apparatus and subordinating the military. But this required the rehabilitation of many experienced, veteran cadres who had been purged or otherwise disgraced during the Cultural Revolution. By returning Teng to power Mao not only undercut opposition to rehabilitation of these cadres at lower levels in the bureaucracy, but also tightened the reigns on the powerful regional military commanders, five of the seven of whom had been subordinates of Teng for decades.

In this period of bureaucratic reshuffling Teng emerged as the right hand man of Chou En-lai. Consequently, at the Tenth Central Committee held in January 1975 Teng was promoted to the positions of Vice Chairman and standing-committee member of the Politburo; demoted from these positions was

Li Teh-sheng, who had risen in the military only as a result of his active support for Mao during the Cultural Revolution (including suppressing the Red Guards in 1968) and who often heaped lavish praise on Chiang Ching.

With the death of Chou En-lai last January, however, the long-simmering power struggle for his position erupted between Teng, the hand-picked successor of Chou, and the Chiang clique. Although the subterranean maneuvering remains obscured, the Chiang clique apparently managed to block the appointment of Teng, undoubtedly with the support of Mao. Escalating their "anti-rightist campaign" the Chiang

SYL Forum

CHINA AFTER MAO

Guest Speakers:

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clique was successful in toppling Teng after the violent Tien An Men demonstration last April. Teng was stripped of his posts on April 7 and denounced by Mao.

But the death of Mao opened a power vacuum which upset the relationship of forces within the bureaucracy. More likely than not, there is some truth to the official charge that the Chiang clique at that time made a grab for power. But without a strong base and lacking the patronage of Mao, the Chiang clique was vulnerable and was swiftly purged.

Despite their use of so-called "radical" slogans, the bureaucratic forces which rallied behind Hua do not represent any coherent or unified political faction, but were united only in their opposition to the despised Chiang clique. Even after the purge of the "gang of four," the ruling Stalinist bureaucracy is rife with differences, reflecting the different cliques and power bases.

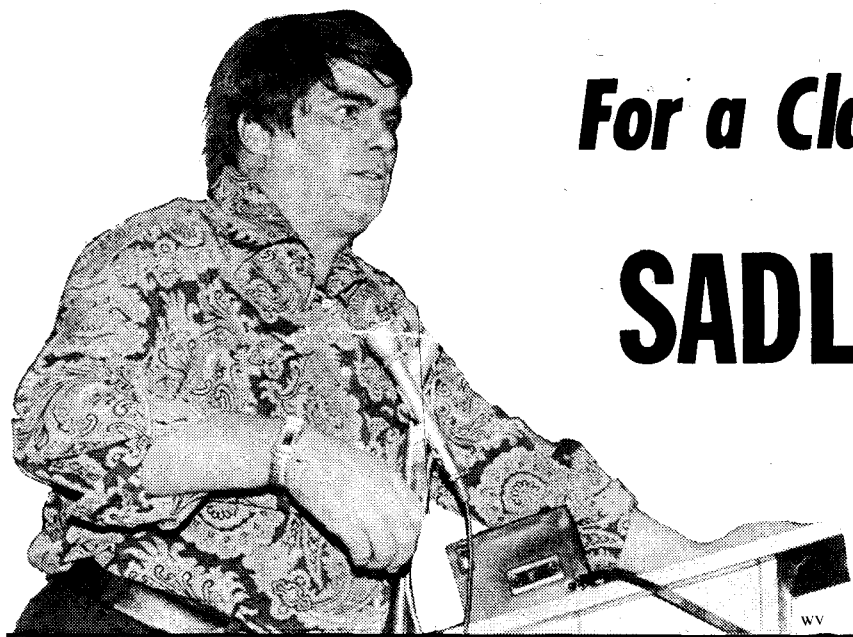
For Political Revolution Against the Stalinist Bureaucracy

Since the death of Mao China has been beset by convulsive power struggles. One province after another has reportedly erupted in factional feuding, as the old wounds of the Cultural Revolution have been torn open and fester. More and more the ruling Peking bureaucracy has been compelled to mobilize the military to restore order where the chaos of bureaucratic infighting has mushroomed beyond control. In his New Year's address Hua warned that a major purge would be imposed during 1977 to restore "order" in China.

It is this task that awaits Teng, a Stalinist with long years of experience in bureaucratic power plays and anti-proletarian repression. His return is based on the need for the privileged Stalinist bureaucracy to shore up its usurping rule and tighten its deadening political stranglehold over ever more restive masses.

The Chinese working class and the entire international proletariat shed no tears for the Stalinist bureaucrats whose heads have and will continue to roll. Our concern is for the defense of the proletarian property forms of China and for mobilizing the masses in a proletarian political revolution against all the bureaucratic cliques and forces. Only through such a struggle will the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy be smashed and soviet democratic rule established for one fourth of the human race. ■

Young Spartacus



For a Class-Struggle Opposition in Steel!

SADLOWSKI: LABOR FAKER ON THE MAKE

This year the left press has devoted considerable attention to the upcoming presidential elections in the United Steelworkers of America (USWA). As a heated campaign pits the designated successor to outgoing president I. W. Abel, Lloyd McBride, against the "rebel" director of District 31 in Chicago, Ed Sadlowski, ostensibly socialist organizations such as the pro-Moscow Communist Party (CP), the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) have climbed on the "militant" Sadlowski bandwagon.

Discontent with the Abel bureaucracy among steelworkers is widespread. Over 100,000 union members are currently laid off, and thousands of workers are being permanently forced out of the industry. While profits of the giant steel companies continue to rise, steelworkers are burdened with speedup, increasingly unsafe working conditions and unemployment. Moreover, decades of discrimination against black steelworkers have been met with the tokenistic Consent Decree which has undermined hard-won seniority rights, set black workers against white and done little to eradicate the companies' notoriously racist practices.

Abel's response to these problems has been to champion import quotas which steal jobs from foreign workers and to channel union resources in support of racist, open-shop Jimmy Carter. Abel's most notable "contribution" to the union was the treacherous Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA), which prohibits the union from calling a nationwide strike!

Fake "Opposition"

As Abel's hand-picked successor, Lloyd McBride will only provide more of the same sellout policies of the present regime. But steelworkers will find no alternative in the "opposition" slate of Ed Sadlowski. Despite heavy doses of tough-sounding militant rhetoric and frequent references to union democracy and membership control, Sadlowski's program offers nothing new.

Like Abel, Sadlowski supports right-wing Democrat Carter. In addition, Sadlowski sees no "legal basis" for dumping the no-strike ENA before 1980 (!) and simply avoids addressing the question of racial and sexual discrimination. As director of USWA District 31, Sadlowski has done nothing to fight massive layoffs; in his pseudo-"chic" interview in the January *Penthouse*, he even spoke favorably about the *elimination* of 75 percent of the jobs in the steel industry!

Sadlowski is best known—and most touted by the fake-left—for his call

for "union democracy." But "union democracy" is the catchword of *all* bureaucrats on the make. In the case of Sadlowski, it is a call for the *capitalist state* to enforce "democracy" in the union; Sadlowski was originally elected to his post in District 31 by bringing the Labor Department in to supervise new elections after his defeat by the corrupt local regime. During the present campaign, he has sued the USWA to secure government regulation of the union distribution of campaign and state scrutiny of the union finances.

In fact, the entire campaign in the USWA revolves around appeals to the capitalist courts to bring "justice" into the union. McBride has taken Sadlowski to court for allegedly receiving campaign funds from the Stop and Shop corporation. Sadlowski responded by filing a countersuit charging McBride with illegal use of union funds in his campaign.

Appealing to the bosses' courts to mediate union disputes is a fun-

these reformists have adoringly proclaimed him the hero of the hour.

The fact that neither the CP nor the SWP have been innocently duped by "Oilcan Eddie" but are consciously currying his favor is demonstrated by their support to another great union "militant" who rose from the "ranks" a dozen years ago. At the time, this candidate also touted a program for union "reform" and "democracy." His name: I.W. Abel.

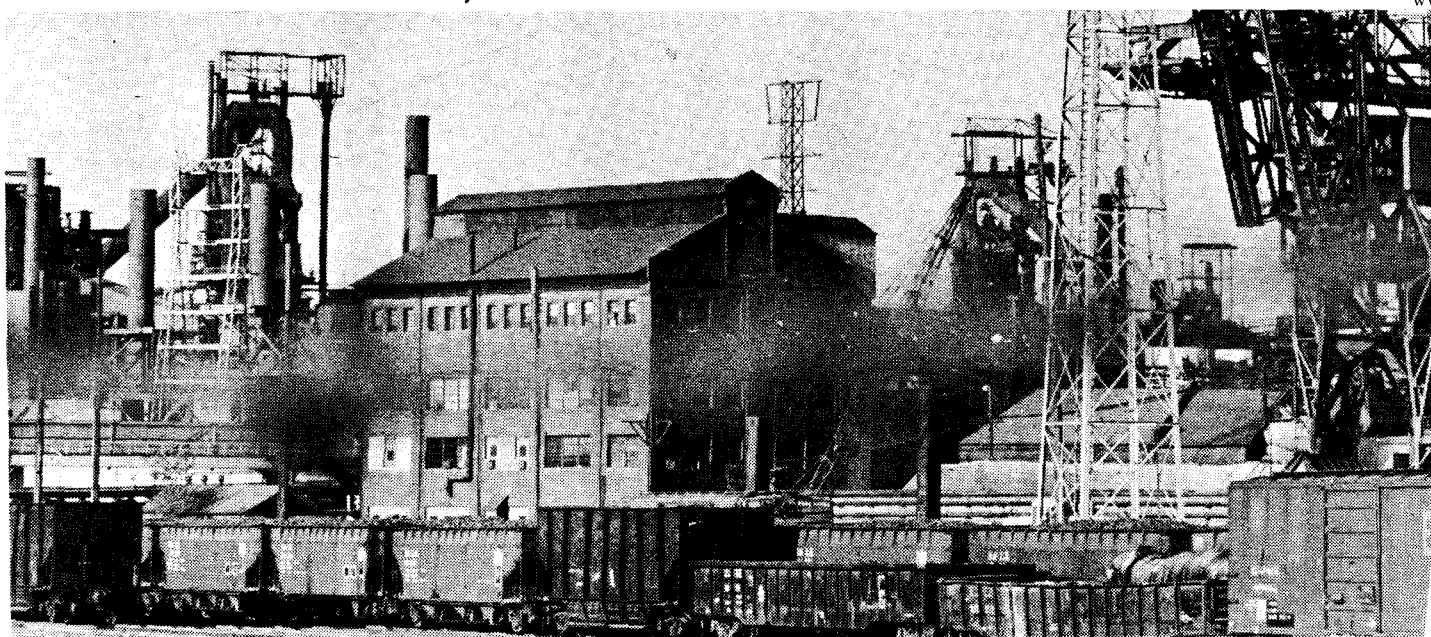
Throughout the 1965 campaign the CP gave Abel favorable press coverage: "Abel is calling for the return of the earlier militancy of the unions" (*Worker*, 24 January 1965). The SWP maintained that although the Abel slate held official union posts, they come "out of the mills into the union leadership, not from an office staff as did MacDonald and his predecessor, Philip Murray." An article by SWP steelworker Henry Austin declared that "this can only mean progress for the rank-and-file steel-

sellouts to better understand—and betray—the workers.

For a Class-Struggle Opposition

A militant program in the USWA must be based on a fight against the capitalist system itself or it will of necessity fall into the rut of business unionism. A class-struggle opposition in the USWA would demand jobs for all through a shorter workweek at no loss in pay; an end to government interference in the labor movement and the abolition of all anti-labor legislation; the right to strike—abolish the ENA; an end to all forms of racial and sexual discrimination—for union control of hiring and upgrading; for international labor solidarity and against protectionist quotas; and for a workers party to fight for a workers government.

One class-struggle opposition of



Chicago: Southworks plant of U.S. Steel.

damental betrayal. The state is not a neutral body, but rather exists to impose the rule of the bourgeoisie on the working class and its organizations. The government will sometimes curb particular corrupt practices of the union bureaucracy only so that it can better control the unions in the future. Independence of the unions from the state is a prerequisite for any effective fight against the companies.

More Opportunists on the Make

Despite Sadlowski's incontestable record of betrayal, his limping campaign has been enthusiastically championed by the so-called "socialists" of the CP, RCP and SWP. Citing his history as a rank-and-file steelworker and his sometime radical verbiage,

worker" (*Militant*, 8 February 1965).

Following the election the SWP welcomed Abel's victory as the most "progressive" event in the USWA in 15 years. A half-dozen years later this labor "reformer" sat on Nixon's wage and price control board. And now the SWP declares, "we side with Sadlowski's fight to throw Abel out on the way to democratize the Steelworkers" (Jack Barnes, SWP National Committee Plenum, January 1977)!

The obvious lesson that both the SWP and CP attempt to obscure is that those who put themselves forward as union leaders must be judged on the basis of their program and past record, not their election-day speeches. In fact, many of today's AFL-CIO labor skates once were militant business unionists. A past history in the ranks enables these

this kind is the Militant-Solidarity Caucus (MSC) of the National Maritime Union. In 1973 the MSC ran Gene Herson for president against both Shannon Wall and James Morrissey. While Wall represented the notoriously corrupt Joseph Curran bureaucracy, Morrissey ran as the "opposition" based on a Sadlowski-like program of union democracy and government intervention. Nearly the entire left rallied behind the Morrissey slate, while the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League supported Herson, whose program linked demands which addressed the immediate needs of seamen with the call for nationalization of shipping without compensation under seamen's control; against government control and interference; for a workers party and for a workers

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