

Young Spartacus

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New Left's Socialist Paradise Lost

Sordid Nationalist War in Indochina

Imperialism suffered an historic defeat in Indochina when Saigon and Phnom Penh fell to the insurgent forces three years ago. After years of trying to entice bourgeois elements into forming a capitalist coalition government the Stalinists in both South Vietnam and Cambodia took power over the irreparably shattered remnants of the exploiting classes and established bureaucratically deformed workers states in Indochina.

For many of the generation of leftists who came to radical politics through the New Left antiwar movement in this country, the war in Indochina was all that was needed to confirm the revolutionary validity of nationalist "Third World" Stalinism. For the last three years there have been any number of "Third World" buffs, soft-headed "rad-libs" and hard-line Stalinists willing to push the cause of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and "Democratic Kampuchea."

But all the fairy-tale myths about "socialist construction" in Vietnam and Cambodia were shot full of holes last month when the much heralded nationalism of these Stalinist regimes collided. Fierce fighting exploded along the border between the two "fraternal" countries as both Hanoi and Phnom Penh took to the airwaves to denounce the other for desecrating its "sacred socialist fatherland."

Crackling radio broadcasts coming out of Cambodia wildly denounced Vietnam for launching a "ferocious and barbaric attack comparable only to Hitler's invasion of Czechoslovakia." Vietnamese ground and air forces are accused of having "destroyed rubber plantations; burned

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Vietnamese tank rolls into Cambodia.

Class War in Coal Fields

Miners Strike in Danger

MORGANTOWN, West Virginia—The coal fields are once again the flash point of the American class struggle. Nationwide strikes by industrial unions are always an important class confrontation pitting the organized labor movement against the bosses. But in the U.S. the tradition of militant unionism undoubtedly runs deepest in the mines. And today the United Mineworkers of America (UMWA) is engaged in a life and death struggle against the coal companies.

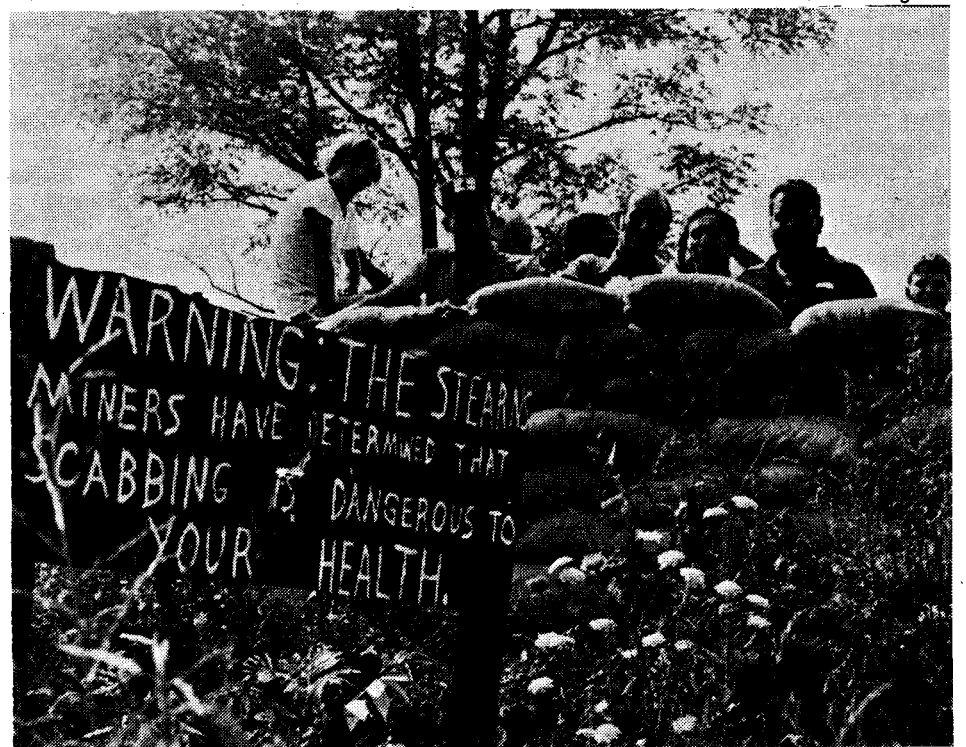
When the UMWA went out on strike on December 6 both sides dug in for a long shutdown of union coal production. With the expiration of the three-year contract between the UMWA and the Bituminous Coal Operators' Association (BCOA), 130,000 bituminous miners in 1,800 mines across the country walked off the job along with 30,000 UMWA members in related jobs such as mine construction. In the UMWA stronghold of West Virginia coal production ground to a complete halt. Railroad hoppers and coal barges stood idle and truck drivers (sometimes even gravel

truck drivers fearful of being mistaken for scab coal haulers) put up their rigs for the duration of the strike.

From the onset of the strike the miners' determination to defeat the BCOA attempt to destroy the union could be seen in the militant strike tactics employed. In Price, Utah, a wooden bridge at the Plateau Mine was burned, trapping scabs at the mine site as 400 pickets patrolled the entrance to the mine. The cops who arrived at the mine reported that the site looked like a battlefield with 500 pound boulders rolled onto the road and four inch spikes driven into the pavement. Only a police ruse and the arrival of bulldozers managed to free the despised strikebreakers.

At the S & S mine near Chrisney in Indiana fifty miners stormed the pit, and an hour later, 200 miners fought off scab bulldozer operators at the B & M dock in Rockport where coal is transferred from railroad cars to river barges. In Victor County, Ohio, striking miners refused to release company supervisors

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Striking Stearns, Ky. miners behind bullet-ridden sign and sand bags.

Somos

Workers Vanguard

EDITORIAL NOTES

Marcos' American Publicity Agents:

Tufts University...

For the past year the issue of university complicity with dictatorial or tyrannical regimes around the world has sparked significant campus protest in the U.S. Student demonstrations, in large part a response to the Carter administration's fraudulent "human rights" offensive, have attacked university investment in countries ruled by right-wing governments as a moral cover for repression. Particularly in the case of South Africa, divestment has been the rallying cry for protesters and organizations ranging from Carter-loyal Democrats to the American fake-left.

Recently the question of university complicity with foreign despotism erupted into a wave of militancy at the usually staid New England campus of Tufts University. On October 27 the university Board of Trustees formally accepted a grant of \$1.5 million from the Ferdinand E. Marcos Foundation, the "philanthropic" front for the brutal dictator of the Philippines. The grant is to establish the Ferdinand E. Marcos Chair in Pacific-East Asian Studies at the university's Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy.

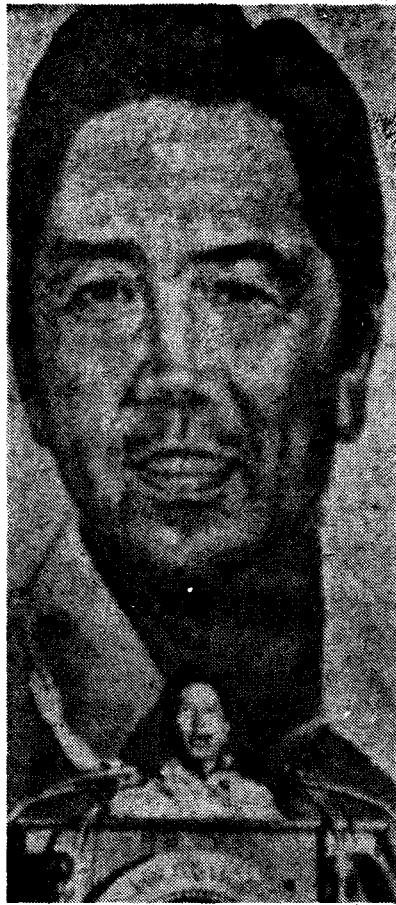
News of the grant quickly touched off a storm of protest among students, faculty and the Filipino community near the Medford, Massachusetts, campus. Student demonstrations convulsed the campus, with as many as 300 marching to the office of university president Jean Mayer on December 5. Numerous protest meetings were held, and two petitions protesting the university's affiliation with the Marcos regime received widespread support. One was signed by 1500 students, the other by over 100 faculty members. The student newspaper, the *Observer* has been transformed into a virtual forum for debate over the question of the Marcos grant.

The furor over the Tufts administration's decision to willingly participate in the public relations offensive of the Marcos regime spread beyond the confines of the campus. A major editorial appeared in the *New York Times* (18 December) entitled "What's for Sale at a University?" Even the *Times* found the direct association with Marcos distasteful and concluded, as a character in a Humphrey Bogart film would have put it, "you don't get nothin' for nothin'." In the following weeks the *Times*' criticism of the Tufts administration prompted a series of letters to the editor including one from the chairman of the Board of Trustees of Tufts claiming that the university was in no way indebted to or compromised by the Marcos endowment.

While the Tufts administration may claim that there are "no strings attached," the acceptance of the endowment can only be seen as a revolting affront to the hundreds of thousands of victims of Marcos' tyranny. The decision to actively participate in the attempt to spruce up the Philippine's "human rights" image (at a time when arms allocations to Marcos are being debated in Congress) is qualitatively different from the "complicity" of holding stock in corporations doing business in South Africa.

Unlike the divestment schema whereby possession of a Krugerrand or ingestion of a South African sardine entails some sort of alliance with the horrors of apartheid, the Tufts administration has engaged in two positive laudatory acts toward the Marcos regime. First, the naming of the chair after Marcos even as Amnesty International documents reports of widespread torture, imprisonment and murder of oppositionists, is an outrage comparable to the establishment of Augusto Pinochet or B.J. Vorster schools of Latin American or African affairs. Secondly, at the ceremony announcing the acceptance of the endowment, the university awarded Marcos' wife (who doubles as the mayor of Manila) a "Citation for Distinction" for her "deep humane concern" in "establishing the Republic of the Philippines as a leader in the Third World and as an eloquent spokesman in the New Economic Order."

The Spartacus Youth League solidarizes with the just outrage of the Tufts protest against the university's "Manila connection." The attempt by Ferdinand Marcos to buy a new "human rights" image for his



Marcos.



Chavez.

blood-drenched dictatorship must be resolutely opposed.

But Marcos' brutal suppression of the Philippine working masses is a glaring gap in Jimmy Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" campaign and its international image must be brought into line with the imperialist chief's phony crusade. Marcos' "philanthropy" is of a piece with the staged referendum in the Philippines on December 17 where the electorate was given the magnanimous choice of... voting for Marcos. And this is the regime the Tufts administration hails as a "leader in the Third World."

Unfortunately, the Tufts protests have for the most part joined in with the "human rights" chorus led by the White House peanut boss. The divestment demonstrations, as with the protests at Tufts, set as their goal upholding the "moral" integrity of the universities which braintrust the imperialist exploits of the American bourgeoisie. Under the banner of nauseating "human rights" homilies, students wishing to protest repression abroad have too often been led to stand behind the most colossal repressive machine in the world today, the American imperialist state.

And so at Tufts the student senate addresses a letter to President Mayer which asks only "greater interest in human rights" in accepting endowments and worries over the possibility of "major disregard for the principles of humanity." Similarly, the more left-wing faculty petition sows the same illusions in the class neutral character of the university. The professors' petition denounces the "anti-labor, wage-freeze and no-strike policies of the Marcos regime, backed by brutal action of this police state [which] have kept the Philippines open to U.S. multinational corporations as a source of cheap labor and high profits." But the petition continues,

"We find it ironic that Tufts University, an institution purportedly committed to humane values, would accept money from the family of the Philippine dictator.... The lies about the nature of the Philippine dictatorship and the Marcos Family that the Tufts administration has used to justify its acceptance of this money is a shameful perversion of the goals and ethics of educators."

Marxists reject outright that the "blood money" of capitalist dictatorships is in any fundamental sense different from the "decent money" of the imperialist corporations which prop up these dictatorships around the world. By not focusing their opposition to the Marcos endowment on the direct university endorsement of the Philippine regime and on the bourgeois character of the university administration, the Tufts protesters expose themselves to the demagoguery of the Marcos apologists. Thus for example in his letter to the *New York Times* (1 January) Allan Callow, the chairman of the Board of Trustees, raises what he terms the "questionable labor practices" of the first John D. Rockefeller and Andrew Carnegie to

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...and Liberal Darling Chavez

"President Marcos is leading your nation through a glorious period of your history," proclaimed a foreign dignitary who toured the Philippines this summer (*Manila Daily Bulletin*, 30 July 1977). One might think that these were the words of a fellow tinpot dictator paying a friendly visit to Manila's blood-soaked tyrant. But no, this was the opinion of "internationally famous American labor leader" Cesar Chavez.

At the invitation of Marcos, Chavez and two other top United Farm Workers (UFW) officials went to the Philippines ostensibly to observe the working conditions of Filipino workers. In reality, Chavez spent most of his two week junket receiving awards and being feted by government officials, university presidents and Marcos himself. From the regime which has reaped untold payoffs from U.S. corporations bidding for the right to exploit the Philippine working class, Chavez received the Presidential Appreciation Award for "improving living conditions of Filipino workers in California." From the Far Eastern University, which bestowed Chavez with a doctoral degree in humane letters, he received a citation for

being an "uncompromising disciple of non-violence in labor-management relations; staunch advocate of labor progress through self-help... and preacher of responsible labor unionism" (*Daily Bulletin*, 30 July 1977).

All of which is of course true. In fact, Chavez was lauded by the Philippine bourgeoisie precisely for being a pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucrat. And in return for the honors and banquets, Chavez praised the Marcos dictatorship to the hilt. The *Daily Bulletin* (30 July 1977) reported that at a reception given in his honor by the secretary of tourism, Chavez "noted a determination by the Filipino people to achieve the goals they have set for themselves 'under an inspired leadership.... These things are not obvious to you because you live here. We are fortunate to have met the man who is responsible for this.'"

When receiving his award from the butcher Marcos, Chavez said, "What I have seen here just does not match what I have read about your country. I saw fewer policemen in Manila than in my hometown" (*Daily Bulletin*, 28 July 1977). With most opponents of the regime already dead or in prison and the military waging war against the remaining leftist guerrillas and Muslim separatists in the countryside, it is quite possible that there are few policemen on the streets of Manila. But Chavez cannot claim ignorance of the repressive conditions under the Marcos dictatorship. On the front page of the *Daily Bulletin* that came out two days before Chavez departed from the Philippines there appeared an article headlined "2 women union leaders dismissed." The "crime": the president and vice-president of the union at the South Seas Trading corporation were fired by government sanction for leading a one-day "illegal" strike. Such are the limits of "responsible labor unionism" under "an inspired leadership."

Chavez' hosannas to the self-appointed "president for life" of a regime which has been singled out by Amnesty International for its repressive terror are the mark of a cynical bureaucrat. Moreover, it comes at a time when the Marcos regime is becoming increasingly isolated as revelations of extensive nepotistic corruption build up. No less than with Tufts University's noxious praise for Mrs. Marcos, Chavez has lent himself to the public relations campaign of this blood-ridden tyrant.

What is noteworthy, however, is that Chavez has for years been hailed by ostensible socialists as a "progressive" workers' leader. Even during the period that Chavez collaborated with the hated La Migra against "illegal" Mexican immigrants, the majority of the left "respectfully differed" while continuing to laud him. The Spartacist League and SYL consistently opposed his sellout of the UFW ranks from the beginning. Chavez' willful collaboration with first border cops and now a foreign dictator is but the

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Junta Braintruster Confronted at Hilton Fête

Friedman Lies, New York Times Alibis

It seems that arch-conservative economist Milton Friedman recently has become quite rattled by continuing protests assailing his well-publicized role as braintruster for the Pinochet regime in Chile. And indeed he should be—for his prescribed economic "shock treatment" has plunged a full *one quarter* of the Chilean working class into the ranks of the unemployed, which has meant near starvation for hundreds of thousands of families in Chile.

In a recent interview with the *New York Times* (2 December) "free-enterprise" Friedman hysterically smeared his leftist critics in this country as allegedly "crazy kids" and "kooks with madness on their faces" who use "Nazi tactics." It is nothing new for reactionaries of the ilk of Friedman, when their crimes against the working people are exposed, to resort to such crude slander.

But Friedman clearly would like to add injury to insult. In the same interview Friedman went on to emphatically claim that "the protests are the effort of an unknown radical group to make an example of him." Thus, Friedman imputes that criticism of his collaboration with the grinding austerity measures of the Chilean junta is all part of a literal and sinister *conspiracy* to "get him."

By portraying his leftist critics as "mindless puppets" under the control of fascistic extremists, Friedman seeks not only to set the stage for their victimization at the hands of the bourgeois authorities but also to cast himself as the maligned party. It's what Malcolm X once so pungently called "making the

his own admission he has also become more than a little knowledgeable about its slogans and propaganda against him. In his interview with the *New York Times* Friedman described the so-called "unknown radical group" as "the same kind of people carrying the same banners, and their leaflets were word for word the same." In other words, this "intellectual titan" has become so familiar with his leftist opponents that he can recognize the same slogans on the banners and the same propaganda—"word for word," mind you—in their leaflets, but he claims not to know who they are!

For its part, the *New York Times* is no stranger to character assassination and slander. Only recently the *Times* carried a scurrilous attack on Herbert Marcuse worthy of a Friedman or a McCarthy, alleging that the aging neo-Reichian/New Left libertarian was really the mastermind behind the anarcho-terrorist, "Baader-Meinhof gang" in Germany!

While gently chastising Friedman two years ago when disclosures of his collaboration with the Chilean junta produced furrowed brows in bourgeois liberal circles, the *Times* is more than willing to forgive and forget now that the U.S. liberal establishment has become more concerned about the growing instability of the Pinochet dictatorship (and, to a lesser extent, now that Friedman has had his tawdry reputation boosted by his receipt of a Nobel prize for his so-called "achievements" in economic theory). It is not accidental that the *Times* interview with Friedman prompted kindred spirits

"Open Letter to the *New York Times*" which exposed Friedman's slanders and protested the *Times*' alibiing of Friedman (see "Friedman Advises, Pinochet Orders, Workers Starve," *Workers Vanguard* No. 187, 6 January 1978).

The sparks began to fly, however, at the press conference which followed Friedman's platitudinous speech to the strait-laced economists attending the rubber-chicken banquet in honor of the No. 1 "Chicago Boy." When a reporter from *Workers Vanguard* pointedly asked Friedman to explain why he had attempted to portray the SYL as "nameless, faceless puppets," the *New York Times* reporter immediately interjected, calling the question "stupid" and asking Friedman not to reply.

But Friedman decided to brazen it out before the TV spotlights and the forest of microphones. After denying ever saying anything about a conspiracy against him, Friedman proceeded to rant about "mindless people who are following Nazi fascist tactics" backed by "a few people who are not so mindless." No imputation of conspiracy here!

In response, a second *Workers Vanguard* reporter cut through Friedman's demagoguery about so-called "Nazi questions" by pointing out that among the top brass of the Chilean junta whom Friedman conferred with in 1975 are indeed real relics of the Nazi machine—for example, Walter Rauff, the present advisor to the Chilean secret police (the infamous DINA). At this point Friedman lost what little composure he had been able to maintain and began shouting, "Excuse me! We're not going to spend any time on the Chilean business!"

Yet a red-faced Friedman proceeded to belligerently do just that. Even though his wife tugged on his coat sleeve whining, "Come on, Milton, let's go," Friedman launched into a tirade about how he had never formally advised the junta and how he has never endorsed its economic policies!

As chants of "Chilean workers won't forget Friedman's aid to Pinochet!" resounded in the halls outside the press conference, a fuming Friedman and his frazzled wife were led out a side door by a gaggle of Hilton hotel cops. The plebeian employees' quarters of the Hilton provided this ruling-class viceroy a convenient exit—this time. But the day will come when Friedman will have to face a tribunal of his victims—and only then will proletarian justice prevail.

We reprint below the "Open Letter to the *New York Times*" which was distributed at the Friedman fête by the SYL.

denounced and, to be sure, defamed.

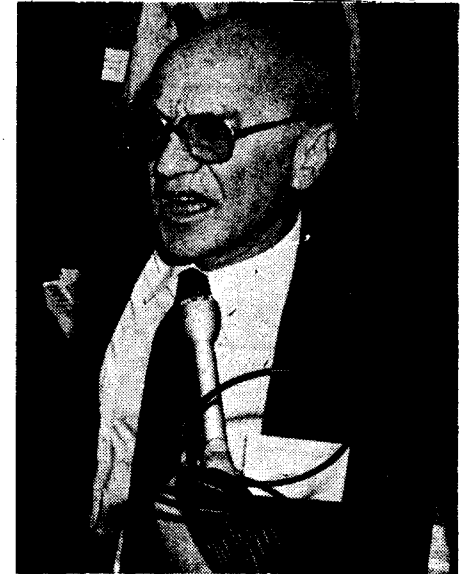
Contrary to the article's imputation of a sinister conspiracy, the disingenuous Mr. Friedman knows the name of the Spartacus Youth League quite well. We are the people preeminently out to expose his criminal braintrusting of the Chilean junta's economic "shock treatment"—Friedman's own code name for the starvation measures ravaging the Chilean working people.

We are hardly "unknown demonstrators." To give just one recent example, the 17 September *Boston Globe* reported a Boston press conference where a spokesman for our organization directly confronted Mr. Friedman over his role as advisor to the Pinochet junta.

Nor is the *Times* unaware of the protests we have led. Not only did the *Times* (as well as *Business Week*) cover our University of Chicago campaign in 1975 (which first protested Friedman's ties to the junta), but only a few weeks ago one of your articles gave prominent coverage to a Spartacus Youth League-initiated demonstration against the presence of the National Security Agency at Columbia University (*New York Times*, 23 November).

The article by Mr. Turner goes hand-in-hand with the repulsive reportage of Juan de Onis (to whom we once referred

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Milton Friedman.

as "the *Times*' man in Santiago and Pinochet's man on the *Times*" [*Workers Vanguard* No. 172, 9 September 1977]) who regularly reports the absence of political prisoners in Chile alongside the repugnant photos of Pinochet affectionately fondling babies. This sort of coverage gives rise to the old leftist adage that the *Times*' motto would be better expressed as, "All the News That Fits We Print."

Mr. Turner and the *Times* lend credence to Friedman's hypocritical denial of all responsibility for the economic policies of the murderous Chilean junta. Mr. Friedman, we are told, is a mere "5 feet 2-and-a-half inches tall and weighs 130 pounds." This "small body" is the victim of "Nazi tactics," of the "spirit of Joseph R. McCarthy"—a harmless Jewish intellectual pursued by "crazy kids; kooks with madness in their faces."

Can a more grotesque method of derailing the question of Friedman's criminal complicity with Pinochet be imagined? Was not Eichmann a remarkably frail, soft-spoken man who even studied Hebrew? How tall was Goebbels or Hjalmar Schacht, the Nazi regime's economic minister?

In fact, the "stench of Nazism" is very noticeable in Chile. At the time of Friedman's visits a key officer of the DINA (Pinochet's dreaded secret police) was one Walter Rauff—the inventor of portable gas chambers for the Nazis and a war criminal responsible for the murder of tens of thousands of Ukrainian Jews. Similarly, does Friedman's touching concern over the purported intimidation of university professors extend to Chile where thousands have been driven from the universities and tortured or killed in the junta's

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Demonstration at New York Hilton on December 29.

criminal appear to be the victim and the victim appear to be the criminal."

Of course, this technocratic prostitute for torture-chamber generals and Zionist terrorists knows full well the identity of his leftist critics. It has been the Spartacus Youth League which first and foremost has played the prominent role in exposing and protesting Friedman and his "Chicago Boys" for their direct role in engineering the policies which when implemented by Pinochet have led to calculated mass starvation among the working people of Chile. Over the last two years the SYL has confronted Friedman on this issue many times and in many cities across the country.

Not only has Friedman come to know the name of the SYL but according to

such as William Buckley, Jr. in his nationally syndicated column (11 December) or the Russian-language anti-communist daily *Novoye Russkoye Slovo* (7 December) to add their voices to the chorus defending the allegedly "persecuted" Friedman.

But nowhere was the willingness of the *Times* to amnesty Friedman more vividly revealed than at a fête in his honor held at the New York Hilton on December 29 during the conference of the American Economic Association. At an anti-Friedman protest demonstration in the Hilton called by the New Left/academic Union for Radical Political Economics the SYL joined about 200 conference participants to protest the Friedman fête and distributed an

23 December 1977

To the Editor:

Recently the *Times* carried an article which can only be described as a classic performance of bad journalism. One of your correspondents, Wallace Turner, saw fit to act as attorney for the allegedly maligned Milton Friedman. It is transparent that in his article ("Friedman Says Leftist Protesters Harass Him on Chilean Economy," *New York Times*, 2 December), Mr. Turner simply conducted an interview, listened to a number of accusations and made no effort to contact any of the people being

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Cambodia/ Vietnam...

(continued from page 1)

down forests; strafed the people—children and old alike; burned houses; seized cattle, poultry and other property; raped and killed our women.”

No less hair-raising have been the countercharges hurled by Hanoi. “Many divisions” of Cambodian troops were said to have invaded Vietnam where they allegedly “perpetrated utterly inhuman crimes, raping, tearing fetuses from mothers’ wombs, disemboweling adults, burning children alive.” At one press conference staged in Peking, Vietnamese officials even charged that Cambodian troops had eaten pregnant women and children!

As was to be expected, the escalating

year to hear. For the last three years the American government has had to rely on refugees from Vietnam and Cambodia for lurid tales about how the Vietnamese “re-education” camps violate “human rights” or how Cambodia is being dragged back to the Stone Age by maniacal atavistic peasant Stalinists.

But the Vietnamese and Cambodian Stalinist cliques are now publicly charging each other with perpetrating atrocities which would simply be dismissed as complete fabrications if they came from desperate refugees interviewed by the CIA. All the bourgeois media need do is quote Hanoi and Phnom Penh calling each other “fascists” and “cannibals” to back their anti-communist claim that the masses were better off before under Thieu and Lon Nol.

Every military defeat inflicted by one side on the other in Indochina is a military victory for the U.S. imperialists. It is absolutely criminal that captured American tanks and Skyraider bombers—previously paraded in Hanoi and Phnom Penh as symbols of the victory over U.S. imperialism—now have been sent by the Vietnamese and Cambodian regimes to slaughter the soldiers who once so heroically fought for the victory of the Indochinese revolution.

Regardless of the charges and countercharges, this border war can only work to the disadvantage of the genuine interests of the impoverished Indochinese masses and the international working class. It can only serve to undermine the real gains which issued out of the social transformations in Indochina. As in the larger-loomed case of the Sino-Soviet split, revolutionary Marxists must oppose both sides in this reactionary war.

What the conflict between the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracies demonstrates so forcefully is the urgent need for proletarian political revolution to topple the Stalinist regimes usurping power in Hanoi, Phnom Penh and Vientiane. Under the leadership of an Indochinese Trotskyist party based on the Vietnamese proletariat a victorious anti-bureaucratic revolution would establish soviet-type organs of workers democracy. Continuing the heroic tradition of the Vietnamese Trotskyists (murdered by Ho Chi Minh for their intransigent struggle against imperialist occupation at the end of World War II) that party would struggle to extend the political revolution into the other deformed workers states and to advance the socialist revolution internationally—realizing that ultimately the destruction of world imperialism is the only sure defense of the worker's gains.

Nationalist Hostilities

To date the sequence and full scope of events which ignited the border war between Vietnam and Cambodia remain shrouded in secrecy. Official accounts issued by the Stalinist belligerents seem to contain at least half truths—but it's never clear which half.

Both sides claim that their military actions were responses to unprovoked aggression by the other. What both sides more or less admit, however, is that a large Vietnamese force invaded the Parrot's Beak region of Cambodia in December and early January. All evidence would indicate that this Vietnamese force of about 60,000 troops has occupied a long but shallow area of Cambodia's border region contiguous with Vietnam.

But regardless of what either side reports, it's beyond doubt that the Vietnamese have the capacity to take Phnom Penh relatively easily. Even Radio Phnom Penh admitted that the Vietnamese forces had captured six district capitals and were within six miles of a seventh. Vietnam emerged from its long years of struggle against U.S. imperialism (and French colonialism before) with a large, highly profes-

sional and very well equipped modern army. One can easily imagine how the army which chewed its way to the outskirts of Saigon during the Tet offensive in 1968 would have little trouble with the small, ill-equipped, undisciplined and very young Cambodian army.

Why the Vietnamese invaded when they did and why they called a halt to their limited incursion into Cambodian territory is far less clear. It is necessary to examine the charges exchanged by Hanoi and Phnom Penh in light of the current evident nationalist policies of the two bureaucratic regimes.

Xenophobia Run Amok

According to the Vietnamese accounts, their invasion was a necessary response to Cambodian shelling of Vietnamese villages across the border and was only intended to push the Cambodians back into Cambodia. Reliable reports of Cambodian shelling of Thai outposts would tend to give at least some credence to this allegation.

It is undeniable that since coming to power three years ago the Cambodian Stalinists have pursued policies which can only be described as xenophobic. Before its military victory over the Lon Nol clique the Khmer Rouge had a paper program not significantly different from the National Liberation Front (NLF). But once in power the extremely thin layer of Stalinist cadres sought to overcome the enormous difficulties—a vastly overpopulated capital (the only real city), enormous economic dislocations, staggering material backwardness—by attempting to achieve a completely rural self-sufficient economy and society.

Immediately faced with the problem of drastically reducing the population of its main city (which had swollen to 2 million) the Khmer Rouge cadres forcibly marched virtually the entire population of Phnom Penh off to the hinterlands for relocation in barracks communes where they would strive to become self-sufficient in rice production. While Mao used to banish students to the backwoods to “learn from the peasants” (i.e., learn to behave), Khieu Samphan marched away everyone to become peasants. What tiny proletariat

official two-week visit to Cambodia. According to the *New York Times* (23 January) account of their official report back in Peking,

“Phnom Penh resembles a ‘ghost city’ with useless currency lying in the streets after the Communist rulers blew up the state bank...”

“There were no buses or mail or telegraph services, and only the main streets were open...”

Asiaweek



Pol Pot.

“Side streets and sidewalks were said to be blocked off, with vegetables growing on them.”

The havoc wrought by the militarization of labor and the decimation of urban life has fueled the dramatic recrudescence of nationalist hostility toward the Vietnamese people. Rooted in the genocidal wars of the Champa and Khmer kingdoms in the 15th century and consciously manipulated, first by the French colonialists and later by the U.S. imperialists, Cambodian chauvinism and irredentism toward the Vietnamese has periodically erupted in pogroms against Vietnamese living in Cambodia or in the border areas; for example, in 1970 an anti-Vietnamese massacre erupted during Lon Nol's seizure of power.

Today the xenophobic Cambodian regime wants to seal the country off completely from its neighboring states. At the same time Phnom Penh wants to stop the exodus of Cambodians who would rather face death trying to escape to Vietnam than continue living in

Der Spiegel



Cambodian Stalinists forced hundreds of thousands of urban dwellers into countryside.

existed in Cambodia was thereby dispersed as a social class and reduced to atomized subsistence farming.

Similarly, the Khmer Rouge “solved” the problem of economic accumulation and resource allocation by abolishing money and militarizing labor. With idiot voluntarism the Cambodian rulers exhort their impoverished peasantry, “If we have dykes, we will have water; if we have water, we will have rice; if we have rice, we can have absolutely everything” (quoted in *Asian Year Book* 1977).

A vivid picture of what Cambodian “socialism” looks like has been provided by three Scandinavian diplomats accredited to both Peking and Phnom Penh who recently returned from an

“Democratic Kampuchea.” Already several thousand who had fled their Cambodian “paradise” have settled in Phu Quoc.

To seal the border the Cambodian rulers have been trying to turn its border regions into a depopulated, heavily patrolled no-man's land. Thus, on the face of it, the Vietnamese side of the story doesn't sound all that implausible, and Hanoi may indeed have been provoked by Khmer attacks on civilians—both Vietnamese and Cambodian.

Hands Across the Border

For its part, “Democratic Kampuchea” claims to be fighting off attempts



Marc Riboud

Vietnamese Prime Minister Pham Van Dong.

nationalist conflict was soon entangled in the larger Sino-Soviet rivalry. Moscow was quick to signal its diplomatic support for its ally Vietnam; the Soviet-dominated World Peace Council dashed off a statement condemning Cambodia for its alleged “widespread massacres and atrocities.” Not wishing to have its southern ally conquered by Vietnam, the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy indicated its desire to see a negotiated settlement, despite indicating that its sympathies (read: support) were with Cambodia by giving more prominent press coverage to the Phnom Penh side.

Perhaps trying to create a “Ruskie” scare in Peking, the Cambodians reported intercepting Vietnamese radio messages spoken in Russian and claimed to have captured two red-haired Caucasians in a Vietnamese tank. Hanoi quickly retaliated in the war of words by claiming to have captured several Chinese military advisors on the Cambodian side.

It was just the kind of “enemy propaganda” that the U.S. imperialists

Young Spartacus

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

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RCP SPLITS!

After more than a year of embarrassed silence on the latest intrabureaucratic clique fight in China, the American Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) has been ripped apart by seething political contradictions. In summary fashion worthy of his Stalinist mentors, RCP honcho Bob Avakian slammed down a bureaucratic fist on the bulk of the East Coast membership and a major portion of the captive youth organization, the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB). At issue—the “continuity” of Maoism: the “Gang of Four” or Hua Kuo-feng and the twice-purged “capitalist roader” Teng Tsiao-ping?

In the largest split since the cleavage in the New Left Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) in 1969, Avakian (who fancies Mao's inclusion in a “Gang of Five”) has lost a major chunk of his organization to the China-loyal Mickey Jarvis. As we go to press, the facts and documentation of the split are just seeing the light of day, but it appears that the Jarvis wing will make off with more than a third of the RCP/RCYB membership.

by Hanoi to force Cambodia into a Vietnamese-dominated federation. Nervously, the Cambodian leadership has watched as Laos, a country even more backward than Cambodia, draws ever closer into the orbit of its relatively more economically advanced and militarily powerful Vietnamese neighbor.

Cambodia has repeatedly denounced the Vietnamese for trying to stage a “palace” coup against the Pol Pot/Khieu Samphan clique. It wouldn't be at all surprising if the Phnom Penh apparatus contained pro-Vietnamese elements. A section of the cadres which cast their lot with the Khmer Rouge during the guerrilla campaign against Lon Nol earlier had taken refuge in North Vietnam after Prince Sihanouk was installed in power by the 1954 Geneva Accords.

In September Cambodian chief Khieu Samphan mentioned an alleged “attempt to stage a coup d'etat to overthrow Democratic Kampuchea through a handful of traitorous forces who were Vietnamese agents” (quoted in *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 13 January). In addition, Radio Phnom Penh has accused the Vietnamese military units occupying Cambodia of having set up “puppet” local governments. But not all the Cambodians living in this area are pro-Pol Pot; for example, in the region northwest of the Parrot's Beak pro-Vietnamese Cambodians have reportedly clashed with government troops (UPI dispatch, 5 January).

If “Democratic Kampuchea” takes to unbelievable extremes the xenophobia and idealization of economic backwardness which is characteristic of tiny poverty stricken Stalinist states such as Albania and North Korea, then Vietnam tends to display (albeit on a much more modest scale given its limitations) the ambitions to great power politics so characteristic of the USSR and the would-be “superpower” China.

In the past the Vietnamese Stalinists have always been willing to sacrifice Cambodia for their own narrow nationalist interests. In 1954 the Vietnamese Stalinists agreed to sign the Geneva Accords which consigned all of Cambodia to the French-dominated puppet regime of the “Patriotic Prince” Norodom Sihanouk. And, as part of the deal struck between North Vietnam and Kissinger at the time of the negotiations for the Paris “Peace” Accords, Hanoi agreed to cut off all military aid to the Cambodian guerrillas.

Since its reunification of Vietnam, Hanoi has sought to consolidate its

Unlike the 1969 SDS fracture, however, there is no left-wing pole in this battle. The rupture is the product of long-standing clique/factional alignments which predate even the founding of the RCP in 1975. The RCP split is but the political repercussion of conflicting loyalties to rival wings of the Chinese bureaucracy.

As the real story of this dramatic split will never be told by either side, Workers Vanguard is publishing a two-part series on the crisis in the RCP complete with documentation. Don't miss “RCP Splits!” in Workers Vanguard (No. 190, 27 January 1978).

Rumors of the falling out between “Mickey and Bob” sent shock waves through the RCP/RCYB. While the organization is being torn apart at the seams, the membership has been kept entirely in the dark as to what political questions are in dispute. Aping the internecine squabbles in the Forbidden

City, political positions were kept secret for years or whispered about in dark corridors.

Oppositionists have been exiled, at least one vicious beating has been reported and local leaderships have been arbitrarily reshuffled. RCP members were forbidden to discuss the question of China with members of the

RCYB or even with other party members.

The RCP is on the road to oblivion. It supports the Stalinist doctrine of “socialism in one country”—but now has no “socialist” country to support. For Jarvis' pro-China oppositionists it's a choice between Klonsky's slavish

CP(ML) or utter isolation.

Ever since Avakian opted for an ostrich-like stance on the purge of the “Gang of Four” we predicted the impending political crisis. Over a year ago we wrote:

“The RCP is headed for political trouble. Yet the current power struggles in China may serve to sow some seeds of doubt which cause subjectively revolutionary elements in the RCP/RSB [the predecessor of the RCYB] to break with Maoism. Confronting the RCP is the revolutionary program and practice of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League. Those who aspire to make a proletarian revolution in this country must break with Stalinist reformism and embrace Trotskyism—the continuation of Leninism.”

—“Where is the RCP Going?”
Young Spartacus No. 50,
January 1977

Many of the members of the RCP/RCYB will no doubt learn of the factional warfare in their organizations only in the pages of *Workers Vanguard* and *Young Spartacus*. De facto, the split in the RCP has already taken place without discussion or even the knowledge of many party and youth members. ■

Hanoi has sought to consolidate its sphere of influence as the dominant power in Indochina. Recently the Vietnamese have sent their foreign minister, Nguyen Duy Trinh, on a tour of Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines and Thailand. In return for opening an “era of friendship” (in plain words, “peaceful coexistence”) with these military dictatorships and torture regimes, the Vietnamese Stalinists no doubt will be expected to give at least what the Chinese gave: disavowal of the guerrilla movements operating in Southeast Asia. As for the Cambodians, they view the developing Vietnamese/Thai “detente” with extreme apprehension, feeling the Vietnamese vise close ever more tightly around them. But the xenophobia of the Khmers and the appetites of the Vietnamese to be a major power in Southeast Asia are simply two aspects of the same commitment to “building socialism in one [one's own, that is] country.”

From the moment the Cambodian and Vietnamese regimes were consolidated in Phnom Penh and Saigon the Spartacus Youth League exposed the illusion that the Stalinist guerrillas who “picked up the gun” and defeated imperialism would never turn their guns against each other or seek “detente” with imperialism or its regional lackeys. At that time we wrote:

“The nationalist Stalinist bureaucracies now consolidating state power in Cambodia and South Vietnam base their rule on the political expropriation of the working class and thus stand as obstacles to the further extension of the revolution. Both the Cambodian and the South Vietnamese Stalinists have declared their allegiance to ‘peace and neutrality,’ that is, ‘peaceful coexistence’ with imperialism. South Vietnam will undoubtedly be reunited, bureaucratically from above, with North Vietnam. Likewise, the Cambodian Stalinists are above all committed to ‘building socialism in one country,’ namely Cambodia, and have served notice that no ‘foreign interests,’ especially Vietnamese, will be permitted in Cambodia.”

—“Indochinese Insurgents
Smash Capitalist Rule!”
Young Spartacus No. 32, May 1975

The Left Casts a Quick Glance

The American left proved conspicuous in its almost studied avoidance of the Vietnam-Cambodia embroglio. To be sure, the Kremlin and Peking funkies had no trouble picking sides. The Communist Party USA simply reprinted Moscow's and Hanoi's



General Giap.

charges against Cambodia and let that suffice. The Communist Party Marxist-Leninist (Peking's ever loyal U.S. mouthpiece) parroted China's guarded endorsement of Cambodia.

Most cynical was the “critical” Maoist *Guardian* which specializes in enthusing over “popular” Third World struggles and in trying to straddle the Sino-Soviet split. Faced with the spectacle of Vietnam—its most revered Stalinist regime—bombing Cambodia with U.S. jets and viciously denouncing the “Kampuchean reactionaries,” the *Guardian* opted for its customary prostrate position and reprinted both sides' statements without comment deep inside their 18 January issue. One week later, the *Guardian* editors mustered all their courage to sheepishly inquire why two “socialist” states cannot peacefully resolve the disputed border question.

Yet to be heard from are the “independent” and pro-“Gang of Four” Maoists. Already Mao-talk specialists the world over have put their minds to explaining why of all the deformed workers states in Eastern Europe only backward, peasant Albania shines forward as a “socialist beacon.” With Vietnam possibly definitively written off to the “Soviet social imperialists,” dissident Maoists face the new hurdle of explaining why the Asian “beacon of socialism” will henceforth be beaming somewhere deep in the Cambodian jungle. These Maoists are faced with the unsavory task of piecing together an international whose leading luminaries are to be Enver Hoxha and Pol Pot.

Paradise Lost

Over a decade ago the Sino-Soviet

split drove a wedge through the loyalties of world Stalinism. And yet Vietnam, and to a lesser extent Cambodia, were to be spared. From the Moscow-loyal Communist Party to the most virulent Peking-loyal Maoists, everyone seemed to hail the Indochinese deformed workers states as shining “models of socialist construction.”

With the passing of the New Left, the Ho enthusiasts went their separate ways to reconsider the obvious parallels between Vietnam and the degenerated/deformed workers states. Particularly with the end of the Vietnam War, some found the way back to bourgeois respectability in this country by denouncing their former “Third World” folk heroes. “Hey, those guys were Stalinists, and we got duped!” came the verdict of the Berrigan brothers, Daniel Ellsberg, Joan (“Don't Pay Taxes”) Baez, Allen Ginsberg and their ilk.

Others found their way into the cadre organizations of the left and, with the Madame Binh posters safely stored away alongside the books by General Giap and the Che Guevara berets, tried to forget the heady days when Vietnam seemed to be the guiding light of “Third World” defiance.

Only the Trotskyists could explain why yesterday's “closest comrades-in-arms” became today's archenemies. The Trotskyist understanding of Stalinism is not a question of mere moral repulsion at bureaucratic atrocities. It is rather a recognition that Stalinism in power is a contradictory social phenomenon (rule by a fundamentally counterrevolutionary bureaucracy based on proletarian property forms which issued out of the smashing of capitalist class rule) and a recognition that the nationalist appetites of these bureaucracies are a threat to the continued existence of the proletarian property forms.

Unlike New Leftists and Stalinists who took the “socialist” rhetoric of the Indochinese Stalinists as good coin, we brooked no illusions in the capacity of these petty-bourgeois guerrillaist forces to pursue genuine socialist policies. We warned that once in power the Stalinist/nationalist forces would qualitatively replicate the anti-working class regimes, in China and the Soviet Union. And today we do not recoil in naive, moralistic shock at the atrocities committed and will not falter in our responsibility to defend the states where capitalism has been overthrown from imperialist reconquest. ■

KARL MARX AND THE GERMAN REVOLUTION OF 1848

*Marxism and the Jacobin
Communist Tradition Part XI*

In the autumn of 1848 the German revolution was rapidly approaching its decisive hour. As a result of counterrevolutionary provocations in November, German bourgeois democracy in its entirety seemed to be flatly and irreconcilably counterposed to monarchical absolutism. It was the moment for which Marx and Engels had been waiting and preparing. It seemed as though their strategic conceptions and tactical policies would be more than vindicated as the tempo of the revolution quickened.

Even though the March revolution had stopped far short of toppling the Hohenzollern and Hapsburg monarchies, Marx and Engels held to their strategic conception that in Germany the bourgeois-democratic revolution, if successful, would triumph in a regime far more radical than in France in 1789-93, thereby setting the stage for a more-or-less immediately impending proletarian-socialist revolution. Even though the German democratic-republican bourgeoisie at its boldest had yet to rise even to the stature of Robespierre, Marx and Engels still maintained their tactical perspective of seeking to assemble a radical-democratic party in which the proletarian-plebeian forces would "take on the role of the forward-driving, extreme Left wing of the bourgeoisie."

But the German revolution took a very different course during November-December than was anticipated by Marx and Engels. At the decisive hour the remaining liberal-democratic opposition ignominiously capitulated before the advancing counterrevolution. It was under the impact of these events that Marx and Engels began to fundamentally reconsider their revolutionary perspectives.

Counterrevolution on the Offensive

In the spring of 1848 Prussian troops repeatedly clashed with the revolutionary populace. Especially in the Rhineland, which tended to be the hotbed of the revolution, Junker officers continually incited their troops, predominantly composed of peasants from east of the Elbe, to fire upon popular assemblies and demonstrations. By the autumn the crisis intensified when Prussian troops fired on crowds in Berlin, Cologne and elsewhere which had gathered to protest the Malmoe armistice in which the monarchy had ended the Prussian-Danish war by relinquishing its claims to the disputed Elbian Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein.

In response to the enflamed popular opinion the Prussian National Assembly in Berlin passed a motion on September 7

which called upon the Ministry of War to discharge any officers found guilty of agitating against democracy—a not very radical bourgeois-democratic demand. But Friedrich Wilhelm, the King of Prussia, didn't like the demand very much, since he didn't like bourgeois democracy very much either. So Friedrich Wilhelm ordered the Prussian army to reoccupy Berlin (one of the main reasons the Hohenzollerns concluded the Malmoe armistice was to free Prussian troops for use against the revolutionary masses). Marx regarded the reoccupation of Berlin as extremely ominous and sought unsuccessfully to rouse the liberal democrats of Berlin to erect barricades to resist the advancing Prussian troops.

In early November the Prussian monarchy, emboldened by the crushing of the revolutionary masses who had held Vienna for three weeks in October, took the offensive in Berlin. On November 9 Count Friedrich Brandenburg, who replaced General Puel as Prime Minister, walked into the chambers where the Prussian National Assembly was sitting, took out his watch and announced, "You have exactly five minutes to leave. You will kindly reconvene at Brandenburg."

While the deputies of the Right scurried out at once, the others voted to remain in session. Dispersed at bayonet point, the National Assembly attempted to keep one jump ahead of the sheriff by meeting at various unlikely places around Berlin, including at one point a local shooting gallery.

The Tax-Boycott Campaign

While defying the orders of Count Brandenburg to banish itself to a small reactionary provincial town, the National Assembly nevertheless refrained from issuing a call to arms or in any way rallying the revolutionary masses of Berlin to insurrect against the counterrevolutionary provocation of the monarchy. Instead, the Assembly, taking a leaf from the Great English Revolution of the 17th century, decided to retaliate by calling for a tax boycott.

It is important to realize that as pusillanimous as was the National Assembly, a tax boycott was not a pacifist tactic in Germany at that time. Since most taxes were direct and collected by tolls, anyone who refused to pay was subject to arrest on the spot and immediate imprisonment.

Indeed, Marx realized that a call for a tax-boycott campaign was one step short of a call for an insurrection against the monarchy. Even before the Chamber issued its call Marx had advocated a tax boycott in the Rhineland. In the *Neue*

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

Preceding articles in the series have covered: the Great French Revolution and how Jacobin communism was continued in the conspiratorial organizations and insurrectionary struggles of Babeuf and Buonarroti; the French democratic opposition and how it



Barricades in Germany in 1848.

Rheinische Zeitung of 12 November 1848 Marx wrote:

"The monarchy defies not only the people, but the bourgeoisie as well. Defeat it therefore in a bourgeois manner.... By refusing to pay taxes."

—"Counter-Revolution in Berlin," *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung" 1848-49* (Moscow, 1972)

Thus, Marx threw himself behind the no-tax campaign of the National Assembly. It seemed inconceivable to Marx that the German bourgeoisie—and not only the liberals, but also the constitutional monarchists—would not actively resist the flagrant violation of their own interests by the absolutist reaction. Taking the "role of the forward-driving, extreme Left wing of the bourgeoisie," Marx sought to rally the German democracy to defeat the counterrevolutionary offensive "in a bourgeois manner."

The Capitulation of German Democracy

Contrary to the expectations of Marx, the German bourgeoisie did not in its

mass rally behind the no-tax campaign. The all-German National Assembly in Frankfurt, which was involved in constitutional deliberations, repudiated the actions of the Berlin Assembly as illegal and essentially sanctioned the king's provocation. Even the democratic bourgeoisie as a whole refused to support the no-tax campaign. Of course, sundry liberals wailed about how the king's action was highly undesirable. But they quickly added that any attempt to actively resist would only play into the hands of "red republicanism."

As for the Prussian National Assembly, its remaining delegates put up a fuss for a while in Berlin, but then complied with the ban and moved to Brandenburg. Once in Brandenburg, the Assembly was summarily dissolved by the central authorities. And its once thunderous orators meekly returned to their homes never to be heard from again.

By December Marx realized that the German revolution would not simply replicate the French in a more radical form. Whereas in the Great French

how the counterrevolution triumphed through a class differentiation within the victorious revolutionary-democratic forces.

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

Back issues of Young Spartacus containing the preceding articles in the series "Marxism and the Jacobin Communist Tradition" are still available and may be obtained at 25 cents per issue from: Spartacus Youth Pub. Co., Box 825, Canal St. Sta., N. Y., N. Y. 10013.

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

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

Revolution the people emerged victorious every time monarchical absolutism went against the revolution, in Germany every time Prussian absolutism challenged the people, the Crown had won. Once again, Marx stood alone as the militant defender of bourgeois democracy.

Marx Reconsiders "Marxism"

When the German bourgeoisie proved too cowardly to rise even to the level of Cromwell, Marx began to fundamentally reconsider and revise the ideas and doctrines which he had uniquely developed during the previous three years. In the most important article which he wrote during the course of the German revolution—and undoubtedly one of the pivotal documents of 19th century Marxism—Marx summed up the experience of the German revolution as follows:

"The German bourgeoisie developed so sluggishly, timidly and slowly that at the moment when it menacingly confronted feudalism and absolutism, it saw menacingly pitted against itself the proletariat and all sections of the middle class whose interests and ideas were related to those of the proletariat. The German bourgeoisie found not just one class behind it, but all of Europe hostilely facing it. Unlike the French bourgeoisie of 1789, the Prussian bourgeoisie, when it confronted monarchy and aristocracy, the representatives of the old society, was not a class speaking for the whole of modern society. It had been reduced to a kind of estate as clearly distinct from the Crown as it was from the people, with a strong bend to oppose both adversaries and irresolute towards each of them individually because it always saw both of them either in front of it or behind it. From the first it was inclined to betray the people and to compromise with the crowned representatives of the old society; it did not advance the interests of a new society against an old one, but represented refurbished interests within an obsolete society."

—"The Bourgeoisie and the Counter-Revolution," *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung" 1848-49*

While in 1846 Marx and Engels stated that the bourgeoisie was obliged to rule through the democratic mechanism, Marx now realized that the bourgeoisie could also tolerate the governmental framework of a feudal-derived absolutist monarchy. So, Marx concludes "The Bourgeoisie and the Counter-Revolution" with the following rather general statement:

"The history of the Prussian middle class, and that of the German middle class in general between March and December, shows that a purely middle-class revolution and the establishment of bourgeois rule in the form of a constitutional monarchy is impossible in Germany, and that the only alternatives are either a feudal absolutist counter-revolution or a social republican revolution." [original emphasis]

Thus, in December of 1848 Marx made a real leap in extending his understanding of the class dynamics of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Germany. But Marx did not immediately draw corresponding conclusions from his theoretical/historical insights at the level of program, tactics and organization.

In one sense, this was characteristic of Marx as a revolutionary politician. More than once his theoretical advances galloped far ahead of his practical and programmatic policies. And in this respect, Marx was very different than Lenin, who tended to break with outdated or incorrect positions out of revolutionary instinct, only later following through at the theoretical level. For example, when the European Social Democracy collapsed into outright social-chauvinism at the outbreak of World War I, Lenin immediately and irreconcilably broke with the Second International and held aloft the banner of proletarian internationalism. But Lenin did not actually develop a comprehensive theoretical critique of the degeneration of the Second International until the following year, when he wrote his pamphlets, *The Collapse of the Second*

International and Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism.

In a more general sense, however, it would be idealism to imagine that even the political genius Marx could have produced full-blown an entire range of policies corresponding to his new insights. It is extremely important to realize that the first several months of 1849 were a very confused period, both in the German revolution and in the development of Marx's political conceptions. It is clear that Marx was groping toward new positions and perspectives. Sometimes he followed policies which had been established long before, while in other circumstances Marx adopted new positions.

Dispute Over Electoral Tactics

No sooner had Marx written "The Bourgeoisie and the Counter-Revolution" than the Cologne Workers Society was once again confronted with the question of whether or not to give electoral support to bourgeois democrats. Having first banished and then dissolved the Prussian National Assembly, Friedrich Wilhelm sought to placate the bourgeois democracy and proposed a new constitution which provided for the election of a new parliament with vague, undefined powers (doing away with the legal codification of dual power). But the new constitution was certainly undemocratic; the second Prussian National Assembly was to be elected by indirect vote through a restricted franchise.

As during the elections the previous year, the Workers Association polarized over the question of calling for electoral support to bourgeois candidates. Just released from prison, the "true socialist" Andreas Gottschalk once again crossed swords with Marx, opposing any kind of support to bourgeois democrats. On the other side, Marx argued that, given the prevailing relationship of forces and the ebb in the revolution, the communists should neither break with the bourgeois democrats nor counterpose proletarian socialist candidates.

In addition, a center group headed by Friedrich Anneke also differed with Marx, advocating running socialist candidates wherever possible and only supporting bourgeois candidates when no proletarian-socialist alternative existed. Marx was certainly not opposed on principle to fielding workers candidates. But he simply did not think the Workers Association had any chance of successfully posing an electoral alternative. Thus, the report of the committee meeting of the Workers Association held on 15 January 1849, has Marx responding to the arguments of Anneke as follows:

"...the Workers' Association as such could not run any candidates at the present moment; nor was it a question for the present of maintaining certain principles, but of opposing the government, absolutism and feudal domination; and for this even simple democrats, so-called liberals, were sufficient as they were in any event far from satisfied with the present government. One had simply to take matters as they were. The important thing was to create as strong an opposition as possible to the present absolutist regime; it was therefore common sense, since they could not secure the victory of their own principles in the elections, to unite with another opposition party to prevent the victory of their common enemy, absolute monarchy."

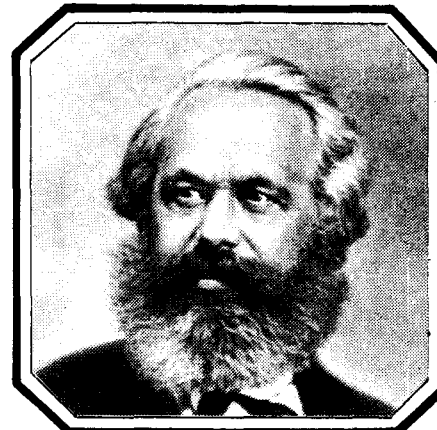
—quoted in David McLellan, *Karl Marx: His Life and Thought* (1973)

In the showdown with Gottschalk, Marx emerged the victor. Having been politically defeated in the organization which he had built, Gottschalk left Cologne in a huff in early January and went into exile in Belgium. From Brussels Gottschalk penned a sharp attack against Marx in the form of an open letter to "Herr Karl Marx." (In fact, the title itself was quite insulting, since at that time one was supposed to address their comrades as "Citizen.") In itself, the "open letter" of Gottschalk was not

continued on page 8

"The history of the Prussian middle class, and that of the German middle class in general between March and December, shows that purely middle-class revolution and the establishment of bourgeois rule in the form of a constitutional monarchy is impossible in Germany, and that the only alternatives are either a feudal absolutists counter-revolution or a social republican revolution." [original emphasis]

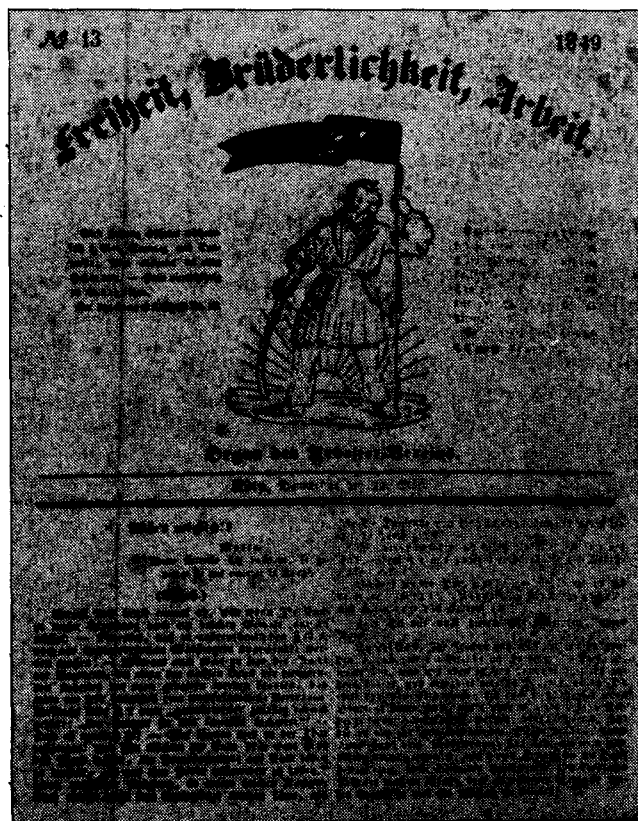
—Karl Marx



Above: Stephen Born, Andreas Gottschalk, Karl Marx

Left: Newspaper of Stephen Born's Workers Brotherhood

Below: Artist's conception of Engels on the Eilberfeld barricades.



1848...

(continued from page 7)

particularly interesting or important; in fact, Marx never replied. But it was characteristic of the kind of workerist, philistine demagoguery which Marx was subjected to throughout his entire political life.

Gottschalk had seized upon an article by Marx entitled "Montesquieu LVI," which had appeared in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of 21 and 22 January 1849. In the course of the article Marx had written:

"We are certainly the last people to desire the rule of the bourgeoisie. . . . But we say to the workers and the petty bourgeoisie: it is better to suffer in the contemporary bourgeois society, whose industry creates the means for the foundation of a new society that will liberate you all, than to revert to a bygone society, which on the pretext of saving your classes, thrusts the entire nation back into medieval barbarism."

—"Montesquieu LVI," *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung" 1848-49*

In response, Gottschalk, who was a physician by profession, baited Marx for being nothing but an intellectual, ignorant about and unconcerned with the real needs and interests of the toilers:

"Why should we make a revolution? Why should we, men of the proletariat, spill our blood? Should we really, as you, Mr. Preacher, proclaim to us, escape the hell of the Middle Ages by precipitating ourselves voluntarily into the purgatory of decrepit capitalist rule in order to arrive at the cloudy heaven of your Communist Credo? . . . You are not serious about the liberation of the oppressed. For you the misery of the worker, the hunger of the poor has only a scientific and doctrinaire interest. You are elevated above such miseries and merely shine down upon the parties as a learned sun-god. You are not affected by what moves the heart of man. You have no belief in the cause that you pretend to represent. . . . you do not believe in the permanence of the revolution, you do not even believe in the innate capacity for revolution."

—quoted in McLellan, *Karl Marx: His Life and Thought*

It is useful to recall the outcome of the final split between Marx and Gottschalk. When Gottschalk returned to Cologne in the summer of 1849, he abandoned politics and reverted to simple social work, providing medical relief to the poor during the cholera epidemic of that year until he contracted the disease and died.

The Party Question

At about the same time that Marx fought Gottschalk over the issue of the elections, a certain dissidence surfaced among the Communist League old guard who at that time were closely allied with Marx, namely, Joseph Moll and Karl Schapper. It centered on their attempt to reconstruct (without Marx—and in a sense over his head) the Communist League, which had been dissolved in May of 1848.

When Cologne was placed under siege, Moll returned to London, where the Communist League remained intact as an exile group. Moll had never liked the idea of dissolving the League. In addition, many of the League branches abroad never acknowledged its liquidation. Looking over the German situation from his exile, Moll concluded that the onset of the counterrevolution made the reconstitution of the League urgent.

So, in early 1849 Moll returned to Cologne and managed to win over Schapper to his position. In turn, Schapper then regrouped some former League members and together with some individual members of the Cologne Workers Association proceeded to re-establish the local branch of the League. In a series of meetings Moll and Schapper tried to win over Marx, Engels and Wilhelm Wolff.

It is not at all clear from the smattering of surviving documents exactly what Marx and Engels thought about reconstituting the Communist League. Marx may have been indifferent, sympathetic

or even hostile to the idea. It is certain that he did not throw himself into the venture. Thus, even though he had revised his strategic perspectives on the German revolution, Marx had not yet changed his organizational policies.

Labor Party Tactic

Faced with the demonstrated bankruptcy of the German bourgeois democracy, Marx was more concerned with finding some vehicle which could provide a point of mass support than with reconstructing the Communist League, which could only be a propaganda group given the balance of forces then prevail-

democrats in their mass had already showed their cowardly and ultimately counterrevolutionary nature. So, whereas one year before Marx had argued in the Cologne Democratic Society for a popular insurrection to bring to power a government truly representing all the "heterogenous elements" that had made the revolution, on 14 April 1849, Marx together with Schapper, Wolff and Anneke resigned from that body, declaring that the "present organization of the Democratic Union included too many heterogenous elements to permit of activity beneficial to the cause."

It again is not entirely clear what tactics Marx would have followed in



The Elberfeld Barricades.

ing. Marx began groping toward what has since come to be known as the labor party tactic.

In late February Marx invited to Cologne his old disciple, Stephen Born, who was the leader of a mass trade-union movement. Born accepted, as there was no hostility between the two men. Marx in effect said to Born, "Well, we have differences over economic policy, but we both support democracy and the class interests of the proletariat. Why don't we get together and form a workers party?" And Born replied, "It's worth thinking about."

Marx then worked out an informal arrangement whereby the Cologne Workers Association and its affiliated organizations would come together with the Workers Brotherhood of Born with the aim of launching a "Party of the People." It was to have a straight democratic program, with the question of economic policy left open. However, the national gathering of the Brotherhood at which Marx was to have introduced his specific proposals never took place due to the victory of the counterrevolution. It would have been very interesting to see what would have developed if Marx had had the time to implement this tactic. All that is certain is that Marx was groping in the direction of a labor party for a period of some weeks.

Marx Breaks with the Democratic Society

At the same time that he was pursuing an entry tactic toward Born's Workers Brotherhood, Marx pulled out of the Democratic Society. In the Rhineland, which tended to be far more radical than Berlin, the Democratic Society under the leadership of D'Ester of Cologne was talking about preparing an armed uprising. Deputies from around Germany gathered in Cologne to discuss what to do in the event of a successful insurrection against the absolutist counterrevolution.

Evidently Marx was convinced that the bourgeois and petty bourgeois,

dealing with the Democratic Union had the victory of the counterrevolution not come so soon. As subsequent events were to demonstrate, Marx did not rule out the possibility of working within the organizations of bourgeois democracy. It was not until 1850 that Marx formulated, and even then gradually and somewhat inconsistently, his positive strategic and tactical orientation toward the bourgeois liberals.

Reich Constitutional Campaign

All these developments—the attempt to reconstitute the Communist League by Moll and Schapper, the plans of Born and Marx to launch some kind of "people's party" and the withdrawal from the Democratic Union by Marx and his allies—were stopped short when Marx and Engels realized that the final battle between the revolution and counterrevolution was at hand. When the king rejected the proposal for a constitutional monarchy over all of Germany that had been drawn up by the Frankfurt Parliament, rebellions erupted over Germany under the banner of the "Reich Constitutional Campaign." For four days fighting raged in Dresden, while insurrections broke out in the Bavarian Palatinate, Iserlohn, Elberfeld and elsewhere in Rhenish Prussia. Baden passed into the hands of the revolutionary masses.

It was one of those tragically ridiculous historic events where there was a struggle for a constitutional monarchy against the opposition of the monarchy. Needless to say, Marx and Engels were not about to throw themselves behind the campaign. Not only were they opposed on principle to the continued existence of the monarchy, but they recognized that given the military relationship of forces the insurrectionary violence was hopeless.

Yet finally Marx and Engels came to the conclusion that the final battle had begun, whether they liked it or not. On May 16 Marx was served with an expulsion order, and the last issue of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* appeared on

May 19, printed entirely in red ink and with a farewell statement by the editors which concluded with the famous battle cry, "Their last word everywhere and always will be: *emancipation of the working class!*" Marx and Engels decided that they had to throw their support behind the popular resistance.

Marx went from Cologne to Baden in an unsuccessful attempt to get the Baden government, which supposedly supported the Reich Campaign, to mobilize the revolutionary troops of the garrison there. Then Marx went to Frankfurt in another unsuccessful attempt to prompt the dissolving parliament into summoning the revolutionary troops from Baden or somehow preparing an organized counter-offensive.

For his part Engels went south to Elberfeld, which was one of the main centers of popular resistance, to volunteer his military services. But the liberal democrats of Elberfeld were more afraid of the communist Engels than they were of the advancing counterrevolution. Even though Engels professed that his aims were only to militarily defend the revolution, the Elberfeld Committee of Public Safety red-baited him out of its ranks. Engels felt it necessary to set the record straight in one of the last issues of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* which was to appear:

"Engels declared that he wanted to devote himself entirely to his military duties and to hold himself completely aloof from the political side of the movement. It was obvious that only a black-red-gold movement [a reference to the Reich Constitutional Campaign] was possible in Elberfeld at the moment and that any opposition to the German Constitution was to be avoided. . . ."

"Höchster [a leading member of the Committee of Safety] declared that—although he himself had no criticism whatever to make of Engel's conduct—the middle classes in Elberfeld were greatly alarmed at Engel's presence in the town. They feared that Engels might proclaim the red republic at any time and they all hoped that Engels would leave Elberfeld."

—"The Elberfeld Rising of 1849," in W.O. Henderson (ed.), *Engels: Selected Writings* (1967)

Marx and Engels certainly didn't take up arms on the side of the popular resistance because they thought it could militarily win. After their experiences in Baden, Frankfurt and Elberfeld, they knew that the Reich Campaign was doomed. What is more, Marx had come to the conclusion that the decisive battle deciding the fate of Germany was not going to take place in Germany—and certainly not immediately—but rather in Paris, the "revolutionary volcano" which Marx expected to erupt again in the very near future and ignite upheavals in Hungary, Austria and Germany.

Rather, Marx and Engels decided to become "revolutionary soldiers" mainly out of a sense of preserving their revolutionary honor. In the south of Germany all the radicals, political opponents of Marx, were fighting the Prussian army. Marx and Engels were afraid that if their followers didn't actually come to the direct aid of the insurgents, they would later be accused of deserting the revolution.

In any case, in hindsight at least, one can question whether or not this was a wise decision. In retrospect, it is debatable whether Engels should have risked his life simply for the sake of upholding his tendency's revolutionary honor. In fact, Joseph Moll was killed in one of these final battles. And Engels went on fighting to the very end; his detachment was one of the last to have retreated over the border into Switzerland in July, when the Reich Campaign insurrection had already been totally defeated.

By the end of the year Marx and Engels were reunited in London, together with the other surviving German exiles from the old Communist League. It was there that Marx and Engels began to rethink their revolutionary policies and projections. And they arrived at strategic and programmatic conclusions which differed radically from those which had guided them during the German Revolution of 1848. ■

Miners Strike...

(continued from page 1)

discovered working the American Electric and Power Company plant.

Similarly, in the first week of 1978 a Chesapeake & Ohio railroad bridge leading to six scab mines was dynamited. In various states, particularly Kentucky, loads of coal have been found dumped by the side of the road as detachments of strikers have convinced truck drivers that handling struck coal could be hazardous to their continued well being.

As the strike developed the miners organized themselves in roving pickets—the strike force which had been instrumental in the organization of the CIO unions in the 1930's. On December 13, 400 roving pickets in 100-car caravans patrolled Kentucky and 150 strikers were dispatched to the Stearns mine where an 18-month organizing drive has been under constant attack by state troopers and company gun thugs.

Young Spartacus



WV correspondent Mark Lance at Morgantown forum.

By January 3 there were 600 miners on patrol in Tennessee and 500 in Kentucky.

When the pickets arrived at the Stearns mine they were able to face down 150 riot-equipped state police. As the caravans continued, however, police harassment mounted. At least one miner was seriously beaten by Kentucky state police who warned that other strikers coming into the area would receive the same treatment. In "dry" Tennessee, police have been stopping miners at the state line hoping to find a bottle of beer upon which to hang a liquor-running charge. In southern Indiana, 194 union militants were arrested en masse on January 7 for picketing the Rockport B & M dock.

Shut Down Coal

Were the tactics of the miners strike to

be employed in major industrial cities instead of isolated rural townships, the scope of the militancy would be much more apparent. The image of 500-man flying squadrons of auto workers in Detroit and the resulting political repercussions give some perspective to the magnitude of the militancy of this struggle.

And yet the militancy alone is not enough to sustain a successful strike against the coal bosses and energy trusts. The strike's greatest asset, the union's traditional respect for the picket line and the combativity of the strikers, has been consistently undermined by the union bureaucracy of Arnold Miller.

Nearly 50 percent of U.S. coal is non-union and the UMWA tops have made no effort to use the union strike pickets to launch an aggressive campaign to organize unorganized miners. Moreover, rather than attempt to shut down all coal production in the U.S., Miller made a separate peace at the strike's outset with Western auxiliaries of struck companies—signing contracts which included two of the biggest producers in the country, Peabody and Consol. Anthracite mines in the East are also being worked by UMWA members under separate contract. Thus, under orders from the UMWA bureaucracy union miners are in effect scabbing on their own strike.

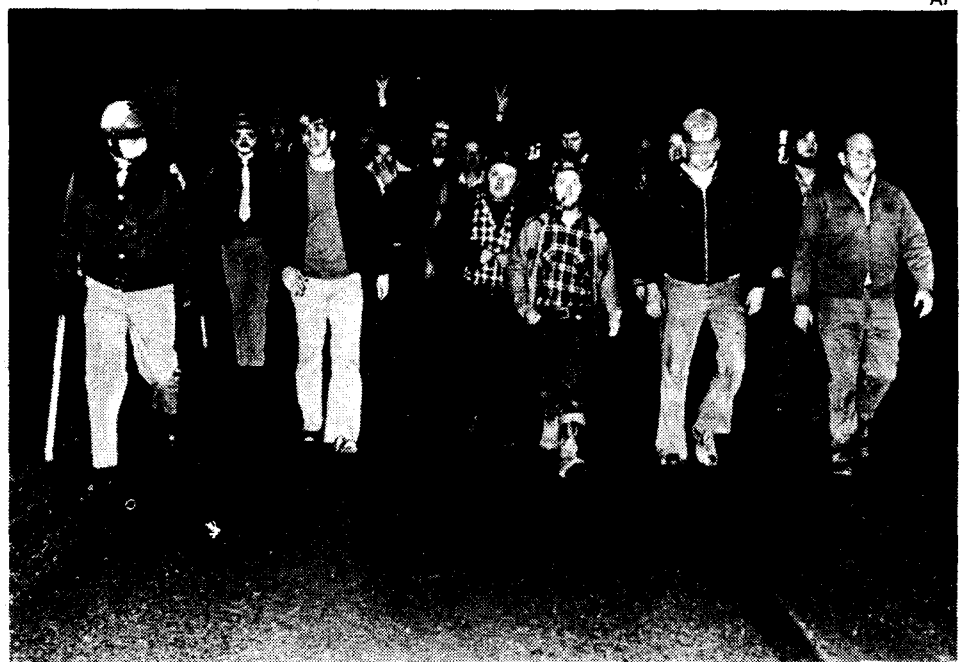
Right to Strike

Behind the militancy and the rustic names of places such as Slaughter's Creek, Dry Branch and Cabin Creek lies the cruel reality of class war in the coal fields. This was brought home with vengeance on January 6 when Mack Lewis, a 65 year-old retired miner, was murdered by company guards as he delivered sandwiches to his picketing union brothers in eastern Kentucky.

The bourgeois media, of course, sheds crocodile tears for the miners. They are portrayed as hard-pressed and long-suffering workers exhausted by protracted wildcats and drawn into a strike nobody wants: the victims of pickets hell-bent on violence and destruction. But the miners understand full well that at stake in this strike is the very existence of the UMWA.

The key issue in the walkout is the right to strike itself. The coal bosses are trying to clamp down on the wildcats which have met every attempted incursion on long-standing union rights. Thus the BCOA demands an explicit no-strike clause, sanctions against miners participating in or initiating wildcats, rewards for strikebreakers who cross picket lines, the elimination of union contracts in new mines owned by companies having a UMWA contract and the elimination of the right of union safety committees to close unsafe mines.

But for miners working under the most dangerous conditions in U.S. industry the right to strike is literally a



Police arrest union militants attempting to shut down loading dock at Rockport, Indiana.

question of life and death. The open collusion of federal safety inspectors with the coal bosses only underscores the crucial need to maintain union committeemen contractually empowered to shut down production. Operators' lust for profits has produced too many mining disasters such as the massive Scotia, Kentucky, explosion in 1976. Mine workers understand that the most elementary health and safety norms are not worth the paper they're written on without the right to strike to back it up.

The left press, for its part, merely glorifies the same events which the capitalist press deplores. Simply praising the trade-union militancy of the miners, most of the American left does not put forward a strategy for victory in this crucial struggle.

However, just such a strategy was presented at a forum entitled "Coal Strike in Danger" sponsored by the Young Spartacus Club at West Virginia University at Morgantown on January 19. *Workers Vanguard* correspondent Mark Lance, who regularly reports from such focal points of the miners' struggle as Cabin Creek and Stearns, presented the revolutionary Marxist analysis of the issues underlying the strike and a program for victory.

Trade-Union Solidarity

In his talk, Lance stressed that the main goal of the operators is "labor stability": the taming of the restive UMWA ranks. The "compromises" accepted by Miller in the initial negotiations included such "stabilizing" measures as granting the company the right to summarily dismiss roving pickets at any mine site. And standing behind the operators is the Carter administration which is anxious to see labor discipline imposed in the coal fields in order to secure the domestic component of the U.S. bourgeoisie's strategy for energy resources. Already the U.S. Energy Department has hinted at Taft-Hartley back-to-work orders should significant coal shortages arise.

While condemning the demoralizing defeatist tactics of the Miller bureaucracy, Lance emphasized that the potential exists for a militant strike in defense of the union which could also reverse the alarming expansion of non-union

mines. As an elementary strike tactic, the UMWA should stop all coal production (union and non-union) and reject the Western agreements in favor of an industry-wide contract. Not only should union pickets shut down unorganized and scab pits, but the strike settlement should include union contracts for mines, such as Stearns, which are currently the focus of organizing drives.

Lance went on to attack the union bureaucracy for having allowed the companies to amass huge stockpiles of coal in anticipation of the strike and pointed out that this makes the question of trade-union solidarity that much more important. By way of example, Lance singled out a few cases of rank-and-file attempts to solicit labor support for the coal strike.

On December 15, pickets stood in front of three Norfolk and Western railroad yards in Virginia and West Virginia trying to get the yard workers to refuse to handle coal. In Utah, when UMWA pickets arrived at the Utah Power and Light Company premises, plant workers honored their picket lines and refused to report in. Early in January hundreds of miners picketed a coke plant near Pittsburgh and there too workers refused to cross their lines.

These actions point the way toward the active labor solidarity necessary to win the strike, particularly since the coal operators are completely intertwined with the energy trusts, the steel companies and the transport industry. While such rank-and-file solidarity is an important show of labor militancy, an even more effective approach would be to get the steel and transport workers' unions to stop handling coal for the duration of the strike. Steel workers and transport workers must demand that their unions refuse all "business as usual" handling of coal while the BCOA tries to wait out the miners with the aid of hired gun thugs.

However, organized solidarity with the miners remains the rare exception. As Lance noted,

"That's the real tragedy, the social isolation of the UMWA militants from their brothers and sisters in the working class. And that isolation is only partly geographical. More important, it is enforced by the labor bureaucracy. Not only the encrusted George Meany, but the supposedly 'progressive' Miller bureaucracy which rode the Miners for Democracy movement to power, fear above all unleashing the militancy of the ranks which would topple them from their posts as the labor lieutenants of capital."

Despite the claptrap about union democracy, the entire spectrum of the UMWA bureaucracy has stood united in attempting to savagely suppress the miners' militancy. The International Executive Board, from the Miller "democratizers" to the followers of convicted murderer Tony Boyle, came together in opposition to every wildcat over the past three years.

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Miners Strike ...

(continued from page 9)

As the Miners for Democracy coalition comes apart under Miller's ineffectual leadership, new "Reformers" such as Harry Patrick are stepping forward and find themselves being dubbed "progressives" in the pages of the left-wing press—in Patrick's case, the *Militant* of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). But it was Patrick himself, according to the miners interviewed by Lance, who authorized the payment of \$44,000 to the gun thugs sent by Miller to break the wildcat at Cabin Creek against health care cutbacks when Patrick was International Secretary-Treasurer.

Program for Victory

Throughout his presentation, Lance emphasized that militancy was not enough and that what the miners need above all else was a revolutionary program to lead them forward to victory in their struggles. Such a program would include a shorter workweek at no loss in pay and with a full cost-of-living escalator so as to raise wages and cut unemployment at the operators' expense; expropriation of the mines with no compensation to the capitalist owners; the unlimited right to strike; a workers party based on the trade unions

and a break from the twin parties of capital; and, above all in the UMWA, the independence of the unions from the capitalist state.

Daily World



Arnold Miller.

Calling the Labor Department into the UMWA (to "clean it up") was a central plank of Miller's treacherous program. Marxists oppose the intervention of the bourgeoisie into the workers movement since these "democratizing"

ventures only serve to subordinate the unions to the anti-labor courts, cops and government agencies. As Lance pointed out, in contrast to most of the U.S. left, the Spartacist League recognized that Miller in 1973 was no step forward for the miners and has consistently refused to give support to any wing of the sell-out bureaucracy in the UMWA elections. Lance continued,

"We have been completely consistent in warning that the capitalist state, its cops, its courts and its judges are uniformly the enemies of the working people and the oppressed. In Boston, where there was violent opposition by reactionaries and racists to school integration, we fought for labor/black defense as the only means to defend black schoolchildren. And we were opposed by people like the SWP who counseled reliance on federal troops and the state police to defend black schoolchildren."

Lance contrasted the approach of revolutionary Trotskyists to the conduct of the SWP in Morgantown where the principal advice offered to the striking miners was to petition Congress for a shorter workday! With Miller deservedly discredited among the miners the SWP tries to avoid the central question of state intervention altogether. In a Morgantown forum, SWP spokesman Frank Lovell claimed "that he basically didn't know what the main issues were and that's what he had come to find out." Lance replied, "As Marxists we believe we do know something about the strike and do in fact have some answers for the hard-pressed

members of the UMWA." But the SWP's head-in-the-sand posture has a political root:

"The miners know pretty well what the state police or federal troops would do if they were sent here. The SWP these days is pushing the Stearns strike, which of course all defenders of the working class should support. But if the SWP were consistent they would call on the cops or troops to come and defend the miners. Only the state police have already come to Stearns to arrest and beat in the heads of the valiant militants in that strike."

At the same time, as Lance acknowledged, those struggling for a class-struggle political program in the UMWA will initially be isolated:

"There is indeed much social backwardness in the coal fields, but it is not inherent. In the 1920's and 1930's thousands of miners were led by communists. The miners are not, as they are often portrayed, some sort of latter-day Hatfields and McCoys with union cards.

"There is real stoicism, a real determination to persevere and win somehow. But they don't see an alternative. Like any other section of the American working class, there are enormous contradictions in the coal miners' consciousness. The resolution of this contradiction depends on the construction of a class-struggle alternative.

"There is widespread anti-communism, racism and sexism—as there is throughout the entire working class. Nevertheless there is no substitute for the revolutionary program and the fight for that program. And if there's one thing the miners have shown, it's the deep-seated determination to fight." ■

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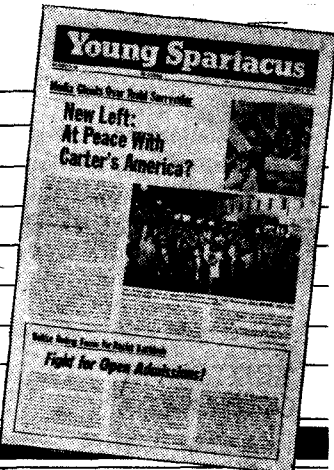
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Friedman...

(continued from page 3)

concentration camps?

In 1975, when Friedman and his colleague Arnold Harberger visited Chile, they met not only with Pinochet and the Chilean cabinet but with 400 members of the officer corps as well. During Friedman's third visit he was present at a state economic conference. Even the *Times* at that time concluded that Friedman/Harberger and the "Chicago Boys" were the "guiding light" behind the junta's "shock treatment" policies (*New York Times*, 21 September 1975).

The Pinochet regime affords Friedman the first opportunity to see his theories of slashing vital social services and union-busting "free enterprise" implemented. The proposals of this "innocent, neutral" technician are nothing less than the planned and executed literal starvation of the Chilean masses. He has set himself up to advocate that the masses must suffer so that profits be improved. Friedman leaves it to those he has advised to put into practice the starvation policies he designs and to employ the police-state measures necessary to carry them out.

Despite Friedman's tirades against state intervention, police measures are the very essence of his economic policies. Only a regime which has murdered over 30,000 oppositionists, which has jailed at one time or another 100,000 leftists and trade unionists and which has driven into exile another 100,000 (in a country of only eight million) could fully enact such a "shock treatment."

In practice Friedman's policies allow the elite of Santiago to enjoy Scotch whiskey and caviar while the poor scavenge the garbage dumps and often

subsist on a single portion of cornmeal a day. Thanks to this "shock treatment," inflation is now "only" 70 percent as half a million are unemployed.

Now Friedman is advising Menahem Begin, and the Israeli working masses (and, of course, the desperate and viciously exploited Palestinians) are feeling the bite of Friedman's austerity schemes. Friedman, as your article amply demonstrated, is quite adept at using his Jewishness to conceal the obvious parallels to the policies of the Krupps and the great German industrialists who found the Nazis to be the only available tool for the Friedmanite measures which smashed the German working people.

The capitalist system is riddled with contradictions, as Karl Marx noted. In the short run the system works in a cyclical fashion alternating feast and famine. In the long run there is a secular tendency toward catastrophe. Keynes proposed to smooth out the cycles and make capitalism work by a modest redistribution of income. Friedman, with his marginal appreciation of reality, argues for making it work through starvation. In this respect, Keynes, let alone Marx, towers above the diminutive Mr. Friedman.

One tires of the rehabilitation of people like Friedman and mass murderer Henry Kissinger in the pages of the *Times*. While Kissinger and Friedman are only figures, they are the leading responsible individuals for policies which have killed untold thousands. We simply propose to exercise our democratic rights to make this known. As far as Friedman is concerned, we will continue to expose this vicious man who hides behind academic robes of innocence.

This, above all, is not an issue of academic freedom. American universities shelter a host of well-salaried conservative professors fully capable of arguing in defense of American imperialism and—unlike the Spartacus Youth League—free to voice their opinions on campus without the slightest administration harassment. As partisans of the working masses all over the world we protest Friedman's deeds. And we will not be silent as the *Times* provides him a forum for scurrilous attacks on "mindless puppets."

Mary Jo McAllister
National Secretary
Spartacus Youth League

Correction

In the list of endorsers of the Ad Hoc Committee to Stop Administration Harassment ("UICC Arrests SYL spokesman as 'Outside Agitator,'" *Young Spartacus* No. 60, December 1977/January 1978) Blum was incorrectly identified as being vice-president of AFT Local 321. Mr. Blum is vice-president of AFT Local 3500.

FBI Targets Weather Underground

Sensationalist Frame-Up of California Radicals

For over two months five leftists alleged to be members of the Revolutionary Committee of the Weather Underground Organization (RC/WUO—the wing of the group which chose to remain underground after last winter's split) have languished in a Los Angeles jail. The defendants—Thomas Justesen, Marc Curtis Perry, Clayton Van Lydegraf, Judith Emily Bissell and Grace Fortmer—have been accused of plotting to assassinate conservative California State Senator John V. Briggs and are currently being held in lieu of bail set at astronomical figures ranging from \$300,000-\$500,000. They have been granted the right to defend themselves.

With all the congratulatory back-slapping and thanks to "God" that could be mustered the FBI announced the arrests on November 19. The bourgeois media immediately constituted itself the tribunal for trial; the *Los Angeles Times* (20 November) ran a piece of yellow journalism filled with sensationalist allegations about how the group had plotted a "campaign of assassinations and bombings of public officials."

Likewise, the tale being told by the FBI reads like a compendium of the worst of dime-store pulp fiction. The

defendants are said to have plotted for months to assassinate Briggs, a notorious arch-conservative. Preparation for the venture supposedly included desert excursions for bomb-making practice, training in the use of firearms and "casings" of Briggs' office by several of the five disguised in wigs.

The culmination was to be a bicycle trip (!) through downtown Fullerton in order to plant a bomb at Briggs' office. Of course, the FBI rode to the rescue, nabbed the "conspirators" (three of whom were found in Houston—over 1500 miles from the intended "scene of the crime") and foiled the nefarious scheme... "in the nick of time."

It turns out, however, the charges presently lodged against the defendants are limited to state charges of conspiracy to possess and possession of a destructive device. Earlier federal charges of a similar nature have since been dropped.

Embarrassed by its past inability to infiltrate the WUO, the FBI now boasts of how its agents penetrated the RC/WUO and provided firearms training to the defendants. Of course, we are told about how the agents pondered whether such activity might be considered entrapment. But the answer was forth-

coming from none other than U.S. Attorney General Griffin Bell: teach them to shoot, but not to shoot straight (*Los Angeles Times*, 8 December)!

Press releases later took note of the defendants' New Left feminism to relate as a "humorous" anecdote how the women involved complained that they just couldn't seem to master the art of marksmanship. (The three arrested in Houston were part of a Prairie Fire Organizing Committee "defense team" at the International Women's Year Conference.)

In the context of recent exposés of FBI "legal" assassination campaigns and its harassment of left, black and labor organizations, the arrests of the five alleged RC/WUO members is being used by the capitalist secret police to refurbish its tarnished image. Thankful for the free publicity, Briggs has seized the time to fulsomely praise the notorious counterrevolutionary agency. Quoting, chapter and verse, from the homilies of Efram Zimbalist Jr., Briggs sermonized:

"The plot failed because of the skill and courage of these men and women of the FBI. The risks they took were tremendous. The FBI has been under attack from all quarters, but this is one man and one family who thank God they still

have the tools to do this kind of job."
—quoted in *Los Angeles Times*,
20 November 1977

The "tools" of the FBI are well known; one of the most oft-used is precisely the frame-up of militants who in the slightest declare themselves opposed to capitalist oppression and exploitation. It is vitally in the interest of the workers movement that this transparent frame-up and pro-FBI publicity stunt be vigorously opposed. All charges must be dropped and the defendants released immediately.

As Marxists the SL/SYL defends the Weather Underground against bourgeois repression. We were virtually alone in our defense of these *then* subjectively revolutionary militants at the height of the bourgeoisie's scare campaign against them during 1969-70. While it remains unclear whether these individuals are in fact members of the WUO, what is clear is that murder has never been the strategy of the Weather Underground. Their targets in the past have uniformly been inanimate symbols of capitalist oppression, and great precautions were undertaken to avoid the loss of life.

As Marxists, we also sharply differentiate ourselves from the futility and despair of individual terrorism. The strategy finds its origins in petty-bourgeois moralism and its end-product in an enhanced authority of the capitalist state's repressive apparatus. There is but one road: the construction of a Leninist combat party which can lead the working class to the overthrow of the capitalist order. Free the five! Drop the charges! Hands off the Weather Underground Organization! ■

Marcos/ Tufts...

(continued from page 2)

show that the Marcos money is not all that different since "it is a fact of life that private education as we know it today would not be possible without the judicious use of these sums."

Moreover, the Fletcher school itself is a parody of the purported "goals and ethics of educators." When demonstrators assailed Mrs. Marcos' provocative appearance on campus it was the Dean of Fletcher who consoled her explaining "they're not from Fletcher School and many of them are not even from Tufts." And who is this Dean Edmund Guillon? None other than the American ambassador to the Congo in 1962 who no doubt was rewarded with his position at Fletcher for his part in the CIA assassination of nationalist prime minister Patrice Lumumba in that year.

While opposition to the cynical whitewash of the Marcos regime is indeed an important act of solidarity with the victims of reactionary terror in the Philippines, to have any real significance it must be linked to a concerted struggle against the bourgeois administration. So long as universities are private, education and college admissions will remain subordinate to the "blood money" of the Rockefellers, Carnegies and their junior partners internationally. No to the Endowment and the Chair! Nationalize Tufts! Abolish the Administration! For Student / Teacher / Campus - Worker Control of the University! ■

Marcos/ Chavez...

(continued from page 2)

culmination of the policies of this labor-faker with intimate ties to the Catholic Church and the Democratic Party.

Even now the fake lefts have not abandoned this "progressive" bureaucrat. Chavez' apologies for Marcos have created an uproar not among his ostensibly revolutionary supporters, but

among several influential church organizations. An Associated Press dispatch reported that major church leaders "threatened to withdraw their support of the United Farm Workers in a dispute over Chavez' recent trip to the Philippines" (*Daily Californian*, 19 October 1977).

But the reformists who tail Chavez are noticeably tongue-tied. This is perhaps not surprising for the Communist Party whose supporters in the Philippines, themselves banned until 1974 by Marcos, voted in 1976 to continue martial law on the islands. For Stalinists support to martial law is nothing new. From India under Gandhi's state of emergency to Videla's Argentina, Communist Parties eagerly march with right-wing regimes that are willing, for the moment, to tolerate their existence and establish diplomatic ties with the Soviet Union. And for others on the left who have made at least a pretense of opposition to the Marcos dictatorship, the actions of their liberal darling must have been more than a little disconcerting.

The SL and SYL are not forced to maintain an embarrassed silence by Chavez' whitewash of the reactionary Philippine regime. For we have continuously warned that the man who instituted union border patrols to keep Mexican immigrants out of the U.S. and who

channeled the militancy of UFW members into the arms of the capitalist state is no friend of the working people. By embracing this foreign right-wing dictator, Chavez has simply marketed his class-collaborationism abroad. ■

Chicago Campaign...

(continued from page 12)

university, including a massive petition campaign and a sit-in at University Hall. In stark contrast to the present attitude of the domesticated *Illini* toward the banning of Sandor John, the *Illini* of 17 October 1966 denounced the idea that the administration had the right to bar anybody and protested: "Our right to speak freely has been institutionalized and bound with red tape...." In 1970 the *Illini* itself—then considered "radical"—became the target of administration repression, having an entire issue confiscated as "obscene" and eventually being run off campus.

In the same year the administration, the state legislature and the Illinois Bureau of Investigation ran a full-scale witchhunt for "terrorists" in the innocuous "Alternate University" at UICC. SDS was banned and 8 SDSers were arrested for alleged participation in

militant protests against the Reserve Officers Training Corps. Many of the anti-democratic rules and techniques developed during this period are used today by the practiced witchhunters of the UICC administration. The witch-hunting prosecution of Sandor John is only the latest anti-democratic atrocity which demonstrates the need to *abolish the administration* and place the university under student/teacher/campus-worker control.

Defend Sandor John!

The next step for the Ad Hoc Committee to Stop Administration Harassment is a forum at UICC on January 30, after John's court appearance. Speakers will include Bill Hampton, an ACLU representative, Paul Bigman of the National Lawyers Guild, attorney David Thomas, and leftist author and professor Richard Rubenstein, as well as representatives of organizations participating in the Ad Hoc Committee.

Funds for the defense of Sandor John are urgently needed. *Young Spartacus* urges its readers to contribute to the Sandor John Defense Fund. Make checks payable to Partisan Defense Committee (earmark: Sandor John Defense Fund) and mail to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 6729, Main P.O., Chicago, IL 60680. ■

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Spartacus Youth League Directory

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Young Spartacus

Defend Sandor John! Drop the Charges!

CHICAGO, January 23—The University of Illinois Chicago Circle (UICC) campus is currently the scene of an important fight against a McCarthy-style witchhunt of the left. The fight centers upon the defense of Spartacus Youth League spokesman Sandor John whose harassment and arrest by the UICC administration has given rise to a campaign to defend the left and safeguard the right to free speech on campus.

The administration offensive began last October 27 when John was "permanently banned" from the UICC campus as an "outside agitator." Upon his return to the campus on November 22 to distribute SYL literature protesting the administration's anti-communist ban, John was arrested and charged with "criminal trespass to state-supported land" (see "UICC Arrests SYL Spokesman as 'Outside Agitator,'" *Young Spartacus* No. 60, December 1977/January 1978). Two court appearances have already been held, and the preliminary motions in the trial will be made on January 30.

The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) has announced that it will fight the violation of John's rights in civil court. The SYL and the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC—a class-struggle, anti-sectarian defense organization which is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League) welcome the ACLU's legal aid, while continuing to politically oppose its civil libertarianism (expressed most clearly in its legal defense of fascist terrorists).

Support Grows

"Petitions, telegrams, and letters from concerned students, faculty, and general public have been arriving daily at our offices," moans a UICC administration letter on the John case. Indeed,



Under arrest as "outside agitator."

as a result of the efforts of the SYL and the Ad Hoc Committee to Stop Administration Harassment, support for John's defense and for the fight against attacks on democratic rights at UICC is growing.

New endorsements of the Ad Hoc Committee include: Chicago National Lawyers Guild; Bill Hampton, brother of murdered Black Panther leader Fred Hampton and spokesman for the December 4th Committee; labor historian Sidney Lens; Anand Kumar, a spokesman of both Indians for Democracy and Indians for Political Freedom; Socialist Party of Illinois leader Quinn

Chicago Campaign Counters UICC Witchhunt



SYL spokesman Sandor John.

Brisbane; Stan Steiner, author of *La Raza*; and numerous university professors from UICC to Simon Fraser University to North Texas State University. The Ad Hoc Committee was initiated by the SYL and is based on the demands: End administration harassment of the left and campus organizations! Stop the administration's anti-communist "ban" on Sandor John! Defend Sandor John! Drop the charges!

Press coverage has included a sympathetic article entitled "Shades McCarthyism" in the black newspaper *Chicago Weekend* (6-8 January). The article declares:

"To trump up charges such as 'trespassing' or invoke a flimsy excuse like the man's not being a student, even though his organization is recognized on campus, is transparent and blatant. "... Regardless of what you think of John's political views in this matter he is right—and the university is dead wrong. "Shamefully wrong."

The article also favorably mentions the "Partisan Defense Committee, which takes up such unpopular causes as the case of Bennie Lenard, the black who was so brutally beaten by Melrose Park police...."

Coverage of the case has also appeared in the Chicago National Lawyers Guild's *NLG Newsletter*, the Southside Chicago New American Movement's *Red Gargoyle*, the newsletter of the New Haven-based Committee for International Labor Defense and the *Chicago Reader*.

Administration Lies

On January 8 Chicago radio station WAIT broadcast an interview with John, PDC representative Martha Freedman and a flustered and defensive

UICC vice chancellor Richard Ward, who hypocritically called John's arrest and prosecution "an unfortunate incident." John responded to the administration's new-found piety with the demand that the administration drop the charges and put a halt to the victimization of the left.

In the face of growing protest against John's arrest, the administration is trying to soften up its public stance and assiduously spread "misinformation," including the thoroughly discredited line that John was never really banned. At the same time, vindictive harassment of the left continues unabated.

The administration bases its attack on John and the SYL on the charge that John is an undesirable "non-student"—what red-baiters like to call "outside agitators." The administration has already made clear that it considers minority students to be "outsiders" as well, and it has designed the Selective Index to get rid of large numbers of them. Union cards for campus workers are torn up under the pretext that union organizers too are "outsiders." And the administration is currently doing its best to make leftist professor Julia Lesage an "outsider" through a political purge. In fact, the administration is only reflecting the position of its capitalist masters that all the exploited and oppressed are "outsiders." So it should come as no surprise when these hirelings of the ruling class continue to raise the time-worn cry of "outside agitator" against the SYL.

On January 11 administrator Willie McKay demanded that an SYL supporter distributing *Young Spartacus* show proof that he is a registered student. Later the same day a reporter for the administration's lackey student

newspaper, the *Illini*, descended on the SYL literature booth and, as a photographer snapped pictures, interrogated SYL supporters as to whether they were students. Confronted on this outrageously provocative behavior, the photographer blurted out that since the SYL has been criticizing the *Illini* (for parroting the administration's line on Sandor John), they "had to protect themselves!"

The administration has another ally in the Stalinist Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB—formerly the Revolutionary Student Brigade). Having welcomed the banning of John from UICC, the criminally sectarian RCYB now declares that it is good that he was arrested! Siding with the administration in this way endangers not only the democratic rights of other left and campus groups, but those of the RCYB itself. If the administration succeeds in its persecution of the SYL, it will go all-out against other left groups and will not spare the RCYB out of gratitude.

The infantile light-mindedness of the RCYB stands in contrast to the active participation in the campaign of other campus organizations such as the Circle Women's Liberation Union. Even the UICC Student Government has endorsed the Ad Hoc Committee.

As for the junior social-democrats of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), they maintain a tenuous and do-nothing membership in the Ad Hoc Committee. Their main activity to date has been a whispering campaign echoing the administration/*Illini* slander that the SYL "disrupted" a public meeting of the UICC trustees' Student Welfare Committee on November 18. In fact, this meeting was abruptly adjourned by the trustees in a brazen attempt to prevent Sandor John from presenting the facts of his case.

The anti-communist administration slander peddled by the YSA has been picked up by their social-democratic siblings of the New American Movement. To these reformists, anyone who does not meekly toe the line laid down by the administration or trustees is a "disrupter!"

Old Hands at Repression

The history of administration repression at UICC is long and sordid. For 14 years University of Illinois professors were forced to take a "loyalty oath" (a McCarthyite oath of allegiance to the United States and its social and governmental system). The oath was finally declared unconstitutional in 1969 as a result of a suit brought by a UICC professor denied payment for his refusal to sign.

In 1966 and 1967 the UICC administration barred Communist Party spokesmen Louis Diskin and Herbert Aptheker, who had been invited to speak by campus groups, citing the state's witchhunt Clabaugh Act. In response, a storm of protest swept the

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