

Young Spartacus

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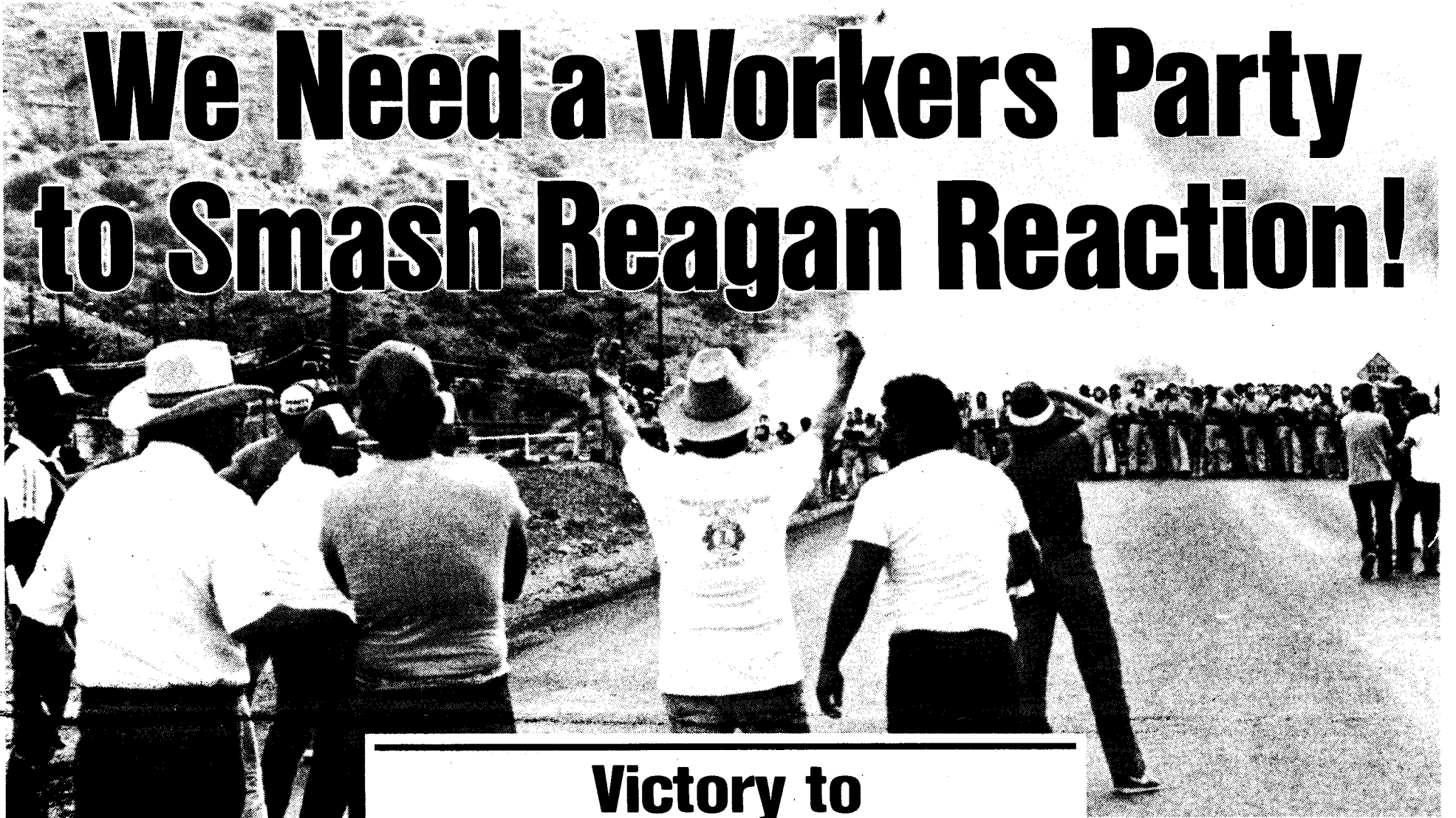
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SUMMER 1984

Democrats: Deadly Trap

Workers Vanguard Photo

We Need a Workers Party to Smash Reagan Reaction!



Victory to Arizona Copper Strikers!

Reagan's America, 1984: not a pretty sight if you happen to be young, black, old, female, unemployed, a trade unionist, an opponent of the government's policies. Even the predominantly white air traffic controllers union, PATCO—which supported Reagan in 1980—got it a year later when their strike was broken, their union busted, their entire membership thrown out of their jobs and onto the street. Almost no matter who you are, including an ordinary airline passenger like those aboard KAL Flight 007 who were sacrificed in a cynical and bloodthirsty Cold War provocation against the Soviet Union last September, you are expendable according to the kill-crazy strategists of Cold War II.

Abroad, Reagan's maniacal drive to "roll back communism" means 50,000 slaughtered by the death squad "democracy" of El Salvador as the civil war rages. The heroic leftist insurgents continue to inflict severe damage on the Salvadoran army. If the imperialists are to maintain their stranglehold on the region, it could well mean sending in U.S. combat troops. War is on the "agenda" of both capitalist parties in the 1984 elections. The disputed question for the U.S. rulers is how best to effect their common aim: the expansion of imperialist markets and the destruction

of the first workers state, the military-industrial powerhouse of the non-capitalist world, the Soviet Union.

Mondale: Son of "Happy Cold Warrior"

Thus, American "democracy" presents the population with the choice between getting kicked in the head or stabbed in the back: Reagan or the likely Democratic nominee, Mondale. Reagan is an anti-communist nut whose nuclear brinkmanship unnerves even sections of the ruling class, not to mention the U.S.' European allies.

Striking Phelps Dodge miners face off against cops, June 30.

Domestically, it's "let them eat ketchup" in the ghettos, a green light to race-terror against the black population, "state supported terrorism" against the union movement, social reaction on all fronts from the teaching of creationism to the attacks against legal abortion and the defeat of the Equal Rights Amendment. The Supreme Court has handed down in rapid-fire succession a number of rulings suitable for a police state and the capitalist secret police—the FBI's—"new guidelines" brand political opponents of the government as "terrorists."

Then there are the Democrats who paved the way for this Cold War climate

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Full Citizenship Rights for Foreign-Born Workers!

Down with the Racist Simpson-Mazzoli Bill!

An insidious racist campaign is being pushed by the capitalist media, the politicians of both parties and the AFL-CIO "labor" bureaucrats, scapegoating immigrant workers for unemployment in the U.S. The Simpson-Mazzoli bill, currently in the final stages of consideration in Congress,

would require every job applicant in the U.S. to present two documents proving legal residence in this country—a long step toward imposition of a South Africa-style "internal passport" system—and would provide a 45 percent increase in manpower funds for the Immigration and Natu-

ralization Service (INS—which, in keeping with its loathsome racist function is widely recognized to be the most corrupt agency of the U.S. government). At this writing, provisions of the bill which would provide "amnesty" for "illegals" who could

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Riot police brutalize a Haitian refugee at Miami detention center.

EDITORIAL NOTE

Sinister Farrakhan Met with Racist Backlash at Northwestern University

PL Blocks with Zionists, Racists Against Black Demagogue

We've told the truth from the start about Jesse Jackson's campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination: that the "Rainbow Coalition" which up until recently included everyone from the sinister black demagogue Louis Farrakhan to George "Segregation Forever" Wallace is a cynical ploy to turn out the black vote for Mondale. The Klan-endorsed Reagan administration is making the black population in this country scream. Over half of all black youth are unemployed, racist terror has been given the green light from Washington, social services have been slashed, the Pretoria apartheid butchers are embraced as beacons of the "free world" while Haitian refugees are turned away *en masse* and black Grenada invaded for "democracy." Hoping to simultaneously cash in on and contain black anger, the Democrats have used Jackson to sign up black voters who would otherwise have little enthusiasm for Jimmy Carter's vice president.

This society is so deeply racist, however, that the fact that a black man has presumed to run for president has sparked racist reaction, most hypocritically evident in the uproar over his association with Farrakhan. The sinister black demagogue Farrakhan—the man who wanted Malcolm X dead—is deservedly reviled by those committed to the fight for black freedom, from Marxists to Muhammad Ali. But Jackson's capitalist political rivals and the Zionists and the bourgeois media—while perfectly content that Reagan is endorsed by the KKK race-terrorists and Jackson conciliates the likes of Wallace—made Farrakhan the issue. Jackson had refused to break with the Black Muslim demagogue even after his "Hitler was a great man" statement, but Farrakhan's caustic remarks about the



INCAR Newsletter captions photo at right "Jackson, Mr. T, Farrakhan: The deadly RACIST trio!!!" PL/InCAR's brains have been so long in the blender they can't tell the difference between black demagogues and white racists.

state of Israel (most of which are true) were too much. So when Mondale got heat from the Zionists for not denouncing Jackson for not denouncing Farrakhan, Jackson got the word and Farrakhan got the boot.

This spectacle of racist double standard underlines the urgent necessity to break the oppressed black masses and the entire working class from the twin parties of capitalism. Those lecturing Jackson on the bad company he keeps—the white capitalist politicians—are, of course, guilty themselves of crimes on the scale of Hitler's. From Truman's A-bombing of Nagasaki and Hiroshima, to Vietnam, to setting up the massacre of Palestinian women and children at

Shatila/Sabra, the U.S. ruling class is as bloody and genocidal as they come. And even the most "respectable" and groveling black politicians discover the discernible race line that divides black front men for racist capitalism from the men who *run* it. Chicago mayor and black Machine Democrat Harold Washington was genuinely indignant when the racists mobilized to stop him from taking office—after all his years of loyal service. While we gave not one iota of political support to Washington, warning that he would betray black Chicago, as he has, we defended his right to assume office with all the normal perquisites. Now Jackson has gotten a taste of the facts of political life in the Democratic Party, thus his dissociation from Farrakhan.

While most of the reformist left in the U.S. has latched on to Jackson's campaign in varying degrees of prostration before the Democrats' anti-Reagan coalitionism, the "Third Period" Stalinists of Progressive Labor/International Committee Against Racism (PL/InCAR) have capitulated from another angle. Living up to a well-earned reputation for stupidity (who else believes that communist society will be built in the aftermath of nuclear armageddon?) PL/InCAR has discovered the face of American racism to be...black! So says a recent issue of their Chicago-wide *INCAR Newsletter* (February 1984), which features Jackson, Farrakhan and Mr. T. as "the deadly racist trio."

Armed with this revelation, PL/InCAR found itself in a bloc with racists, Zionists and Young Republicans at Northwestern University when a speaking invitation to Farrakhan was made by the black student organization For Members Only (FMO). FMO's invite touched off an ugly racist backlash on the campus: "hoax" leaflets for the "White American Association" announcing a meeting of "For Us Only" were plastered all over. The campus newspaper, the *Daily Northwestern* (22 May) complained that FMO "hurt race relations," claiming that "the blame for segregation too often has fallen on the

majority"! The Conservative Council, Young Republicans and Zionists moved to cut off funding for the talk—a move narrowly defeated. But, Farrakhan nonetheless did not make it onto campus, his office claiming that it was a matter of scheduling conflicts. Meanwhile, none of the right-wing forces so "offended" by Farrakhan have anything bad to say about Northwestern's own Arthur Butz—a Nazi-connected engineering professor who wrote a book grotesquely claiming that the Holocaust was a fiction concocted by Jewish historians.

PL/InCAR's line? "INCAR argues that Farrakhan (like Butz) definitely should not be allowed to speak" (*NU Arrow*, 18 May). But Farrakhan is not "like Butz." Farrakhan may want to be a black Hitler, but the fact of the matter is that there can be and will be no black Hitler in racist America. It is embarrassing, but apparently necessary, to remind an organization which claims to be militantly anti-fascist, anti-racist and even communist that the face of American racism, of American fascism is *white*. Farrakhan has only his mouth, while the Hitler-lovers and Klan have money, guns and friends in high places. Furthermore, the furor over Farrakhan's scheduled appearance did not come from militant black students to Farrakhan's left—justly revolted by his shameless campaign against Malcolm X and his grotesque accolades to Hitler—it came from the same racist and Zionist forces who would be equally happy to run PL/InCAR off the campus.

This is not the first time that PL/InCAR have found themselves demonstrably on the racist side of the race question. In June 1982 the Nazis' threatened provocation against a Gay Pride Parade in Chicago's Lincoln Park was prevented by a 3,000-strong mobilization of blacks, unionists, socialists, Jewish activists, students and youth at the initiation of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League. PL/InCAR was not there. In fact, PL's *Challenge* carried the headline: "Gays and Nazis: Two Sides of the Capitalist Coin." Their anti-homosexual bigotry is disgusting enough—as well as thoroughly anti-Leninist—but the fact is that the Nazis had banked on anti-gay sentiment to be able to pull off their march aimed primarily at *black people*. That's social reality, so there's no reason to expect PL/InCAR to take account of it. Similarly, at the height of the racist backlash against Washington's mayoral bid, PL saw fit to denounce him as a "social fascist no less dangerous than the open white kind." What PL is both too sectarian and too dumb to see is that racist mobilizations against black misleaders carry with them the deadly

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LETTER

International Subscription Policy

Scotland
Britain
4 May 1984

Dear Comrades,

The excellent quality of the publication *Young Spartacus* (and especially the article 'Marxism vs. Black Nationalism' in no. 116) leaves me with only one minor complaint: that is, the amount of time the paper takes to reach me. For example, I did not receive issue no. 116 (March) until May 2.

Perhaps the subscriptions are being sent sea-mail and that is what's taking so long. Anyway, it would be appreciated if you could somehow get the paper here a bit quicker. I have no problems with the *Workers Vanguard* subscriptions, but I understand this is sent through London—could this be a solution?

Looking forward to the next issue anyway.

Comradely,
Simon Cotterill

YSp replies: We're quite pleased to hear from our subscribers abroad.

Comrade Cotterill is correct that his subscription, as is the case for most international subscribers, has been sent seaimail—an extremely slow process. Until recently, due to the low number of *YSp* international subs, we have had no special airmail rate, such as *Workers Vanguard* has.

Fortunately, we have had a modest growth in such subscriptions and can now offer to our readers abroad both airmail and seaimail subscriptions at \$8.00 and \$2.00 respectively. In some countries, like Britain, *YSp* subscriptions will now be mailed directly by the local Spartacist tendency section, as is the case with *Workers Vanguard* and *Women and Revolution*. This should speed delivery.

We look forward to reaching more readers internationally with our youth press and encourage our subscribers abroad to keep us informed about problems they may have with delivery. Naturally, we'd also much appreciate any comments or questions on *YSp's* content. ■

Young Spartacus

Young Spartacus (ISSN 0162-2692) 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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No. 119

Summer 1984

An American Crook in Cuba

Castro Outsmarts U.S. (Again)

Reportedly, Robert ("Honest Bob") Vesco, fugitive American financier accused by the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) of a \$224 million mutual investment funds swindle, is alive and well and living in Castro's Cuba. Unnamed diplomats in Havana divulged to the *New York Times* (10 May) that Vesco resides in Cuba with his wife and two daughters in the style to which he has become accustomed. Supposedly he's been there for over a year, dividing his time among three houses, a 50-foot ocean-going yacht, two private jets, six cars, two sport fishing boats and a high-powered speedboat for entertainment. There's no official word, but if that is Vesco—he's throwing around about \$50,000 a month in cold, hard Yankee dollars.

Money is something that the Cuban deformed workers state, under the gun of U.S. imperialism and the target of economic and political boycott by the U.S. since the revolution in 1959-1960, desperately needs. Rumors have also circulated that Vesco is pirating sugar processing machinery and technology to Cuba, potentially more useful than his cash. Whatever the case, given the U.S.' continued economic boycott and the Supreme Court's recent decision to uphold the ban on American tourism to Cuba, we're quite pleased that some of Vesco's ill-gotten gains may be finding their way to strengthen the Cuban economy. In fact, there's a certain justice to it considering the infinitely ~~many more millions~~ extracted from the island when bloodsucking imperialists and the Mafia ran the place as a lucrative playground for the rich complete with gambling, drugs and prostitution.

While the supercrook may be helping out a little in Cuba, the bulk of the social scum left over from the bad old days—the pimps, the gangsters, the pushers, the right-wing terrorist nuts—have largely concentrated here in the U.S. The FBI, Miami and Los Angeles cops have gotten a severe collective headache from the antics of these "freedom fighters" and "political refugees." Every big-time criminal outfit in the U.S.—from organized crime to the CIA—has found the *gusano* refugees from Cuba the quintessentially useful human material, by inclination and experience. These anti-communist terrorists have been involved in some of the dirtiest of the dirty work—including the 1976 car bomb murder of Orlando Letelier, former minister in Salvador Allende's Chilean popular-front government, in which three *gusanos* were directly implicated. Omega 7, a *gusano* organization, bombed New York City's Avery Fisher Hall to protest a concert by a Cuban orchestra as well as planting a bomb in a suitcase intended for a TWA jet in 1979. The FBI considers it to be "probably the most dangerous terrorist group currently functioning in the U.S." (*Wall Street Journal*, 30 December 1981).

Then there's the *Marielitos*—the 100,000-125,000 Cubans who sailed here as part of Jimmy Carter's "Freedom Flotilla" of 1980. One quarter of these had criminal records—and not for petty stuff or calling Castro bad names. They were rapists, murderers, armed robbers and muggers. As the Cuban Communist Party newspaper *Granma* (7 April 1980) put it, if the U.S. "wants to receive all the anti-social and lumpen elements in Cuba, we will gladly let them go, along with all those who are ideologically opposed to the Revolution and socialism. The dividing line between

common criminals and counterrevolutionaries is becoming less and less clear." So Carter found out when the "political refugees" were crammed into Florida detention centers and responded by rioting against the cops with

invested \$2 million in the financially beset company of Costa Rica's then-president Jose Figueres.

Now that he's rumored to be in Cuba, charges have been made that his welcome there is connected to drug



May Day marchers in Havana express hatred of imperialist top dog.

pipes and sticks. The movie *Scarface* portrays the milieu and what kind of "freedom" these guys miss in Cuba—the kind that hasn't existed since New Year's Eve 1959 when the Godfather caught the first plane out.

Even the notorious paramilitary LAPD has taken to complaining about the "excessive, unnecessary violence" of the *Marielitos*. LAPD commander Bill Burke stated, "They have a street code of machismo that makes them want to be the baddest of the bad" (*Los Angeles Times*, 12 August 1983). The cops have considered forming a special task force to "deal" with the murders committed by the *Marielitos*.

In this "cultural exchange"—someone is the loser and it's not Havana. The U.S. gets the dregs of Cuban society—and Cuba gets Vesco who is not a bad example of the moral qualities which have made American finance and politics what they are today. The curious among the Cuban people could use Vesco's history in order to understand how things work here in the U.S. In 1972 he skipped the country while under investigation by the SEC for what it called "one of the largest securities frauds ever perpetrated." Once in the Bahamas, he tried to get the SEC off his back by bribing the Richard "I am not a crook" Nixon administration with a \$200,000 cash contribution to the appropriately named CREEP (Committee to Re-Elect the President). Then in May 1973, Nixon's one-time Attorney General John Mitchell, the former Secretary of Commerce Maurice Stans, former majority leader of the New Jersey Senate Harry L. Sears and Vesco were all indicted on charges of conspiring to defraud the United States and to obstruct justice. By that time, Vesco was safely ensconced in Costa Rica where he was shielded from extradition and

smuggling and money "laundering" operations. Responding to repeated attempts by the U.S. to smear Cuba as a "haven" for drug smugglers, the Cuban government press officer in Washington noted that at any given time, 15 to 30 Americans may be found in Cuban jails for drug trafficking, adding "We have been freeing some of them at the request of some [U.S.] congressmen as a goodwill gesture" (*Wall Street Journal*, 30 April).

As internationalists, we can sympathize with Castro's desire to rid the island of the assorted dregs which have now landed here. But as socialists in America, we do object to this place being turned into yet another toxic waste dump of everybody's counterrevolutionary garbage. Now Jesse Jackson,

following in Carter's footsteps, has managed to negotiate for *more* "political prisoners" from Cuba to be brought to the U.S. Perhaps stung in recent deals, the State Department's response was less than enthusiastic; they would accept them if they were what they purported to be. And, as if to confirm the Cubans' point about American drug dealers in Cuban jails, the 22 Americans "liberated" by Jackson on his recent trip were in the main in jail on drug trafficking charges. A number of them had been sprung only to be detained by the U.S. Justice Department immediately upon their arrival. It's possible the whole Vesco story is a fabrication intended to feed the U.S.' anti-Cuban "drug smuggling" gambit, but more likely it's a leak prompted by sour grapes over losing out in the "refugee" trade.

U.S. imperialism's constant threats to Cuba are deadly serious. That's why it maintains the powerful military base at Guantánamo Bay, crucial to its bloody operations throughout Central America. But fortunately, Yankee imperialism has chalked up an abysmal track record in its counterrevolutionary dirty tricks—including the failed Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961 and the numerous plots against Fidel Castro, poison cigars and all. Despite the hardships and severe economic strains imposed on the bureaucratically deformed Cuban workers state under conditions of isolation, poverty and military threat, the revolution's smashing of the big-time parasites and their thugs and the establishment of a planned economy allowed the Cuban masses to make tremendous strides forward. When Reagan, in a recent radio broadcast told the Cubans that their economy was "incapable of providing you and your families your most elementary needs" a Western diplomat was compelled to reply: "They're not provided with the latest TV's and the latest cars. But nobody is hungry. You can't say that about the United States. They [the Cubans] have perfect medical assistance. The infant mortality rate is lower than in the United States. Education is free to university level" (*New York Times*, 4 June).

Cuba indeed has a lot going for it that this sick, capitalist society does not. One of these things seems to be IQ points at the top, since while Robert Vesco isn't a good guy in anybody's book, we think it's clear that Cuba got the better part of the crook trade. ■

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Trotskyist League of Canada

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Exchange with Shachtman's Bastard Children

Thank You, LRP?

Socialist Voices-LRP
Wilder Box 32
Oberlin College
Oberlin, OH 44074
Apr. 15, 1984

Bonnie Brodie, Editor
Young Spartacus
Box 3118
Church Street Station
New York, NY 10008

Dear Editor:

An article entitled "DSA 'Die-ins' Won't Drive Marines Off Campus," appeared in the March 1984 issue of *Young Spartacus*. The article talked about the February 7 "die-in" staged by the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) to "protest" the U.S. Marines' recruiter who came to Peters Hall on the Oberlin College campus that day. The author makes some valid points. The DSA certainly planned the "protest" to bury the political issues under the sheets and the gag rule. The patriots of the DSA did sing "The Star-Spangled Banner" with the rightists, while ensuring that the campus cops threw out the protesters from the Spartacus Youth League (SYL). The SYL correctly points out that the DSA intentionally sabotaged the possibility of an effective protest because of their loyalty to the bourgeois Democratic Party; in fact,

their activities were an inevitable result of their support for the Democrats, who love the Marines just as much as the Republicans do, and use them even more frequently to protect U.S. imperialist interests.

However, the writer strays far from the truth when polemicizing against the intervention held by Socialist Voices-League for the Revolutionary Party (LRP), in a manner just as inevitable from the politics of the SYL as the appeasement of U.S. militarism is to those of the DSA! In the first place, it was Socialist Voices-LRP which proposed a militant *united front* demonstration in which all groups participating, including the SYL and the DSA, would get a chance to express their views from the platform. The SYL did not support this idea, insisting that any demonstration it took part in must have defense of the Soviet Union as an official slogan. (Incidentally, the Spartacists' claim that there was "substantial student agreement with this perspective" is bullshit—no students besides the SYL's three Oberlin-student members showed up at their sectarian demonstration.)

No, we did not simply complain that the SYL demo was sectarian, as the *YS* writer alleges, we told why: It's sectarian to make defense of the USSR a

precondition for participation in a united front. If there was any chance of preventing the Marines from recruiting, as we counterposed to the DSA, it would have required an action bloc or united front, to draw in as many people as possible. The SYL has so little confidence in its ability to convince students of the SL's own (non) theories of Stalinist Russia that it opted instead for a demonstration under a Soviet defensist position.

Trotsky's theory of the united front is unity of action among groups with diverse political programs. We Trotskyists want [to] spread our political viewpoints in front of members of other "socialist" organizations. In a united front the SYL would have been given perfect opportunity to prove that the Stalinist states (many of which were created by national petty bourgeois movements against their working classes) represent a form of workers' revolution and are worth being defended. By the way, your view differs little from that of Pablo, who believed that mass mobilization was not a necessary prerequisite for revolution, or that workers states can be created without action by workers. Your view also stinks of Schachtman [sic], who believed that Stalinism had stabilized as a new form of society progressive over

capitalism, but inferior to true socialism, and was worth being defended, i.e. "third camp."

The *YS* article goes on to say, "Supporters of Socialist Voices-LRP at touchy-feely Oberlin seek to 'learn about socialism in an unpressured environment' (like wow)." This is pure distortion of our leaflet. What the leaflet actually reads is: "While the members of Socialist Voices/LRP support the politics of the LRP, participants who want to learn about socialism in an unpressured environment are encouraged to participate in our discussions," which obviously has little in common with the Spartacists' sneer.

But, leftists may ask, why did Socialist Voices/LRP members "[stay] inside and [say] nothing" when the SYL got booted out of the building? The reason has nothing to do with our "anti-Sovietism"; neither is it because we "kowtow to the reformists." The dozen or so members of the SYL contingent, who had entered the building shouting loudly, exited so quickly upon the order of the lone security officer in the building that we had no chance to notice what was happening let alone react, until after the Spartacists had gone. We made clear to the Spartacists immediately after the demo that we did not notice the exclusion and do defend

against cops their right to participate. The LRP never has and never will support the calling of cops against other left groups. Apparently, in this case, the SYL had no interest in defending its right to stay, and thus we were not sought out for help when the cop was excluding it. While the SYL was interested in the moral symbolism involved in getting ejected from the "die-in," Socialist Voices-LRP was there to convey our political points. To accuse [us] of siding with the cops against your presence at the "die-in" is pure libel.

Due to the sectarian roles played by the DSA and the SYL, Socialist Voices-LRP was forced to play the role of observer/interventionist. After leafletting the SYL group, we moved to the DSA die-in, where most of the people were. *Young Spartacus* is very careful to avoid mentioning any criticisms of the DSA, which are ever-present in the leaflet you quote from. Our intervening slogans "Capitalism Needs Marines. One Won't Go Without the Other," and "Democrats Use Marines, Too," made very clear our position that capitalism—in this stage, imperialism—is the root of militarism and that only its overthrow, led by working-class Trotskyists, will end imperialist war once and for all.

Socialist Voices/LRP
Oberlin College

Young Spartacus Replies:

In this letter and in an undated leaflet entitled "Thank You, *Young Spartacus*!" distributed at the New York Spartacist Educational Weekend April 13-14 the League for the Revolutionary Party (LRP) and its Oberlin supporters take issue with our characterization of their organization as Schachtmanite. Well, comrades of the LRP, it seems that we must educate you on your roots. For, much as you deny it, you are the ideological sons of Max Shachtman, the renegade from Trotskyism who ended up a reactionary social democrat supporting imperialism's every attempt to drown the gains of the October Revolution in blood.

Max Shachtman broke with Leon Trotsky in 1939 during the pre-World War II furor over the Hitler-Stalin pact, refusing to characterize the USSR as a degenerated workers state. But Shachtman was far too intelligent and experienced as a (deteriorating) Marxist to ever claim that the state which issued from the Bolshevik Revolution was capitalist in any way, shape or form. You are right to disclaim Shachtman's heritage so far as that goes. Shachtman would never have written, as the LRP did in its leaflet, that "There are only

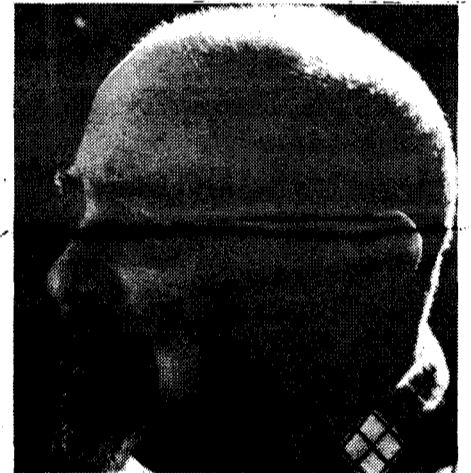
two camps: the camp of capitalism, including Moscow and Peking as well as Washington; and that of the proletariat." This statement lacks not only subtlety, but a fundamental grasp on reality. It is a funny kind of capitalism indeed, comrades, where the economy is completely planned and where the state has a monopoly on foreign trade. It defies all known Marxist understanding to define as "capitalist" a state which defends an economy where there are no profits and no competing capitals and where there is no industrial reserve army of the unemployed. Your view that the Soviet Union is capitalist ("statified" or any other form) is self-evidently absurd and self-contradictory.

A hard core economic analysis of the Soviet Union shows a quantitative gradient in how much surplus product is appropriated, with the bureaucracy skimming off extra for itself, and no qualitative counterposition between a non-existent labor and capital. Comrades, quantitative parasitism does not a ruling class make. Max Shachtman's view that the Soviet bureaucracy constitutes a new "bureaucratic collectivist" ruling class that is the state does provide at any static moment in time a similar picture of Soviet society to that of the Trotskyist view that the Soviet Union is a workers state qualitatively deformed by the existence of the bureaucracy. But in moments of social

crisis (e.g., the Hungarian workers revolution of 1956 and at numerous critical points in Poland) the Trotskyist analysis of the bureaucracy as a contradictory caste proves correct. What ruling class in history has ever split in the face of a revolutionary threat to its rule as the Hungarian bureaucracy did in 1956, with one small wing of the bureaucracy and the security police fighting against the workers and the bulk of the state apparatus going over to the side of the workers' unsuccessful political revolution?

Leon Trotsky's analysis of the Soviet Union as a degenerated workers state was and remains correct. The Stalinist caste which sits atop the proletarian property forms of the Soviet state subverts them by intermittently and often appeasing domestic petty-bourgeois forces and international imperialism. As Trotskyists we fight for political revolution to oust these misleaders and replace them through real soviets with a revolutionary leadership which would seek to extend the gains of the Russian Revolution internationally. But we stand squarely in the camp of the Red Army when it fights against the threat of counterrevolution. The national sections of the Trotskyist Fourth International militarily defended the land of October from Hitler's blitzkrieg onslaught during World War II, while calling for the defeat of

International Socialist Review



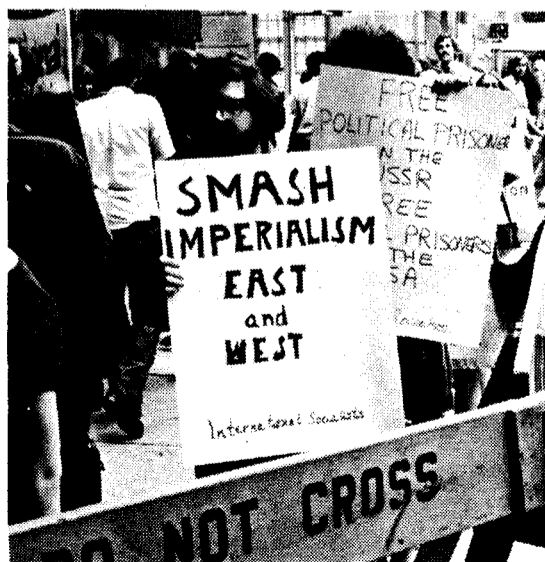
Max Shachtman, renegade.

their own bourgeoisies in the inter-imperialist war.

The Oberlin LRP can't even spell Max Shachtman's name, and you're about as good with his politics. So you claim that Shachtman viewed the "bureaucratic collectivist" Soviet state as "progressive over capitalism" and "worth being defended." Well, it took Shachtman two years following his break with Trotsky to complete the transition from refusal to characterize the Soviet Union as a degenerated workers state to refusal to defend it from imperialist attack: during this time he maintained a defensist position on paper. But we doubt that this is what you are referring to, for as soon as Hitler invaded the Soviet Union—i.e., as soon as defense of the gains of October became a living issue—the Schachtmanite Workers Party insisted that the proletariat *had no interest* in the struggle to beat back Hitler from Moscow's door. In 1943, as the Soviet masses were carrying out a heroic defense of the workers state at a cost of millions of lives while the U.S. and Britain refused to open up a second front against Germany, Shachtman declared the advantages of capitalist "democracy" over "bureaucratic collectivism":

"The Russian bureaucracy is inhibited by nothing but superior force—not by theoretical considerations or any other abstractions. And it is a ruling class whose rapacity has few equals in the world. In none of the democratic capitalist countries, at least, is labor so intensely exploited as in Russia. In none of them are the rights of the masses so shamelessly ignored. In none of them is the disparity between the social position

continued on page 9



LRP's "Roots": International Socialists—former home of Sy Landy who now heads LRP—provide example of "third campism" in action. IS protests at Soviet mission in June of 1973, New York City. Right-wing East European nationalist groups chose the same time and place to publicize their "Captive Nations Week." Demos were separate, but had a common impact.

Reinstate Willie Ludlow! Dump Fred Starr!

Oberlin Sit-In Protests Witchhunt

OBERLIN—The newspapers and sundry college administrators have grown fond of declaring the days of campus radicalism—the “spring offensive” and attendant rallies and building take-overs—long gone. Oberlin’s president and resident anti-Soviet “expert” Fred Starr found out otherwise when his office was occupied May 16 by 75 students angered by the announced firing of popular leftist campus minister Willie Ludlow. Ludlow’s firing was the culmination of Starr’s ongoing war against the last vestiges of radical activism. Starr’s declared purpose when he took office vowing to get the “Granola kids.” But in defense of Ludlow and the rights of *any* student, faculty member or campus unionist on Starr’s hit list, the students fought back in the most militant action taken at Oberlin in 15 years—one particularly notable for the participation of black students.

Willie Ludlow is an honorable man, singled out for administration witch-hunting because he has been prominent in much of the radical-liberal activity on campus, for which his office had become a sort of organizing center. He was faculty adviser to a number of campus political groups, including the Oberlin SYL. Earning the rabid enmity of the campus Zionists, Ludlow was one of the few to raise his voice in outrage over the massacre of hundreds of Palestinians at Sabra and Shatila by Lebanese Phalangists under Israeli direction and with the complicity of Washington. He solidified with the SYL-organized demonstration protesting the genocide. When he attempted to arrange a speaking engagement for black Democrat Jesse Jackson, he again caught heat from the administration. At the time of Starr’s announcement that Ludlow would get the ax—not accidentally timed to coincide with the onset of final exams—Oberlin was in negotiations with the campus clerical union, OCOPE, of which Mrs. Ludlow is head. “I’ve been willing to stick my neck out when others weren’t willing to,” Ludlow said, “I wonder how free the faculty and others who have been bold will feel when they see the campus minister can’t do this” (*Oberlin Review*, 11 May).

The confrontation with Starr & Co. which erupted in May had been brewing ever since Starr’s term as Oberlin president began. Last fall, in one of the first major showdowns, Starr attempted to enforce the Solomon Amendment—which requires colleges to fink for the government and turn over the names of those who have not registered for the draft, who in turn lose any federal monies. According to an informative

article in the 25 May issue of *Revolutionary Worker* (the oddly often sane publication of the crazed “gang of four” Maoists of the Revolutionary Communist Party): “The faculty voted to oppose the government with a resolution explicitly against the Solomon Amendment, and set up a separate fund

was important both because their timely arrival was key to boosting morale and because it has been a long time since Oberlin saw integrated student struggle. (One can, in part, thank Starr, who like a miniature Reagan has helped kill sectoralism—the organizing of each oppressed group on its “own”—since he

and the chair used this to cut discussion short, effectively stifling others, such as the SYL and members of the League for the Revolutionary Party-Socialist Voices (LRP, see article this issue) who opposed the evacuation. A very close vote was rammed through, and the DSA proceeded to help hustle students out of

Dean of Students George Langelier threatens suspension of participants in sit-in (left), but can’t stop students from joining it (right).

Copeland/Plain Dealer



so that students who refuse to sign could still get aid. Starr vetoed this, and only with massive student pressure was forced into a compromise so that students wouldn’t have to sign, although the explicit [faculty] condemnation of the amendment was squelched.” Starr may hate the “Granola kids”—but the feeling is deeply mutual. A popular Oberlin T-shirt contains a portrait of Starr and the “granola” quote attributed to him and the slogan: “Dump Starr!”

The message intended and received from the Ludlow firing: you (radical, black, unionist, controversial faculty member, “non-registrant”) could be next. On May 16, after driving the president from his own press conference as well as his office, the first 75 Oberlin sitters-in took control of Cox Administration Building. They demanded Ludlow’s reinstatement and amnesty for the protesters. About three hours into the sit-in, Dean of Students George Langelier threatened suspensions unless the building was immediately evacuated. Just as Langelier was droning on, a militant contingent of 50 students from the Afro-American Heritage House (AAHH) marched up and drowned him out by chanting. Five from the AAHH contingent made their way into the building through an unlocked window. The participation of the black students

demonstrably hates *everyone*.) The number of black Oberlin students has been rapidly dwindling, as is the case at most elite, predominantly white universities. With someone like Starr in office, “dwindling” could become close to zero. Oberlin’s radical tradition and reputation has much to do with the fight for black freedom in this country. The school was founded 150 years ago as one of the first integrated colleges in the country by militantly anti-racist Southern students and Northern abolitionists who had been driven from southern Ohio. It was an important stop on the Underground Railroad and the heroic abolitionist John Brown’s father, Owen Brown, was on the Board of Trustees from 1835-1844.

Soon after the arrival of the AAHH students, another group of over 80 (some with granola bars) raised a ladder to the second story window of Starr’s office and joined the sit-in. The rally outside meanwhile grew to several hundred. Those SYL supporters who were not inside, set about canvassing the cafeterias and dorms to bring out the largest number of students in support of the occupation. But even as the momentum was building in favor of the students, on the inside it soon became necessary to fight for the continuation of the action against those who, faced with the administration’s threatened reprisals, were advocating a sellout to Starr & Co.

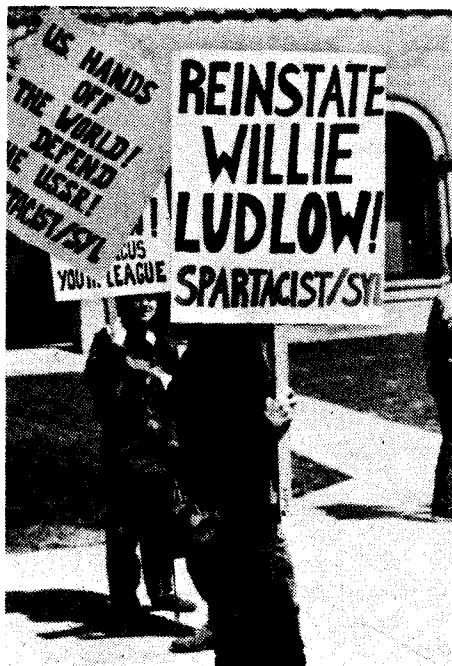
Self-appointed “negotiators” with some help from the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA), were able to engineer the evacuation of the building near midnight in return for amnesty. The decision to leave Cox was hotly debated. Many realized that the administration could be backed down, and Ludlow’s reinstatement won, from a position of strength, i.e., maintaining the occupation. At the final meeting inside, leading DSA weasel Mark Davidson made clear that when the going gets a little tough, the DSA gets going (out the door). His concern: getting in trouble with mom and dad. (To his credit, a fellow DSAer retorted that he was in just as much “trouble” but wanted to stick it out.) The administration had issued a five-minute ultimatum

the building. Over 100 protesters waited for hours outside Carnegie Library while Starr carried on a “nice chat” with six student negotiators. The chat yielded nothing for Ludlow. (When *their* precious hides are at stake, we wonder if the DSAers will manage to make it through one whole night of a sit-in.)

An SYL leaflet issued early the next morning calling for a noon rally and the re-taking of the building pointed out that “some things supersede final exams.... The struggle to stop this witchhunt is an important one which we plan to carry out *and win!*” LRP supporters worked together with the SYL in this attempt. However, the liberal/DSA anti-militants had, for the moment, successfully diverted the fight.

Not everybody returned to “business as usual” however. Protest gestures against the Ludlow firing took place at the May 26 graduation ceremonies, wherein scores of students handed Starr envelopes protesting the firing as they were handed their diplomas (Starr, naturally, refused to take them). Leaflets denouncing the firing were found in the official graduation programs and some students wore black armbands. However, such symbolic acts do not win battles. That requires militant action of a determined character.

Starr has made it clear that he intends to “clean up” Oberlin’s act—through purges and administration intimidation of anyone who gets in his way. He’s got the credentials for such a task: before coming to Oberlin, Starr was a founding member and first secretary of the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies, an anti-Soviet think-tank funded by the State Department, among others. Willie Ludlow’s firing is Starr’s own little contribution to the domestic side of the anti-Soviet war drive and a warning to the entire campus that the days when Oberlin was an enclave of rad-lib activism are over. Willie Ludlow put it well when he said, “I feel a Cold War liberalism in the air—a kind of McCarthyism.” We say no way—students, faculty and campus workers should make Starr pay for the firing of Ludlow and put him on notice that his attacks will not be allowed to continue. Reinstate Willie Ludlow! Dump Starr—before he dumps you. ■



Young Spartacus Photo



Journal/Frank Breithaupt

Campus minister Willie Ludlow (right), axed by Oberlin president Fred Starr for left-wing political activism.

Young Spartacus Photo



Below we print the second and concluding part of an edited version of Spartacist League Central Committee member Joseph Seymour's presentation to recently held SL/SYL educational gatherings. Entitled "From the Great French Revolution to the Paris Commune," comrade Seymour's talk was one of three presentations devoted to the question of "Wars and Revolutions" given at each of the educationals which took place in late April and early May. Part I of this speech appears in our last issue, Young Spartacus No. 118, May 1984.

Part Two of Two

The Jacobin Dictatorship

The Jacobin dictatorship of the Year II (1793-94) was the decisive period of the French Revolution and one of the most remarkable moments in the history of the Western world. A useful way to look at it is to view it as a great drama with three main actors: the Jacobins themselves, the revolutionary bourgeoisie in power; the Parisian lower classes (the *sans-culottes*) who had placed the Jacobins in power and believed that it was *their* government or at any rate should act like their government; and the upper sections of the peasantry, who produced for the market, and therefore on whom the government was economically dependent for provisioning Paris and the revolutionary army. You must also understand that the Jacobin dictator-

Kurt Desch



Filippo Michele Buonarroti

ship was a *wartime* regime as foreign royalist armies invaded and occupied sections of France. The war fueled the inflation, which further radicalized the urban masses.

The key to understanding the dynamics of the French Revolution is really understanding the peasant question. One of the first acts of the Jacobin regime was to abolish once and for all, completely and without any indemnity, feudal obligations in the countryside. This act simply recognized the actual situation created by four years of peasant revolution. Paradoxically, by legitimizing the radical revolution in the countryside the Jacobins laid the basis for their own fall a year later. For as long as the peasants were still fighting the aristocracy for the land, they propelled the revolution forward. The peasants tended to support the revolutionary wing of the bourgeoisie and the urban plebeian radicals. But once the peasantry believed that the land was securely theirs, the primary interest of that section which produced for the market became getting the highest price for their product, mainly grain. Their interests became similar to that of the bourgeois middlemen and speculators and counterposed to the workers. Thus during the Jacobin dictatorship the peasantry became increasingly conservative.

Something similar occurred in the Russian Revolution. All the peasants welcomed the Bolsheviks when they gave them the land and drove out the landlords. But many (especially wealthier) peasants resented the Communist

LONG LIVE THE FRENCH RE

government when it requisitioned food for the urban working class. There was a saying during the Russian Revolution: the peasants loved the Bolsheviks but hated the Communists. Some peasants even thought the Bolsheviks and Communists were two different groups of people.

While the French peasantry was becoming less radical, the Parisian *sans-culottes* were becoming more radical. They demanded a general price maximum on all consumer basic goods and strict economic regulation. They sought to enforce this through what was called the Terror. It's important to understand that from the standpoint of the urban lower classes the Terror was primarily *economic* in purpose. The main slogan of Jacques Roux, the so-called "red priest" and leader of the Parisian *sans-culottes*, was "Death to Speculators!"

Paul Popper Ltd.



Maximilien Robespierre

not "Death to Royalists!", most of whom had already gone into exile or were lying low.

During the early months of the Jacobin dictatorship in the summer/fall of 1793, the *sans-culottes* forced the government to enact a series of radical economic measures—the death penalty for speculators in grain, a general price maximum, etc. It's possible that some of the leading Jacobins, such as Maximilien Robespierre and Louis-Antoine de Saint-Just, may have regarded these economic controls (e.g., price fixing, rationing of grain) as a permanent institution. However, the mass of the bourgeoisie who supported the revolu-

tionary government regarded them as *temporary* wartime measures somewhat similar to the kinds of economic controls which modern imperialist governments resort to during major wars.

The Jacobin government thus had to *balance* between the radicalized *sans-culottes* on its left and the mass of the bourgeoisie and upper sections of the peasantry on its right. Caught between these two forces, in the winter of 1793-94 the Jacobin regime began to *fracture*, giving rise to a right wing, a center and a left wing.

The leader of the right wing was a guy called Georges Danton, who was recently the hero of an anti-communist movie made by a prominent supporter of Polish Solidarność, Andrzej Wajda. I've not seen this movie but I've read about it. Apparently it's a very odd film. Danton and his followers all speak French, while Robespierre and his followers all speak Russian. Danton's group was called the *Indulgents*, which was a very good name for them. They wanted to indulge the royalists, indulge the speculators, indulge the hostile foreign monarchies by working out a negotiated settlement for them to leave France alone. This, of course, would necessarily mean concessions to the aristocracy and Catholic church.

The left wing of the Jacobins was led by Jacques-René Hébert, who was head of the Paris Commune or city government. He was thus more directly under the pressure of the *sans-culottes*. Hébert's faction was known as the *Exagérés*, the exaggerated ones. They wanted to enforce the Terror more vigorously, to strengthen and expand the economic controls, to tax the wealthy to provide jobs for the unemployed and welfare to the poor, etc.

Robespierre held the middle ground between Danton's *Indulgents* on his right and the Hébertists on his left. Or as he put it in his own inimitable words:

"Revolutionary Government must sail between two reefs, between timidity and foolhardiness, between moderatism and excess: moderatism which is to moderation what impotence is to chastity; and excess which is in the same relation to energy as dropsy to good health."

—quoted in Albert Soboul,
The French Revolution
1787-1799 (1974)

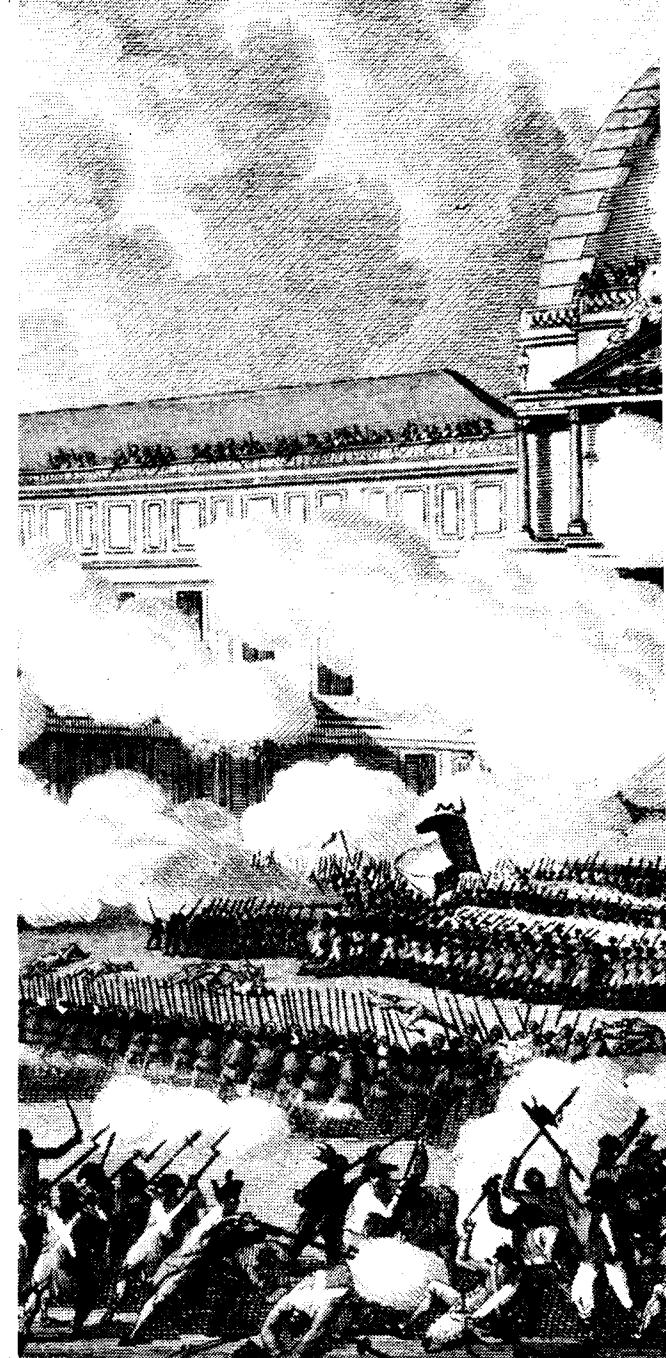
Alas, people don't speak like that any more. A lost art.

The Mansell Collection, London



Meeting of a revolutionary committee during the Terror.

Selmar Hess, Publisher, New York

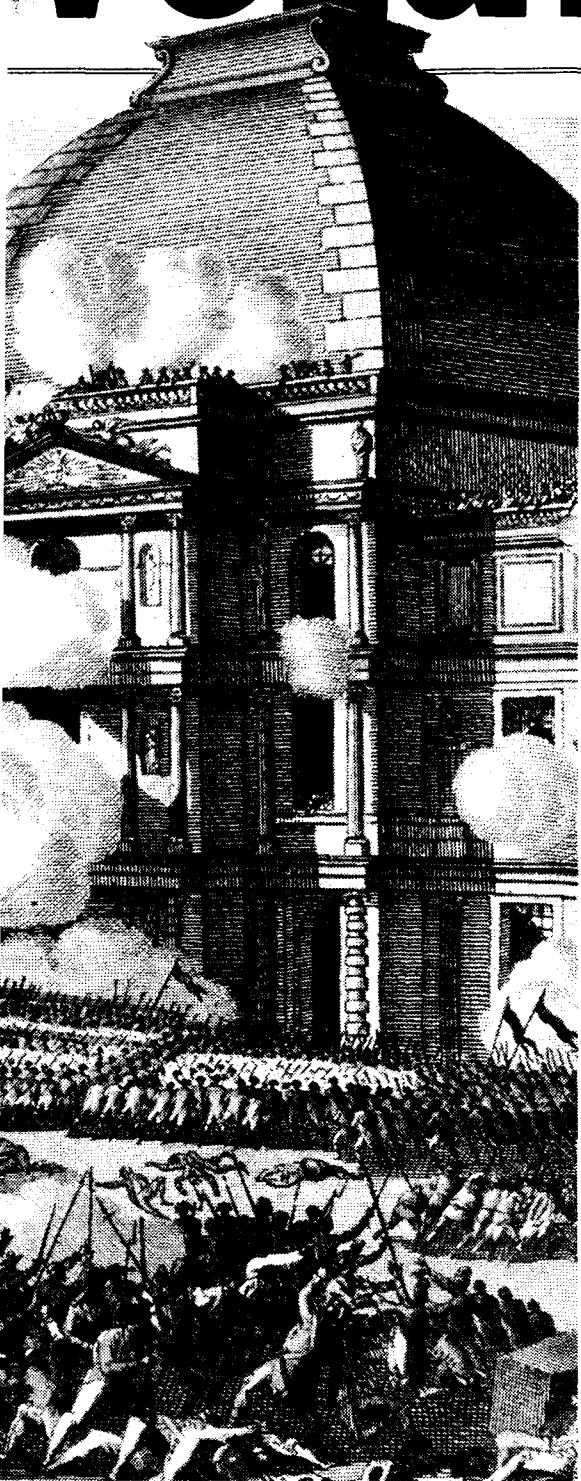


Attack on the Tuileries Palace, residence of Louis XVI

In the spring of 1794 Robespierre moved to suppress both the right and left factions of the Jacobins. Within the same month both Danton and Hébert along with their principal lieutenants were sent to the guillotine. Further, Robespierre took a series of steps to weaken the power of the *sans-culottes* at the base. The effect of all this was to radically *narrow* the social base of the Jacobin center. The *sans-culottes* became embittered and resentful, while the mass of the bourgeoisie, which had sympathized with Danton's *Indulgents*, became alienated from the revolutionary government. In the last months of its existence the Jacobin dictatorship was not so much supported as tolerated. It was tolerated because neither the *sans-culottes* radicals nor the conservative bourgeoisie wanted to rock the boat while foreign royalist armies still occupied French territory.

However, a month after the last foreign troops were driven out of France Robespierre fell. This was the 9th of Thermidor under the new revolutionary calendar (27 July 1794). The following day Robespierre, Saint-Just and a number of other leading Jacobins were executed. The efforts of Robespierre's followers to rally the *sans-culottes* to save them were met with sullen indifference.

POWER OF THE REVOLUTION!



is XVI, 10 August 1792.

One aspect of the 9th of Thermidor contains an important lesson for revolutionaries to this day. Robespierre was the victim of what in Leninist and Trotskyist politics is called a rotten bloc, one of the most fateful rotten blocs in history. That is, the left and the right wings of the Jacobins ganged up on the center. The future communist Gracchus Babeuf, for example, was a left Thermidorean. He had been a follower of Hébert, and so hated Robespierre. However, Babeuf soon had cause to regret his bloc with the Thermidorean right to overthrow the Jacobin dictatorship. Let this be a lesson to you: do not bloc with the right against the center or you too will soon regret it.

Historical Significance of the Jacobin Dictatorship

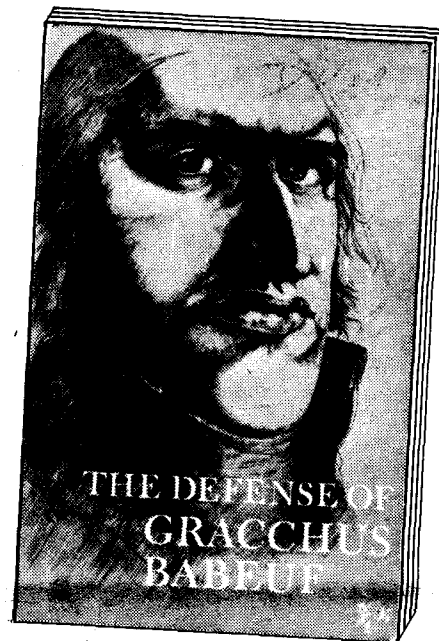
The historical significance of the Jacobin dictatorship and its fall in Thermidor has always been a subject of consideration and debate within the Marxist movement, ever since Marx and Engels' early writings in the 1840s. Anyone who is familiar with Trotskyism knows that Trotsky used the historical analogy of Thermidor to explain the Stalinist degeneration of the Russian Revolution. Here the basic point is that Thermidor was a *political* not a social counterrevolution. The central achieve-

ment of the Jacobin dictatorship, the rooting out of feudal relations in the countryside was irreversible. The nobility and clergy *never* got their land back—not under the Napoleonic empire, not under the Bourbon restoration. In 1815 foreign royalist armies reimposed the political superstructure of monarchical absolutism on France but *not* the feudal economic base. From 1793 to this day France has been a country of many—in fact, too many—*independent* peasant smallholders. So the analogy of the French Thermidor illuminates Trotsky's analysis of the political counterrevolution in Soviet Russia in 1924.

In the readings to prepare for this educational I recommended the work of Albert Soboul, a now-deceased French Stalinist historian. Soboul's analysis of the Jacobin dictatorship, however, has a certain weakness. He deals very well with the way in which Robespierre's suppression of the *sans-culottes* left laid the basis for his own defeat at the hands of the conservative bourgeoisie a few months later. But he does not consider the other side of the question. Could the Jacobin dictatorship have survived with a different policy?

Let us for the sake of historical argument assume that the Hébertists had prevailed over Robespierre, or, alternatively, that Robespierre had adopted the program of the *sans-culottes* militants. Neither of these is outside the range of historic possibilities. What then would have happened? The core of the *sans-culottes'* program was the provision of cheap and plentiful food to the urban lower classes. Was this program realizable in the France of the 1790s? You can pass any law. You can pass a law giving everyone in the United States \$2 million, but if I were you I would not go out on a spending spree. There are always *economic limitations* on what any government can do. And the Jacobin regime faced severe economic limitations on its policies. The peasants refused to sell to the government authorities at the low price maximum. Instead they sold to speculators or traders in grain at higher prices. In effect, the peasantry and commercial bourgeoisie broke the Jacobin dictatorship through economic warfare.

The Parisian *sans-culottes* were aware of this problem. One militant exclaimed: "One would think that the buyers and the farmers are plotting together to sell everything as dearly as possible in order to starve the workman" (quoted in Albert Soboul, *The Parisian Sans-culottes and the French Revolution, 1793-4* [1964]). But what could the *sans-culottes* do about it? Some of them proposed to put the



The first communist manifesto.

guillotine on wheels and send a revolutionary army into the countryside. In other words, terrorize the peasantry into providing cheap food. Thus the *sans-culottes'* program led in the direction of a *civil war* between the urban artisan-proletariat and a large section of the peasantry. The *sans-culottes* did *not* have the social and economic weight or cohesion to impose their will on French society. And the ensuing counterrevolution might well have been more severe than the actual Thermidor.

The Jacobin dictatorship was and could only have been a *temporary* phase in the revolution in which the urban plebeian masses destroyed the resistance of the feudal order. This was Marx's judgement in the 1840s:

"If therefore the proletariat overthrows the political rule of the bourgeoisie, its

victory will only be temporary, only an element in the service of the *bourgeois revolution* itself, as in the year 1794, as long as in the course of history, in its movement, the material conditions have not yet been created which make necessary the abolition of the bourgeois mode of production and therefore also the definitive overthrow of the political rule of the bourgeoisie. The terror in France could thus by its mighty hammer-blows only serve to spirit away, as it were, the ruins of feudalism from French soil. The timidly considerate bourgeoisie would not have accomplished this task in decades." [emphasis in original]

—"Moralising Criticism and Critical Morality" (1847) in Karl Marx/Frederick Engels, *Collected Works* Volume 6 (1976)

The Jacobin dictatorship also broaches on a deeper question of the relationship of Marxism to earlier schools of socialism and radicalism. Insofar as the Parisian radicals had a long-term program it was to create a kind of Rousseauian ideal society. That is, no one should be permitted to own more wealth than a single workshop, a single shop, a single farm. The *sans-culottes'* program was one of seeking to *arrest* the economic development of capitalism in the interests of an idealized version of an artisan/peasant commune.

A few decades later in England you got the same tendency in an even more dramatic form—the rising of the Luddites. These were independent artisan weavers, stocking makers, who were being driven into bankruptcy by new machinery, new factories. So what did they do? They went around breaking the new machinery. At one point they actually attacked a factory and tried to demolish it brick by brick. One can certainly sympathize with the plight of the Luddites and one can condemn and hate the reactionary government which suppressed them. Interestingly, there was one member of the English House of Lords who defended the Luddites. He was the radical poet, George Gordon Byron. In a famous speech Lord Byron mocked the British army for having more troops in the Midlands trying to crush the Luddites than were fighting Napoleon in Spain.

But breaking modern machinery is not a progressive solution to unemployment and poverty. An essential part of Marx's greatness was his hardheaded realism, his understanding that the bourgeoisie was progressive and indeed revolutionary not only in relation to the feudal aristocracy but also to the *pre-industrial* artisan proletariat, which sought to preserve primitive handicraft methods. In Marx's last major piece of writing, his 1875 *Critique of the Gotha Program*, he summed up his view of modern history this way:

"The bourgeoisie is here conceived as a revolutionary class—as the bearer of large-scale industry—relatively to the feudal lords and the lower middle class, who desire to maintain all social positions that are the creation of

continued on page 8

HAIL THE PARIS COMMUNE OF 1871!



Workers set up revolutionary government after National Guard rebelled against attempt by bourgeois Thiers government to disarm it, March 1871. Engels said of the Commune: "That was the Dictatorship of the Proletariat." Three months later, German army allowed Thiers' troops to enter Paris. 20,000 Communards were massacred.

LONG LIVE THE POWER OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION!

Continued from page 7

obsolete modes of production. . . .
"On the other hand, the proletariat is revolutionary relatively to the bourgeoisie because, having itself grown up on the basis of large-scale industry, it strives to strip off from production the capitalist character that the bourgeoisie seeks to perpetuate."

—Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* Volume Three (1970)

Babeuf's Conspiracy of Equals

After the fall of the Jacobin dictatorship in Thermidor, things moved right pretty rapidly. Within six months the price maximum was abolished. There was a white terror against the Jacobins, especially in the provinces where they were weaker. About a year after the overthrow of Robespierre, the Parisian *sans-culottes*, their leaders either executed or imprisoned, rose up against the new conservative bourgeois regime and were crushed. This was to be the last rising of the Parisian masses.

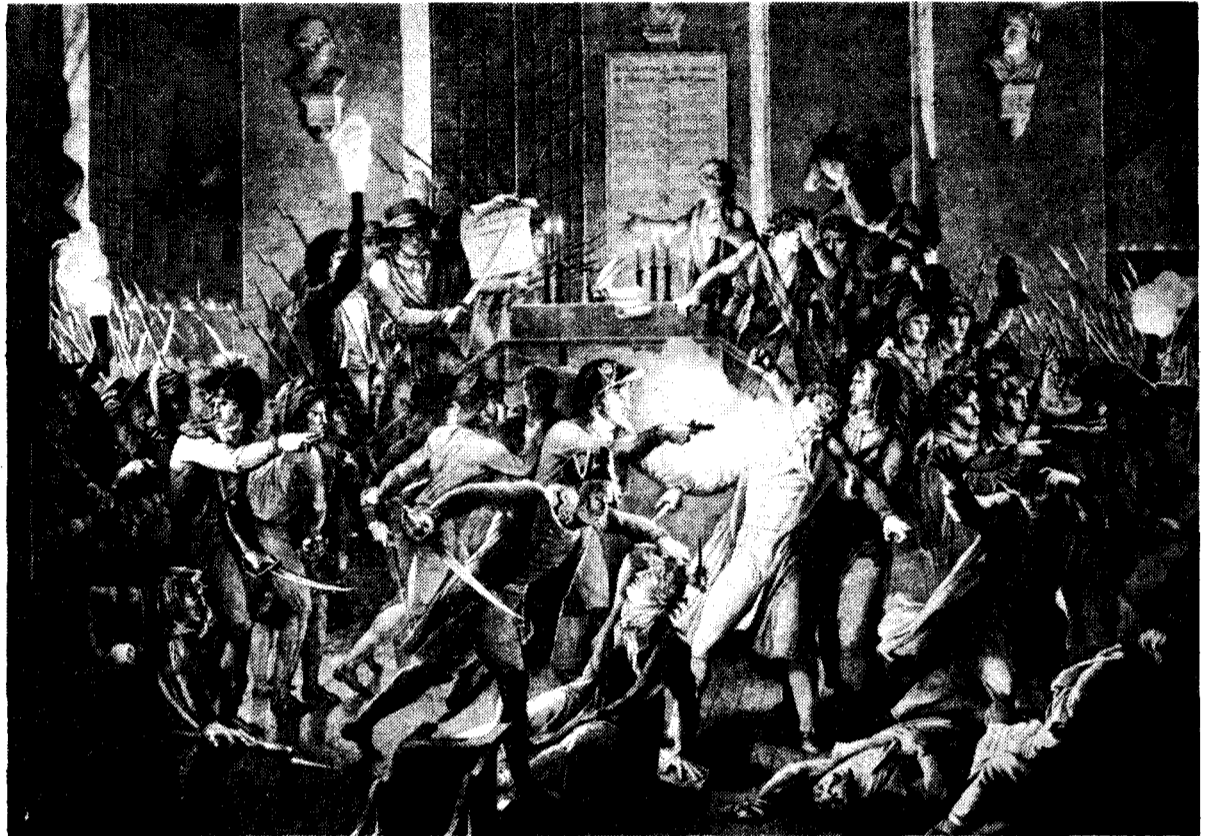
At the same time, the royalist party was making gains. It is something of a law of revolution and counterrevolution that a government which crushes the forces to its left almost always strengthens the forces to its right. A main theme of comrade Foster's talk tomorrow is how the suppression of proletarian revolution in Germany in 1919-23 by the Social Democrats set into motion a chain of developments which led to the victory of fascism a decade later and the consequent destruction of Social Democracy. One saw the same dynamic in post-Thermidorian France, though it was not played out to the end. The royalists were growing, in part by appealing to the disillusioned masses. "Things were better under the Bourbons," they said, and in fact they were. In October 1795, six months after the *sans-culottes* uprising was suppressed, the royalists launched an insurrection against the conservative bourgeois government. This was suppressed by General Napoleon Bonaparte. Wanting a counterweight to the continuing royalist danger, the Thermidorian government issued an amnesty for all political prisoners, thus freeing the remaining Jacobin leaders.

This set the stage for the last and most remarkable event in the entire course of the French Revolution—Babeuf's Conspiracy of Equals. Despite its name, we are not dealing with a small group of fanatics. This was the last stand of the Jacobin left. These were people who had been either mass leaders or important government officials during the Jacobin dictatorship and earlier. And they still retained substantial popular support. There was probably not a street in the poor sections of Paris where Babeuf, Darthé, Buonarroti and the other lead-

ers of the Conspiracy could not have found a place to hide. The prison in which Babeuf was held after Thermidor was run along relatively liberal lines. After dinner the Jacobins were allowed to sing revolutionary songs. And many of the townspeople gathered around the prison to join them. A nice touch.

While in prison Babeuf considered the fate of the revolution and came to the conclusion that private property was

9th of Thermidor,
27 July 1794:
Downfall of
Robespierre at the
Hotel de Ville.



the real enemy of humanity. He understood that the basic division in society was no longer between the aristocrats and the people, royalists and republicans, but between the rich and the poor, the exploiters and the exploited. As he wrote in early 1795:

"One wants the republic of a million which was always the enemy, the dominator, the exactor, the oppressor, the bloodsucker of the twenty-four other millions, of the million which has disported itself in idleness for centuries at the expense of our sweat and our labor; the other party wants the republic of those other twenty-four millions, who have laid down its foundations and cemented them with their blood, who are defending it and dying for its safety and its glory."

—quoted in R. B. Rose,
*Gracchus Babeuf: The First
Revolutionary Communist*
(1979)

Babeuf's solution was a pre-industrial version of communism. Remember we are dealing with a society in which there appear to be no particular benefits to economies of scale. In his conception artisans would work as they had always worked, farmers would produce as they had always produced, but their product would go into a common state warehouse and be distributed equally. It was a communism of *distribution*—a community of goods—not a community of the means of production.

This, of course, was the central weakness of Babeuf's vision. But what makes Babeuf's Conspiracy so very interesting is that for the first time a group of revolutionaries, albeit at the very beginnings of bourgeois society, wrestled with the question of the relationship between communist revolution and bourgeois democracy. The Babouvists knew that a government based on universal suffrage (it was then a capital offense even to advocate this) would certainly be more radical than the existing post-Thermidorian conservative regime. But they also knew that the peasant masses were *not* for communism, and these were the people who would elect such a government. The

Babouvists recognized empirically that the Parisian *sans-culottes* were more radical, more sympathetic to communism than the peasant masses. They viewed this difference not as a conflict of economic interests but rather in ideological terms. The artisan-proletariat of Paris was enlightened, influenced by revolutionary doctrines; the peasantry was uneducated, unenlightened, priest-ridden.

Since the Babouvists were for both democracy and communism, how did they mesh the two? Their solution was a *temporary* dictatorship of the revolutionary party sanctioned democratically by the Parisian *sans-culottes* but *not* by the peasantry. Concretely the Babouvists planned to convene a meeting of the victorious insurgent masses of Paris,

them the bourgeois-democratic gains of the French Revolution. In Germany, for example, it was under the Napoleonic occupation that Jews were liberated from the ghettos and given the same citizenship rights as German Christians. In Italy, Poland and elsewhere, similar measures were carried out. So that Napoleon was in a deformed way what he claimed to be—a soldier of the Revolution. For that reason he was defeated by the two most reactionary forces in Europe, the combination of British capital and the Russian tsarist army.

In 1815 the Bourbon monarchy was restored to France, although a France in which the bourgeois revolution at the base was irreversible. It appeared superficially that the old order had been

restored. At this moment in history the Jacobin regime of 1793-94 looked like a historical aberration, something that could never, would never happen again. Most of the old Jacobins and even the surviving Babouvists had made their peace with the Napoleonic empire or had faded into oblivion. Robespierre was publicly presented to the world as a depraved monster and the forces to the left of him all but forgotten.

And here we come to perhaps the most remarkable part of the whole story. For during the Napoleonic empire and the Bourbon restoration one man attempted to keep alive the communist program and communist organization. He was an Italian, a descendant of Michelangelo, named Filippo Michele Buonarroti. He had been a kind of government trouble-shooter during the Jacobin regime and later a leader of the Conspiracy of Equals. After the Conspiracy was suppressed, for the next 40 years Buonarroti organized a succession of clandestine communist propaganda groups. I cannot convey to you how utterly hopeless and utterly quixotic this program appeared in the France of the Bourbon restoration and the Europe of Metternich's Holy Alliance. In the early 1820s Buonarroti was living in Switzerland, making a living teaching music while politically subverting his music students. One of them later recounted his complete astonishment when Buonarroti revealed his political aims: "The Republic!... Who could today plan to reestablish it in France? Who could, in good faith, work at that with any hope of success?" 'I,' responded Buonarroti" (Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The First Professional Revolutionist: Filippo Michele Buonarroti (1761-1837)* [1959]).

Buonarroti and the Babouvist Heritage

After the suppression of the Conspiracy of Equals the government moved steadily rightward, culminating in a military coup by General Napoleon Bonaparte in 1799. A few years later Napoleon declared himself emperor. The Napoleonic empire had a contradictory effect in France and in Europe. Within France it represented a deepening of the reaction. In the rest of Europe, however, the Napoleonic armies in a partial and deformed way carried with

restored. At this moment in history the Jacobin regime of 1793-94 looked like a historical aberration, something that could never, would never happen again. Most of the old Jacobins and even the surviving Babouvists had made their peace with the Napoleonic empire or had faded into oblivion. Robespierre was publicly presented to the world as a depraved monster and the forces to the left of him all but forgotten.

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In 1828 Buonarroti published a history of Babeuf's Conspiracy of Equals, which became known as the bible of revolutionaries. The French Revolution of 1830 opened things up

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somewhat, and Buonarroti, now a man in his seventies, returned to Paris. There he was able to influence a new generation of revolutionaries, the greatest of them being Louis-Auguste Blanqui. In Paris in the 1830s were tens of thousands of German workingmen, mainly journeymen artisans. Buonarroti was also able to influence these German workers through an organization called the League of Exiles. Its name was later changed to the League of the Just. It was this organization of German communist artisans which two young revolutionary intellectuals, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, joined in 1847 and for which they wrote the *Communist Manifesto*.

Marxism and Revolutionary France

On the eve of the revolutions of 1848 Marx and Engels believed that bourgeois society had developed sufficiently so that following a radical democratic revolution the transition to communism would be relatively gradual, harmonious and peaceful. This was the underlying strategic conception of the *Communist Manifesto*.

In its initial phase the February 1848 revolution in Paris seemed to fulfill Marx's projections. The working masses rose up, drove out the royalist army, invaded and dispersed the phony parliament and created what was then called a "social republic." Literally at gunpoint they forced the petty-bourgeois radical provisional government to proclaim the right to work. However, the Parisian workers, still predominantly an artisan and not an industrial proletariat, then permitted elections based on universal male

suffrage. This made the peasantry the arbiter of the revolution. And the peasant districts voted back all of the monarchists who had been driven out of Paris a few months before.

This new reactionary regime deliberately provoked the Parisian workers. It said to them: You want the right to work? You can fill the swamps in southern France where pestilence is raging. That's your right to work. Spontaneously, without leaders, the Parisian workers rose up against this reactionary, albeit democratically elected, government. They were defeated in what are known as the June Days, which Marx called "the first great battle... between the two classes that split modern society." It was with reference to the June Days that Marx first used the term and advanced the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat, that what was needed was the direct rule of the working class.

The Parisian working class did not forget the terrible defeat of the June Days. And the next time around it was different. The next time around came a generation later. In 1870 the despotic regime of Napoleon III, Bonaparte's bastard nephew (actually there's a big scholarly debate about his paternity), was defeated in a war with Prussia. The defeat of the French army—as defeat in war often does—opened up a revolutionary situation. Working-class-based radicals, organized centrally in the National Guard, predominated in Paris. At the same time, nationwide elections for a parliamentary government were held. This parliament convened first in the southern city of Bordeaux and later moved to the Parisian suburb of

Versailles. While Paris elected radical republicans or socialists, the peasant masses again elected monarchists. So it looked like it was going to be 1848 all over again. The head of the government was Adolphe Thiers, who had been a minister under the old pre-1848 Orleans monarchy.

Thiers ordered the Parisian National Guard to disarm. But the Guard insurrected, thus creating the Paris Commune of March-May 1871, the first workers government in history. For the first time the armed working class took power into its own hands rather than give it up to some radical bourgeois faction. Although the Commune was drowned in blood, it remained a great inspiration, a beacon for the future of the international working class. In 1891 Engels wrote:

"Of late, the Social-Democratic philistine has once more been filled with wholesome terror at the words: Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Well and good, gentlemen, do you want to know what this dictatorship looks like? Look at the Paris Commune. That was the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

—Introduction to Karl Marx, *The Civil War in France*

Remember in April 1917 Lenin called for a Paris Commune-type government. The experience of the Commune and behind it a century of revolutionary struggle in France made possible the greatest historic victory of the proletariat, the Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917.

Summary Remarks

The French Revolution remains an ideological battlefield to this day. It is

no accident that a leading propagandist for the anti-Communist Polish Solidarność, Andrzej Wajda, in his film *Danton* attacks the most radical and progressive elements of the French Revolution. Nor is it an accident that American imperialism's most conscious counterrevolutionary, Henry Kissinger, first made his mark as an academic with a book in praise of Metternich, the main architect of monarchical reaction to the French Revolution.

The British radical historian A.J.P. Taylor wrote a brilliant essay in the 1950s on the Cold War cult of Metternich:

"... Metternich had to wait for his full restoration until the present cold war of creeds. He has re-emerged as 'the rock of order,' and every renegade liberal in America discovers an admiration for this desiccated aristocrat. Metternich is again to fight the Jacobins, but this time with the big battalions on his side.... 'The new saint of conservatism is a long way from the Metternich of history. He was a very silly man.... His thoughts, like those of most conservatives, were banal and obvious. 'Things must get worse before they get better'; 'after war Europe needs peace'; 'everyone has his allotted place in society.' Most men could do better than this when shaving.'"

—"Metternich" in *Europe: Grandeur and Decline* (1967)

Knowledgeable reactionaries understand that the French Revolution is the historical crucible for the communist movement. What Babeuf said at his trial is true. We communists represent the radical humanism of the Enlightenment. The universal and liberating principles of the French Revolution form the intellectual power and popular inspiration of the modern communist movement despite all the Stalinist deformations. ■

Thank You, LRP?...

(continued from page 4)

of the aristocracy and that of the masses so great."

—"The Program of Stalinist Imperialism," in *The Bureaucratic Revolution* (1962)

This is the "third camp"—the camp of desertion and betrayal in battle.

So comrades, we think that you are consciously lying about Shachtman's supposed "defensism." Over the next 30 some years Shachtman never even paid lip service to the defense of the Soviet Union. In fact the Shachtmanites (who became for a while the Independent Socialist League) entered the virulently anti-Soviet Cold War Socialist Party and Shachtman himself became a braintruster for Al Shanker's anti-communist bureaucracy in the New York teachers union. In the later part of his life Shachtman was a certified political swine, supporting U.S. imperialism's Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba and the imperialist rape of Vietnam, both the counterrevolutionary war in the South and the bombing of the North. The "third camp" became the pro-imperialist camp, and it is the camp from which you spring both organizationally and ideologically.

Comrades of the LRP, there is no big political difference between saying a new bureaucratic class came to power in Russia and arguing that capitalism was restored there. It's all a nuanced argument because *the program is the same*: refusal to defend the gains of October because of the virulent anti-Sovietism of the U.S. imperialist ruling class. You are right on only one point—there is no "third camp." And you, despite your protestations to the contrary, stand with imperialism against the Soviet degenerated workers state:

1) The LRP condemns the USSR's intervention in Afghanistan while claiming to support the "few and distorted" gains of the Afghani "bourgeois-democratic revolution." Comrades, any political infant can see



LRP Women's Commission? No—It's women chained to the veil in Afghanistan. Hail Red Army!

that today only the Soviet Red Army stands between the reforms initiated by the petty-bourgeois nationalist regime (such as teaching women to read and write) and the mullah-led forces of Islamic reaction. We Trotskyists hail the Soviet Red Army in Afghanistan and demand the extension of the gains of the Russian Revolution to the Afghani peoples. But the Shachtmanite LRP prefers to see the victory of CIA-financed Islamic reaction. You deny this comrades, but there is no other possible interpretation of your "condemnation" of the only force militarily capable of defeating the mullahs.

2) In Poland the LRP "defends" Solidarność while condemning its "Western-oriented, Church-riden, reformist" leaders. So comrades you defend a "movement" that is blatantly Pilsudskiite, priest-riden, anti-Semitic and pro-capitalist, while condemning its leadership for not fighting hard enough against the Polish Stalinists! We Trotskyists supported the Polish deformed workers state when it spiked Solidarność' counterrevolutionary bid for power. We can only conclude from your position that you would be pleased if Lech Walesa stopped being a "reformist" and led his movement (which even you admit looks to U.S. imperialism for support) to victory!

We can only say that with such "reasonable" revolutionary positions as these, the LRP can certainly hope to buy a certain amount of immunity from the

imperialist secret police as the U.S. ruling class drives full speed ahead toward nuclear war with the Soviet Union.

Young Spartacus told the simple truth when we labelled the LRP Shachtmanite. Much as you in the LRP excoriate the DSA for its loyalty to the bourgeois Democratic Party, you must admit that you stand on the same side of the barricades as the DSA and its bourgeois masters in both Poland and Afghanistan. Your anti-Sovietism propels you to act as the left flank of the DSA. To our knowledge this is the first time that you have publicly condemned the DSA for calling the cops to exclude the communist SYL. And it is so cheap to make such a protest after the fact, in a letter to *Young Spartacus*.

But you are right, comrades of the LRP, on the tactical question here. The Oberlin SYL could and should have sponsored a united-front demonstration with you to protest the presence on campus of recruiters for the U.S. imperialist military machine. Our failure to do so was sectarian, though this sectarianism was born not of lack of confidence in our program as you suggest, but of ultraleft rigidity. With Reagan driving to nuclear World War III against the Soviet Union we did not want to take political responsibility for a demonstration at which anti-Soviet elements like yourself would speak. But it is wrong for revolutionaries to preclude the use of the united-front

tactic because of the rotten politics of potential fellow participants. We need only have made our own views, particularly on Soviet defensism, abundantly clear. The united-front tactic can be a powerful tool for Leninists. When adopted by the Third Congress of the Communist International, the united front had two equally important and inseparable aims: class unity and communist hegemony. Flowing from the dual nature of the united front is the necessity to maintain both the complete organizational independence of the communist party and the complete freedom to criticize one's temporary allies within the united front, captured in the slogan "March separately, strike together." Thus the united front is an effective way to expose the betrayals, vacillations and contradictions of revolutionary pretenders like the LRP, while allowing for joint action on crucial issues.

So we are in an odd way grateful to the LRP for its letter and leaflet because they revealed that the SYL in fact had a sectarian policy at Oberlin on the united front and this has facilitated an educational discussion so that not just the Oberlin SYL, but all the comrades of the SYL/SL, might be better and more effective Marxist-Leninists. You in the LRP might desire to teach students about socialism "in an unpressured environment" but we in the SYL want to win and train the cadre who can help lead the working class to state power. ■

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We Need a Workers Party to Smash Reagan Reaction!

Continued from page 1

under Jimmy Carter's not illustrious tenure. The combined effect of Carter's blundering incompetence and his beating the drums of anti-Soviet war was the victory of Reagan reaction. Reagan was able to find support not only from his normal constituency, but also from working-class voters with real economic grievances. Thus as the doyen of liberal economists, John Kenneth Galbraith, complained after the election:

"Much, if not most, of Mr. Reagan's success must be attributed to President Carter's economists—to the macro-economic management that combined a severe recession with a severe inflation, with a drastic slump in the housing industry, with particular economic distress in the traditional Democratic industrial states—and all these in the year of an election."

—New York Review of Books,
22 January 1981

Now Walter Mondale appeals to labor and the oppressed as a "friend." A Cold Warrior clone protégé of Hubert H. Humphrey, Mondale's "friends" in the labor movement are the sellout trade-union tops who have lifted not one finger against the assaults on the workers of this country—from the PATCO strike to Greyhound. Mondale's roots are those of McCarthyite liberalism, the witchhunters who drove the best militants and socialists from the union movement during the last Cold War. As we wrote in "Humphrey Dead at Last" (*Workers Vanguard* No. 189, 20 January 1978):

"We remember him [Humphrey] as the anti-Communist mayor of Minneapolis who drove the 'reds' out of the Democratic Farmer-Labor (DFL) Party and the labor movement. We won't forget that he sponsored the 1954 Communist Control Act outlawing the Communist Party nor that he amended the 1950 McCarran Act to set up concentration camps for 'subversives' in the U.S. His calls for 'strengthening' the anti-union Taft-Hartley Act and his hatchet job on the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party will also be recorded. Above all, the Happy Cold Warrior will go down in history as the single main propagandist of the U.S.' dirty war against Vietnam. To us he was, plainly and simply, a liberal rat."

With such a mentor, Mondale was well suited to serve as Carter's "veep" in the administration which brought you the Klan's racist murder in Greensboro, the reinstatement of draft registration, "giveback" contracts, the invocation of the strikebreaking Taft-Hartley Act against the bitter 110-day coal strike of 1978.

Black People Need Democrats Like A Hole in the Head

While a hefty proportion of white unionized workers pulled the lever for Reagan, those blacks who voted did so for Carter as the "lesser evil" (many stayed home). With one of every six Democratic voters being black, the Democrats need to hustle the black vote in 1984 if they are to have a snowflake's chance in hell come November. Enter Jesse Jackson who has been particularly effective in galvanizing blacks on behalf

of their enemies in the Democratic/Dixiecrat Party—voters who might otherwise lack enthusiasm for the racist peanut millionaire Carter's former vice president. And in this con game the fake-leftists of the Communist Party, Workers World Party, Communist Workers Party and a host of other reformist outfits have proved themselves eager partners. Having long since given up on the class struggle, these worshippers of "lesser evilism" see in the Jackson campaign their back door entry into the Democratic Party.

Now any child can see that support to Jackson only means support to Mondale; Jackson has been explicit about this. According to the *New York Times* (22 June): "Today Mr. Jackson made it clear that he would support the Democratic Party nominee, whether it was Mr. Mondale or Mr. Hart. He said he considered both to be 'decent men' and that 'if one of them wins, I will support him'."

Democratic Party "constituency" politics is the bourgeois shell game that derives from and perpetuates the racial and ethnic divisions in the U.S. working class. It has been the capitalists' strategy since the Civil War freed the black population from chattel slavery only to forcibly segregate them at the bottom of American society to utilize this division as a brake on working-class struggle. Today, black workers are concentrated in strategic industries—auto, steel, transportation, longshore—and are, moreover, integrally tied to the ghetto poor whose liberation is manifestly impossible without the destruction of the capitalist system and a radical redistribution of social wealth. Integrated class struggle is the nightmare, and the Achilles' heel, of the powers that be. For this reason, the "black elected officials" (BEOs) are indispensable to the survival of the racist status quo; their job is to put a black face on the racist "austerity" and routine police terror against the black communities, to keep things "cool."

For A Fighting Workers Party!

Be it Reagan or Mondale in 1984, the workers, blacks, Latins and youth of this country will get the same thing: the shaft. Enough! We need a workers party to fight for a workers government. Not a tame, class-collaborationist trap like the British Labour Party, but a class-struggle party led by militants who understand that it is better to fight on your feet that die on your knees. Such a party would not primarily be a vehicle for electoral contests with the bourgeois parties, but an organizer of *struggle* against the bosses, their courts, cops, hired thugs, fascist bands, politicians and press. It was such a party, the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (Bolshevik), built by Lenin, which led the working class to power in October of 1917. The Russian workers threw out the capitalists whose war for profits meant wholesale slaughter and misery for tens of millions. The example of October inspired the workers of the world, including militant American workers in the IWW (Wobblies), thousands of whom went over to what was then the party of proletarian revolution, the Communist Party.

A revolutionary, integrated workers party would fight for a series of urgently needed demands leading to the only solution, i.e., the expropriation of industry and its nationalization by a workers government. Among these are the fight for jobs for all—a shorter work week with no loss in pay; union organization of the "open shop" South; for full equality in education—free to all through university; for integrated workers defense guards against fascists and

scabs. If you think this sounds good, but can never happen, think again.

In November of 1982, the Reagan White House gave the nod to a threatened Klan march in the nation's capital for the first time since 1925. The BEOs showed what they were all about; if there was one thing the black city administration of Mayor Marion Barry and D.C. delegate Walter Fauntroy did not want to see it was any struggle against this insult and incitement to racist violence against black Washington. Barry left town and left his cops behind to protect the KKK scum. But the black workers and youth of D.C.—especially the area labor movement and black longshore locals from the Tidewater region to the south—answered the call of the SL/SYL-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization. Five thousand turned out to stop the Klan—and we did stop them. This, in embryonic form, was the workers party's answer to the Greensboro massacre of five socialists, union organizers and anti-racist militants in 1979. The acquittal (under Carter/Mondale) by an all-white jury of the Klan/Nazi killers (abetted by a government agent) was meant as a green light to racist terror and reaction across the country. We said: no!

Class Struggle Flares in Reagan's America

The intimations of working-class upsurge are already evident in pitched battles between labor and capital from Morenci, Arizona to Toledo, Ohio, from St. Croix to Las Vegas. As former IWW militant, Communist Party leader and founder of American Trotskyism James P. Cannon wrote:

"Much has been said about the 'backwardness' of the American working class as a justification for a pessimistic outlook, the postponement of the socialist revolution to a remote future, and withdrawal from the struggle. This is a very superficial view of the American workers and their prospects....

"In one leap—in a brief decade—the American workers attained trade union consciousness on a higher plane and with mightier organizations than in any other advanced country. In the study and analysis of this great transformation, rather than in rapid ruminations over the 'backwardness' of the American workers, one can find a key to prospective future developments. Under the impact of great events and pressing necessities the American workers will advance beyond the limits of trade unionism and acquire political class consciousness and organization in a similar sweeping movement."

—"Theses on the American Revolution," 1946

What is clear from both the year-long strike by copper miners in Arizona against Phelps Dodge Corporation and the 1978 coal strike in which militant miners took on not only the coal bosses, but the Carter/Mondale government and their "own" union tops, is that the ranks of labor have the desire and determination to stand up not only to the companies but to the state which protects, above all, "private property." Some 1,000 mainly Mexican and Indian strikers in Morenci, Arizona have battled a vicious union-busting campaign by the copper bosses for a full year. The Democrat "friend of labor" in the State House—Arizona governor Bruce Babbitt (known aptly as "Scabbitt" by the miners) has repeatedly brought in the National Guard to herd scabs into the mines. The town of Clifton where most of the strikers live has been occupied by the National Guard twice; the strikers are facing mass evictions from company-owned housing and union decertification elections. In defiance of the state and their own international union leadership, the PD strikers have set up mass picket lines. Now, while many of the miners are forced to leave the town and even the state to find work in order to feed their families, the Women's Auxiliary has taken up much of the picket duty and maintained the public presence of the strike. (Tell these courageous women that a female Democratic vice president,

like San Francisco's union-busting mayor Dianne Feinstein, will solve their problems and one suspects they would laugh themselves sick.)

Urgently needed is the extension of this strike and its support from all labor. That requires a *political* struggle against the pro-Democratic Party union tops. As we wrote in *Workers Vanguard* No. 357, 22 June:

"If 1,000-man picket lines are built at every copper mine in the Southwest, the National Guard won't even know where to land their Huey helicopters! Rail workers and truckers must not move one ingot of copper! Hot cargo scab goods and the bosses' Taft-Hartley laws against 'secondary boycotts' be damned! And the next time the National Guard is mobilized against the USWA in Morenci, their union brothers better hit the streets in Chicago, Pittsburgh, Cleveland—in the heart of steel union power. That's the kind of militant labor action that can bring PD to its knees, and knock Reagan off his high horse!"

The fight to organize the working class independently of the Democratic and Republican parties is one that encompasses and is in the interests of whole sections of the population. In the struggle against imperialist war, which the Russian Bolsheviks proved was fundamentally a *class* struggle won only when the capitalists (whose system necessarily leads to war) are removed from state power, labor action is worth a million "peace" demonstrations. Concrete acts of solidarity with the battles of fellow workers abroad such as political strikes against the war and refusing to handle military goods are effective tactics, but this requires unchaining labor from its conservative, legalistic misleadership. Youth—the cannon fodder for war—lack the social power by themselves to put an end to the war drive. However, in combination with a fighting labor movement, the revolt of campus youth and disaffection among the armed forces would have enormous social impact.

An example from 1970 when a strike wave coincided with massive protest against the Vietnam War and the Cambodian invasion: 20,000 Teamsters went out in Ohio during a national wildcat strike (i.e., "unsanctioned" and in fact opposed by the union's officialdom). "Friends of labor" and of the "peace movement" such as Senator Saxbe and Cleveland's black Democratic mayor Stokes joined the Teamster bureaucracy in calling on right-wing Republican governor Rhodes to mobilize some 4,000 National Guardsmen to break the strike. The trucking owners tried to move scab trucks in convoys of five, supported by military helicopters, armored cars and armed Guardsmen riding shotgun. The Teamsters were able to face down the Guardsmen and defend their strike; they countered by organizing flying picket squads which massed at terminal gates whenever the owners tried to move scab trucks. It was from this strikebreaking detail that 400 Guardsmen were sent to Kent State University when students there erupted in protest against ROTC and the Cambodian invasion. Four students were gunned down and killed. Had the struggle against the war successfully linked up with militant sections of the workers, not only would there have been a tremendous potential for social explosion and transformation of this society, but various sectors—students as well as militant blacks—would not have faced the state in positions of relative powerlessness.

It is our task to forge an integrated, revolutionary mass workers party during the coming wave of class struggle. To the youth of today (who for the ruling class are the cannon fodder of tomorrow) we say: if you hate war and racism, forget about the Republicrats. Your allies are the workers and black masses, your future is in the destruction of this sick, irrational capitalist system. Join us in the fight to transform the example of November 27, 1982 into the party of the American October! ■

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NEW YORK CITY

Simpson-Mazzoli...

(continued from page 1)

prove that they have lived in the U.S. for a certain number of years (two years in the House version, four in the Senate version), and for a legalized "guest worker" program for Mexican agricultural laborers in the southwestern United States are being worked out in a Congressional committee. We say: Full Citizenship Rights for All Foreign-Born Workers! No Deportations! Down with the INS! Everyone who has made it into this country should have the right to stay here.

The real effect of this legislation and the racist campaign behind it is to further terrorize the immigrant workers and to divide them from their natural allies in the American working class. If the capitalists can make more money exploiting cheaper "foreign" labor, whether in the U.S. or elsewhere, that is what they will do. As *Time* magazine (25 June) noted, "Eleven states already have legislated penalties against employers who hire illegal immigrants, with little or no effect." The only way to prevent competition for jobs from driving down the wages and working conditions of American workers is to fight for jobs for all and extend union organization to the immigrant workforce. In particular, the United Farm Workers must organize farmworkers on both sides of the border, and fight to bring wages and working conditions for Mexican workers to the same level as those in the U.S. That kind of international workers solidarity requires ousting the misleaders who head up the unions in this country and replacing them with a class-struggle leadership.

Estimates of the number of "illegals" living in the U.S. range from 3 to 12 million; the *New York Times* (22 June) estimates that they constitute the third largest "minority group" in the country, after American blacks and legally resident Hispanics. Most of the "illegals" are Mexicans who pay exorbitant sums to "coyotes" (smugglers) to trans-

port them into Texas or California in the hope of landing a job picking crops, working in a factory or performing menial tasks in homes or offices. They send much of their income back to relatives in Mexico—where only half the population can find full-time work and the official minimum wage is only 55 cents an hour. Those who make it past the armed INS border guards and computerized closed circuit TV monitors are often beaten or robbed by bandits on the American side of the border. And those who find jobs still live in fear of *la migra*; 60 percent of undocumented workers who are deported are seized by the INS in factory raids.

An increasing number of "illegals" are refugees from political terror and economic desperation in Haiti, where "Baby Doc" Duvalier runs a bloody tyranny with the blessing of the U.S., and wages—for the 20 percent of the population that can find work—average \$2.90 per day. But these black refugees from Baby Doc's "Terror Island" are not wanted in racist America. The Haitian Migration Interdiction Operation, set up under a 1981 agreement, has turned the U.S. Coast Guard into virtual prison guards for Duvalier. On June 6 a U.S. Coast Guard patrol rammed a boat of Haitian refugees only 20 miles off the Haitian coast, drowning at least seven of them. We demand: Asylum for Haitian Refugees!

The U.S. government welcomes *gusano* scum fleeing victorious social revolutions in Cuba and Vietnam, but will make no room in "the land of the free" for persecuted and oppressed working people from U.S.-backed terror regimes in Central America. Through aid to the right-wing Salvadoran butcher government and the Nicaraguan *contras*, the U.S. seeks to block the needed social revolution in Central America which alone can put an end to rightist political terror and vicious economic exploitation of the region's worker and peasant masses. And since the U.S.' support for the Salvadoran government against the leftist guerrilla insurgency which has won control of one-third of El Salvador is rationalized by the lie that the existing regime is a "struggling democracy," the U.S. gov-

ernment maintains that there is no basis for granting political asylum to Salvadoran refugees. Instead, it ships them back into the hands of death squads set up by the U.S. government itself under the Kennedy administration's "Alliance for Progress." (See "Behind the Death Squads," *The Progressive*, May 1984). Now the government is trying to jail Catholic social workers at Casa Oscar Romero, which was set up by the Catholic diocese in Brownsville, Texas to provide transportation and other assistance to undocumented refugees. On June 27 Stacey Merkt, who works at the center, was sentenced to two years probation. Charges against the center's director, Jack Elder, could bring 15 years in jail and are still pending. We say: Drop the Charges Against Stacey Merkt and Jack Elder! Asylum for Salvadoran Refugees! Military Victory to Salvadoran Leftists!

The argument put forward by some liberals and reformists that undocumented workers in the U.S. take jobs that are so onerous and low-paying that American workers would not want them anyway is largely true, but beside the point. There is no such thing as an "American job." Production long ago outgrew the national-state barriers maintained by capitalism; today, capitalism is a world economic system—imperialism—with its nerve center in the U.S. The Wall Street bankers and their corporate partners are not interested in "providing jobs" to workers in this country or any other; they are interested in profits. They aim only to put more of the wealth created by the working people of all countries at their own disposal. That is what is behind social service cuts and union-busting in this country, as well as the incomparably more vicious "shock treatment" austerity meted out to the oppressed masses by capitalist Third World governments under orders from the International Monetary Fund. Preservation of the bloodsucking capitalist profit system is also what stands behind U.S. imperialism's backing of counterrevolution around the globe and its war drive against the Soviet Union, where capitalism was overthrown in 1917.

The six-digit salaries and country

club memberships of the AFL-CIO bureaucrats depend on their ability to maintain class peace for the capitalist rulers of this country. That is why they refuse to lead the rank and file of the U.S. labor movement against the real cause of unemployment—the capitalists—and instead turn working people against each other by pushing immigration controls and economic "protectionism" (limiting the import of products produced abroad). The murderous consequences of this class-collaborationist policy were made brutally clear by the murder of a Chinese engineer, Vincent Chin, in Detroit in May of last year. Chin, 27, was mistaken for Japanese by an unemployed Chrysler foreman and his stepson who said, "Because of you, little motherfucker, we're out of work," before they shattered his skull with four double-handed swings of a baseball bat. To black workers and youth who may have illusions in Jesse Jackson, we warn—the immigration controls and protectionism which Jackson supports fuel murderous racism against black people as well!

The real "vanguard" of anti-immigrant hysteria is the fascist KKK. On November 27, 1982 the Klan threatened to march through Washington, D.C., a 70 percent black city, to demand the deportation of foreign-born workers. The hooded fascists were stopped by a 5,000-strong, united labor/black mobilization initiated by the communist Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League. Our opposition to the anti-immigrant campaign has nothing to do with sentimentality for the "tradition of the American melting pot" or the inscription on the Statue of Liberty. It stems from recognition of the unity of interests of the working class, worldwide, in breaking the chains of capitalist oppression and liberating the productive forces from the fetter of the capitalist profit motive. Socialist revolution will place the productive potential of the world economy at the service of the working people everywhere and sweep away the agencies of repression of this dying imperialist order. Against the "divide and rule" policies of the capitalists, our policy is: Workers of the World, Unite! ■

PL...

(continued from page 2)

threat of racist terror against the entire black population, no idle threat in Nazi strongholds such as Chicago's Marquette Park.

For all their phony "left" posturing, PL is an excellent example of sectarianism as "opportunism in fear of itself." Writing off the unions as "pro-boss organizations [that] must be smashed," (*Challenge*, 28 June 1983) and virtually everyone not in their own ranks as some sort of "fascist," PL's anti-racist work takes one of two equally impotent forms. On the one hand, PL militants

occasionally land an admirable blow against some Klan or Nazi scum, usually getting the worst of it from the cops since they throw their own small numbers up against the police-protected fascists without bothering to mobilize massive numbers of working-class and oppressed people to join in the struggle. But more fundamentally, PL/InCAR views the fight against racial oppression as one against bad ideas, i.e., they're liberals. That's why, before their "social fascist" characterization of Harold Washington, they begged "the Honorable" Washington to endorse their anti-racist program. PL/InCAR winds up in bed with the racists at Northwestern not because they're subjectively racist, but because these Stalinists-without-a-

country are so divorced from social reality they do not differentiate between a white-hooded race-terrorist and a demagogic Black Muslim.

We've had to laugh at PL's Pol Pot-style vision of "communism"—e.g., no television, enforced heterosexual monogamy—and mind you, all this after World War III! The thought of mutant PLers trying to organize cockroaches in InCAR chapters amidst glowing nuclear rubble is pretty funny. But their slide into objective blocs with outright racists is not funny and simultaneously feeds racist reaction and anti-communism. PL never had a revolutionary proletarian program to fight the special oppression of blacks—originally soft toward poisonous black nationalism and later rejecting it in favor of a crude "unite and fight" workerism. But they've gone downhill considerably since then.

It is an urgent task to construct an integrated workers party with a program to lead the workers and oppressed to the only solution: workers revolution. That requires breaking working people and the poor from their illusions in the Jacksons and Washingtons. Key to breaking blacks from these misleaders is scrupulously defending their democratic rights, even in the case of a sinister demagogue like Farrakhan, against racist attack. Any decent anti-racist militant among PL/InCAR's ranks must have had qualms about their abstention from the anti-Nazi mobilization on June 27, 1982. Now, at Northwestern, InCAR has sided with a racist backlash; any vestige of subjectively revolutionary human material in this increasingly strange organization would do well to get out before finding themselves again alongside the Zionists and rightists in "fighting racism." ■

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Young Spartacus

"Dixie Dianne" Feinstein Meets Her Vicksburg

Anti-Slavery Flag Flies in S.F.!

We print below the Spartacist League press release announcing the raising of the anti-slavery "California Hundred" flag in the San Francisco Civic Center, where the Confederate flag of slavery and race-terror used to fly. This victory is the result of a three-month campaign by the Spartacist League, Spartacus Youth League and Labor Black League for Social Defense. The press release was issued in the San Francisco Bay Area and to the black press nationally.

SAN FRANCISCO, 6 July—All opponents of slavery, racism and Ku Klux Klan race-terror can claim a real victory today. The "California Hundred" flag was raised in San Francisco's Civic Center today on the same flagpole which previously flew the Confederate flag. The "California Hundred" flag is a unique standard from California's Civil War history, the banner of the first 100 California volunteers who paid their own way back East to join the fight against the slaveowners. This victory comes only after a three-month long fight to get down and keep down the hated banner of racism and slavery, the Confederate flag.

The battle was joined on April 15, 1984 when Richard Bradley, black member of the Spartacist League and the Labor Black League for Social Defense, climbed a 50-foot flagpole in Civic Center. Clad in a uniform of a Union soldier, Bradley tore down the Confederate battle flag that was flying as part of a display of 18 "historic" flags and hurled it to the ground, where it was burned. Demonstrators below carried banners, "Down with the Confederate Flag of Slavery and the KKK" and "Finish the Civil War! Forward to a Workers State!", sang the Union marching song "John Brown's Body," and denounced the Confederate flag as the banner of "the slaveowners whip and the Ku Klux Klan's years of lynching, burning, shooting and bombing."

That same day, an all-white jury for a second time acquitted Klan/Nazi killers of the 1979 murder of five civil rights and labor organizers in Greensboro, North Carolina. Bradley also cited the successful fight just last year by heroic black students at the University of Mississippi—"Ole Miss"—to stop the school's official flying of the Confederate flag, stating, "If it's not going to fly at Ole Miss, it sure as hell is not going to fly in San Francisco!"

The next day, when the arrogant administration of Mayor "Dixie" Dianne Feinstein put up another Confederate flag, Bradley went right back up the flagpole and tore the racist banner to shreds. For a second time, he was arrested. But a tidal wave of publicity and public protest forced the mayor to back down—she announced that the Confederate flag would no longer fly in



Workers Vanguard Photos

Confederate Flag Down for Good!

Foreground: Ritchie Bradley with supporters after tearing down Confederate flag at SF Civic Center. Background: SF Civic Center today—anti-slavery "California Hundred" flag flies!

Civic Center. "I don't intend to do anything to open a wound or be otherwise offensive," Feinstein told reporters, "we will take a look at how history can be depicted with another flag."

Bradley and the Spartacist League solved the mayor's problem when on April 29 he climbed the flagpole a third time and hoisted a replica of the 33-star Union flag that flew at Fort Sumter, South Carolina. The Spartacists donated the historic Fort Sumter garrison flag to the city because of its heroic role in the fight against slavery—the opening shots of the Civil War were fired against this flag. After two days of fierce bombardment by Confederate forces, on April 14, 1861, this flag was hauled down and spirited away back North where throughout the Civil War it was used in patriotic demonstrations. Exactly four years later to the day, the very

same flag was hoisted aloft at Fort Sumter by special order of President Abraham Lincoln in a national celebration of victory over the Confederacy. Lincoln was assassinated that same night. Gore Vidal, referring to Richard Bradley's tearing down of the Confederate flag, autographed the title page of his recent novel *Lincoln* for us: "Lincoln would also have wanted the flag's symbolic removal."

But Democratic Mayor Feinstein seemed determined to go to war against the whole course of American history. On the day after it was donated, the Fort Sumter garrison flag was removed on Feinstein's personal authority and was subsequently shredded and thrown away. This outrage was revealed at a dramatic five-day trial of Richard Bradley which ended June 4 with a hung jury, deadlocked at eight-to-four for acquittal on charges of "vandalism."

The District Attorney subsequently dropped all charges against Bradley.

But the "Battle of the Flags" was not over in San Francisco. Despite the Spartacists' warning that it would take a "steel fence and guards 24 hours a day" to keep up a Confederate flag, Mayor "Jefferson Davis" Feinstein is running for the Democratic vice-presidential nomination and assiduously courting the Dixiecrats who will be arriving this month for the Democratic National Convention. So, in late June, *another* Confederate flag was raised in Civic Center! This time it was the "Confederate national flag," not the popularly known cross-barred Confederate battle flag. This was an attempted repeat of the city's first attempt to fly the Confederate flag in 1964: when outraged civil rights demonstrators tore it down during the Republican convention, the city's Parks Commission voted to fly the more obscure "Confederate national flag" instead.

The effort to re-raise *any* banner of slavery was short-lived: in the early morning hours of June 29, militant workers used an acetylene torch to topple the entire flagpole on which the racist banner flew, dropping the "Stars and Bars" into the dirt where it belonged.

This dramatic act, not meetings in the mayor's office or Board of Supervisors deliberations, finished the city's attempts to fly the Confederate flag. Mayor Feinstein had met her Vicksburg. The city's Board of Supervisors now called for a public hearing on the flag controversy and a visibly embarrassed Feinstein administration rushed to finally obtain the "California Hundred" flag.

It took the dramatic public action of Richard Bradley, the Spartacist League and the mass sentiment of outraged Bay Area blacks and all opponents of racism to end the flying of the banner of slavery and KKK terror. The issue of slavery was decided by blood and iron in the Civil War, where over 350,000 Union troops died and 200,000 black soldiers fought and turned the tide of battle against the slaveowners.

But the promise of black equality was betrayed: the racist Ku Klux Klan arose to terrorize black people and enforce Jim Crow segregation that lasted nearly a hundred years and whose racist legacy is with us to this day. Their banner was—and is to this day—the Confederate flag. In acting to insure that it does not fly in San Francisco, the Spartacist League says: "It took the first American revolution to get rid of the British; it took a second American revolution—the Civil War—to get rid of slavery; and it will take a third American revolution, a workers revolution, to end black oppression once and for all with victorious socialism." ■