

Young Spartacus

Number 23

X-523

25 cents

May-June 1974

"Democratic" Coup in Portugal

Beware the Military!
Toward a Workers Government!
Independence for Portuguese Colonies!

The Caetano regime in Portugal was toppled on 25 April in a coup led by General Spínola. Behind the coup has been the continuing failure of the Portuguese military to defeat African guerrilla forces in the colonies of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau.

Portugal's options in her African "overseas territories" became increasingly limited with the deterioration of its military position. The PAIGC (African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands) presently controls a major part of Guinea-Bissau.

In Mozambique FRELIMO (Front for the Liberation of Mozambique) has made dramatic military gains; in recent months, it has extended its control south to the strategic port city of Beira. It has worked closely with the Rhodesian guerrilla movement ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union), gaining control of roads leading westward to Rhodesia and carrying out daily raids cutting off the only railroad leading from Salisbury to the east coast of Africa, thereby seriously disrupting Rhodesia's trade. The overthrow of the Caetano regime will

serve to spur the guerrilla forces on to greater military victories.

The military coup in Portugal was led by right-wing bonapartist "national saviour" General Sebastião Ribeiro de Spínola, whose book, *Portugal and the Future*, created a sensation when it was published in Portugal last year. It maintained that military victory in the colonies was impossible and that the continuing wars were detrimental to Portugal's economic and political stability. This view coupled with Spínola's declarations to replace police rule with bourgeois democracy has apparently won him the support of at least a significant section of the Portuguese bourgeoisie and, for the time being, considerable popular support.

As Governor of Guinea-Bissau from 1964 to 1972, he was the most prominent defender of Portuguese imperialism in Africa and the promoter of counter-insurgency campaigns against the PAIGC. He began his career as a Nazi-trained volunteer in Franco's army and later served as an observer in Hitler's army. Spínola has been called upon by Portuguese capitalism to play a role analogous to De Gaulle's in regard



Portuguese army officer guards hated political police from angry crowds in Lisbon on 26 April.

to Algeria. To replace military intervention with a "political solution," i.e., to retain Portugal's imperialist grip on its colonies without the hindrance of costly wars.

The situation in the Portuguese colonies is analogous in other ways to Algeria in 1962. Unlike countries like Ghana where decolonization took place with a minimum of disruption in the old colonial apparatus (see

"Pan-Africanism or Communism?" *Young Spartacus* No. 22, March-April), the guerrilla struggle in Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau has created a situation of "dual power." Where guerrilla forces are in control, they constitute a separate state power from the colonial apparatus.

But these petty-bourgeois guerrilla leaderships should not be confused with
(Continued on page 4)



March of 20,000 in Boston on 3 April to oppose busing was organized and led by racist reactionaries. Crowd was 99 percent white. Louise Day Hicks, front row, center.

Reactionaries Oppose Boston School Busing

The atmosphere of racial hysteria which swept Boston only a few months ago, after the torch-murder of Evelyn Wagler, has been brought to the surface again by the issue of "forced busing" for the desegregation of Boston schools. Since the 1965 passage of the Massachusetts Racial Imbalance Act under the impact of the civil rights movement, racist-conservative politicians such as Louise Day Hicks, Democratic Party City Councilwoman in South Boston, and John Kerrigan, Chairman of the Boston School Committee, have built their careers by

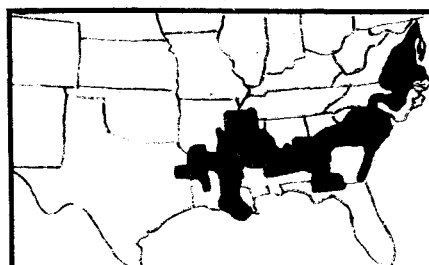
playing on the fears and insecurities of white workers of various ethnic groups and championing segregationism. The wretched state of the Boston economy and the struggle for a bigger piece of the shrinking pie has been used by Hicks and her ilk to further fan racial antagonisms.

These reactionary demagogues talk hypocritically about maintaining "quality education" in their neighborhoods while millions of dollars have been squandered in their battle to block integration and to develop political patronage. The busing issue has been used to build electoral support among white workers of ethnic groups in order to secure control over this patronage and to advance political careers. Hicks, for example, has been touring cities which have had anti-busing movements, her eyes always fixed on Washington, D.C.

The Boston School Committee's obstruction of the state plan has in part taken the form of a series of actions which will increase the difficulties involved in busing, e.g., turning down the School Superintendent's request that \$7.6 million be added to the \$145 million school budget to implement the
(Continued on page 10)



The "Black Belt" Theory in the 1930's



...page 8

EDITORIAL NOTES

Attica Brigade and the Statue: Infantile (Senile?) New Leftism

NEW YORK—About 30 supporters of the Attica Brigade stormed the Statue of Liberty on 22 April, sweeping aside a few New York City Tour Guides and such dangerous agents of the imperialist state power as park guards to demand that Richard Nixon be impeached for crimes against the people.

Although this time the Attica Brigaders did not carry bows and rubber-tipped arrows or wear feathers and paint their faces, as they did early last year when confronting ROTC recruiters at Staten Island Community College, infantile antics like the Statue "seizure" have more in common with petty-bourgeois fads like "streaking" than they do with class-struggle politics.

The New York City police treated the Brigaders about as tolerantly as they would some fun-loving fraternity streakers seizing the Statue. After waiting 24 hours and finally threatening to arrest them, the police allowed the Brigaders to walk out with no reprisals.

The New York City Attica Brigade is probably the chapter of the national organization most strongly influenced by the Maoist Revolutionary Union (RU); New York City is also where the Attica Brigade newspaper, *Fight Back*, is published. Thus this is not the action of an isolated Brigade chapter at a college in the boondocks for whom the Berkeley Free Speech Movement would be a militant step forward at this point in history.

This action, undoubtedly cooked up by the national Attica Brigade leadership under the watchful eyes of the RU, is nothing but a cynical attempt to gain attention and support by bringing back the "good old days" of the New Left. However, this is not only a cynical action, but a very stupid one. Serious militants have learned some lessons from the days of the New Left and will only look with derision upon such "militant," meaningless antics.

Lenin polemicized against the "left communists" of his day, attributing to them an "infantile disorder." The Attica Brigade demonstrates that you do not have to be "leftist" to be infantile.

The "charge" on the Statue was led by one Cliff Kornfield, former Stony Brook Red Balloon, who has been waiting years for this chance to get a lot of attention for an act of idiocy. Congratulations, Cliff, you finally made it. Many other Stony Brook ex-Red Balloons [see "SL/RCY (and Others) Pop the Red Balloon," *Workers Vanguard* No. 7, April 1972] find themselves in the ranks of the Attica Brigade today, where they can continue to exercise their penchant for confrontationism, life stylism and rightist tailism of anything that seems popular.

Reinstate U. of Chi. SDS!

CHICAGO—Two supporters of SDS at the University of Chicago have been charged by the Administration with "committing a disruptive act" and face possible expulsion. SDS's recognition as a campus student organization has been revoked. Additionally, the University is bringing criminal charges against four non-campus SDSers.

The disciplinary action stems from an SDS intervention at a scheduled talk by Edward Banfield, ex-advisor to Nixon and author of *The Unheavenly City*. SDS prevented Banfield from speaking by rushing the stage and engaging in over an hour of screaming, yelling and singing, finally forcing the cancellation of the talk.

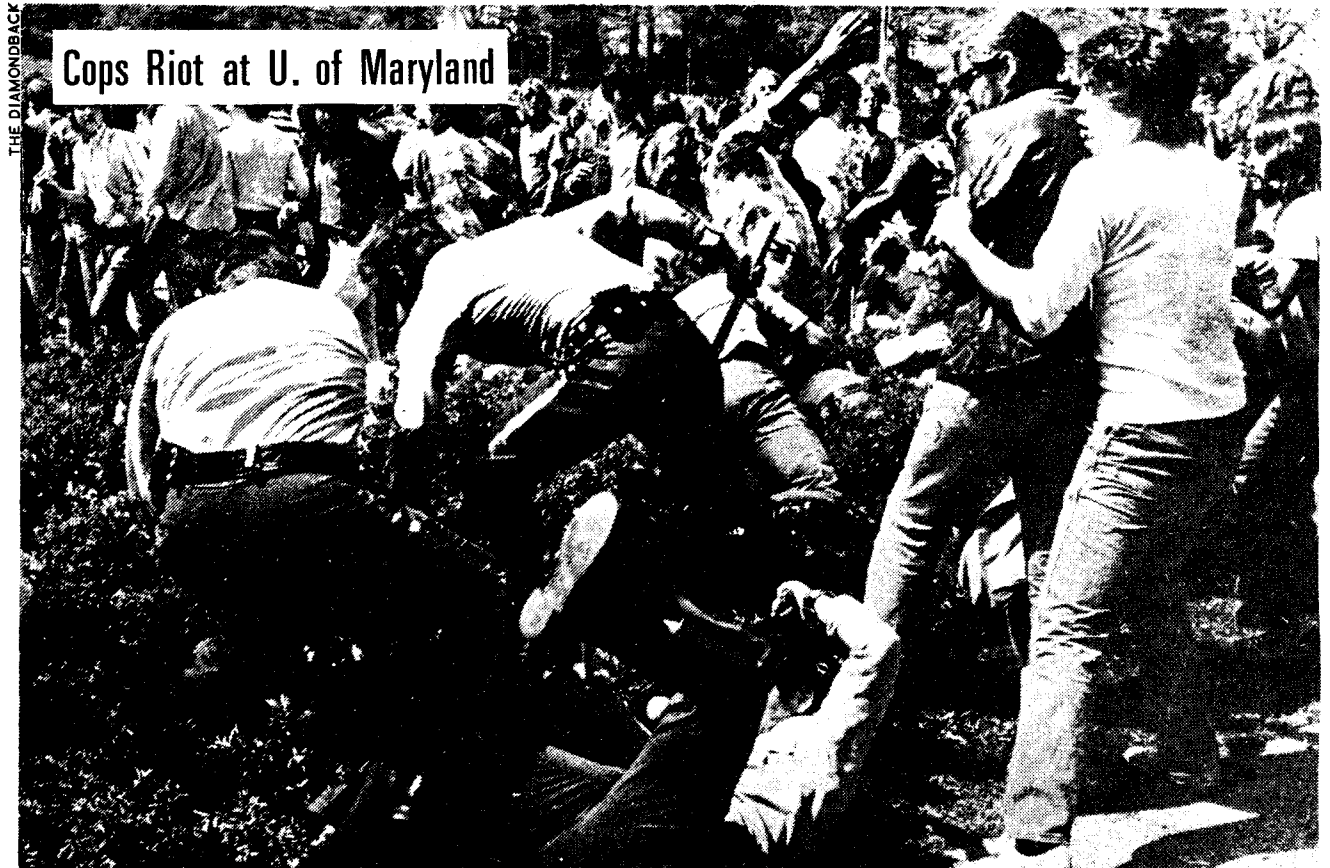
The RCY has called for the unconditional defense of SDS in the face of Administration attacks, noting that such a defense does not imply political support (see "Defend Yale Students," this issue). A call was issued to all left organizations on campus, as well as to all other campus organizations, proposing the formation of a united-front defense committee around the demand: "Drop the Charges! Reinstate SDS!"

True to its sectarian tradition, SDS has flatly refused to take part in such a committee, "justifying" this self-defeating betrayal of the need for left and workers' solidarity in the face of bourgeois repression by simply proclaiming, "We hate Trotskyites."

On the other hand, SDS gave uncritical praise to a weepy-liberal letter written to the campus newspaper by a member of the Committee Against Racism which pleaded "for a fair public hearing" and righteously intoned that "the defense of freedom against tyranny requires special measures."

The rest of the campus left have done their best to stay out of the defense altogether. The Harringtonite Democratic Socialists initially stated its intention of issuing a statement in defense of SDS but failed to, because "they forgot." The U. of Chicago Feminists refused to take a position because their organization is "not political."

The RCY remains committed in principle to the



Hundreds of U. of Maryland students clashed with cops in the aftermath of campus drug arrests in mid-April. Students must demand "Cops Off Campus! No Reprisals!"

defense of SDS, even though SDS's sabotage of its own defense has made this work very difficult to carry out.

Defend U. Conn. Students!

STORRS—Over 200 students, most of them blacks, occupied the University of Connecticut library on 23 April to press for a series of demands including a new Afro-American cultural center, more minority student financial aid and preferential hiring in order to secure more minority faculty. After the arrest of the black students the following morning, a group of about 70 white students occupied the library as a support action and were also arrested. Both groups are charged with criminal trespass and are scheduled to appear in Willimantic Circuit Court in late May.

The RCY is opposed to preferential hiring as

a demand that divides the work force; instead, we call for a shorter work week with no loss in pay to provide jobs for all, an end to discriminatory hiring practices, and job recruitment programs to seek out previously excluded minorities. While supporting the democratic right of students to change and extend the university's curriculum and departmental structure, we are opposed to the exclusionism implied in the demand for an Afro-American cultural center where blacks can "come together as a group unified in our ethnicity" (quoted in the *New Haven Register*, 23 April). We are in favor of more minority student aid and would extend that to call for an end to tuition, a full stipend for all students and open admissions.

While remaining critical of the protesters' demands, the RCY stands for the unconditional defense of those arrested and advocates carrying out broad, united-front defense work open to all those who oppose reprisals against the protesters.

SUB-DRIVE OVER THE TOP!

The success of the recently concluded *Young Spartacus* subscription drive is a tribute to the hard work and revolutionary determination of the members of the Revolutionary Communist Youth. Almost every area well over-fulfilled its quota, while the total amount of subs sold represents more than twice the projected quota!

Special congratulations are due the Detroit local which sold 535 percent of its quota and Boston which sold 351 percent! The individual winner in the subdrive is Comrade Al of Detroit who was way in front with 87 subs. The runners-up were Comrades Ken of Detroit with 33, Tony of Chicago with 31, Steve of New York with 27 and Ben of Boston with 26.

This expansion of our subscription base is an important part of the preparation for the monthly *Young Spartacus*.

	Quota	Sold	Percent of Quota
Detroit	45	241	535%
Boston	35	123	351%
Cleveland	20	45	225%
New Haven	15	33	220%
New York	65	111	170%
Chicago (includes Madison)	60	100	166%
Bay Area	50	75	150%
Buffalo	35	52	148%
Los Angeles	25	32	120%
New Orleans	10	10	100%
Total	360	822	228%

After Shockley-Rusher "Debate" — Defend Yale Students!

RCY United-Front Defense Proposal Gains Adherents

On 15 April, over two hundred Yale students prevented a racist "debate" from taking place between William Shockley and William Rusher (Editor of the conservative *National Review*) on the topic, "Resolved: That society has a moral responsibility to diagnose and treat tragic racial I.Q. inferiorities." After more than an hour of foot-stomping, chanting, clapping and cat-calls, Shockley and Rusher gave up and left the hall, but not until Shockley had scrawled "Pity for Yale" on the black-board.

The March-April *Young Spartacus (YSp)* attacked the racist content of Shockley's ideas, while criticizing the strategy of combatting racial oppression through a refutation of ideas alone as essentially liberal. Racial oppression is an inherent component of the capitalist system and has to be fought through class struggles around a revolutionary proletarian program.

Progressive Labor (PL), which has in recent years been in the forefront of liberal-academic anti-racism campaigns, has attempted to cover itself with a thin veneer of militancy, i.e., trailing after Shockley on his university rounds in order to shout him down.

Marxists, however, have always distinguished between political representatives of the bourgeoisie or leaders of reactionary political movements and the theorists whose ideas they may make use of. The Marxist tradition is one of trenchant, scientific polemics to break the hold that such reactionary ideology may have on the minds of workers and other sectors of the population. Thus, a debate between Shockley and a revolutionary Marxist could be useful.

The initial Yale debate, however, was to have been between Shockley and Nixon-supporting, black-capitalist hustler Roy Innis of CORE. We are less than enthusiastic about such an event:

"When Shockley is opposed in debate by the likes of CORE's Roy Innis, however, no clarity can be achieved. The RCY does not call for or favor such a debate, nor, however, does it subscribe to the illusion that preventing it from occurring strikes a blow against racism."

—*Young Spartacus* No. 22, March-April

What finally was arranged at Yale, however, was even more disgusting, namely, a Young Americans for Freedom-sponsored "debate" between two right-wing ideologues over the best methods for treating racial "inferiority." In this case, the RCY stands in solidarity with the sentiments of those who disrupted this disgusting spectacle. The main point stands, however: This

Young Spartacus

Editorial Board:

Libby Schaefer (managing editor)
Reuben Samuels

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

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

Subscriptions: \$1.00 for six issues.
Write RCY, Box 454, Cooper Sta.,
New York, NY 10003



Disgusting "debate" spectacle at Yale: William Shockley (left); William Rusher, Editor of the *National Review* (center); Eugene Meyer, President of the Yale chapter of Young Americans for Freedom.

is not an effective strategy to defeat racism.

RCY Politics Gaining Influence

The RCY has been the only force on the Yale campus fighting for a class-struggle approach against racial oppression and has had an increasing impact on the Yale community. Furthermore, the current witchhunt by the Yale Administration against disrupters of the debate has brought the RCY to the fore, as its principled and effective approach on defense of the left has won the support of many of the participants in the defense work, leaving the supporters of the Party for Workers Power (PWP—a recent split from PL) and its campus front group, the Ad Hoc Committee to Stop Shockley (AHCSS) isolated and discredited.

The day before the debate, Sam Chauncey, Yale President Brewster's top hack, threatened suspension for any students disrupting the debate. In a public statement following the disruption, Brewster denounced the heckling as "storm-trooper tactics" and threatened severe disciplinary action. The specter of renewed student unrest is particularly upsetting to him at a time when Yale is seeking \$370 million from its wealthy alumni to bolster its main endowment.

Incidents like the disruption of the Shockley debate do not make for good public relations, and Brewster is squirming for a way to extricate himself from this delicate situation. Some students are confused by Brewster's seemingly contradictory stance—"deploring" and at the same time encouraging the Shockley appearance.

Brewster is not, as some would have it, an impartial arbiter only wishing to see "justice" done. Primarily concerned with preserving the existence of Yale as an institution useful to the bourgeoisie, he is behaving in the manner of any bourgeois politician trying to assuage various elements in his constituency, in this case including both liberals and reactionaries. Brewster's support for "principles" like "free speech" is merely windowdressing for his real job, that of producing "1,000 male leaders each year" to fill the ranks of capitalist management (*Yale Daily News*).

RCY's United-Front Defense Proposal Adopted

After Brewster's threats of disciplinary action, the PWP, whose supporters were among those threatened, called a defense meeting which drew representatives of other left tendencies and a good number of independents.

broad support based on opposition to disciplinary action. Within the united front each group or individual would still be free to issue more extensive propaganda *in its own name*; even the PWP would be free to try and spread around its liberal schoolroom antics.

The RCY's principled and effective politics, coupled with the pathetic arguments of the PWP, led to a majority vote in favor of the RCY's defense proposal. Thus, in a meeting called by the PWP to defend its own supporters, RCY politics won the day.

PWP's Attempts to Exclude RCY Defeated

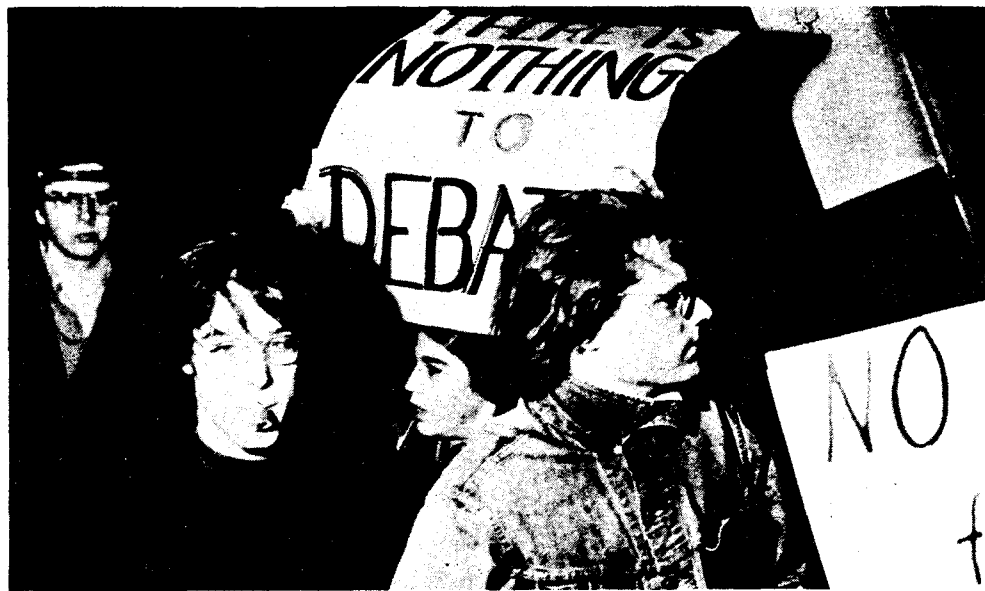
The PWP, however, did not give up there but went on to propose that the RCY not have a speaker at the defense rally. Even in the framework of Stalinist maneuvering, the PWP has an amazingly poor grasp of tactics! It ought to have sensed the way the wind was blowing (as the YSAers, old hands at adaptationism, proved capable of doing) and lowered its slimy profile. But no, it just dug itself in deeper, arguing that an RCY speaker would weaken the defense as the RCY did not support the act of shouting Shockley down.

The RCY stands clearly for the unconditional defense of those threatened by the Administration for disrupting Shockley; we oppose the strategy of shouting him down as a means of combatting racial oppression. The real issue posed by the PWP was, in the words of the RCY spokesman, "anti-communism vs. the united-front defense." The final vote on this question was 14-6 in favor of having an RCY speaker. The votes against came only from PWP/AHCSS supporters (the secretary of the Connecticut branch of the CP, who was present at the meeting, abstained).

Later in the meeting, a PWP supporter proposed that arch-Zionist Rabbi Wolf (who had opposed the act of shouting down Shockley from a liberal standpoint) speak at the rally. All the PWP supporters present voted for this, thoroughly exposing the rotten, anti-communist character of their opposition to the RCY speaker. The RCY maintained the principled position of allowing anyone who supported the defense—including the PWP and its

The meeting opened with a pathetic, anti-communist tirade by an individual Yale student directed solely at the RCYers present and at an RCY leaflet distributed to the group. An RCYer responded to the charges, acknowledging the communist character of his organization, and noting the phantom presence of several other left organizations, including the PWP, the Communist Party (CP) and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA). Not surprisingly, the RCY was the only left organization which chose to openly establish its presence at the beginning of the meeting.

The RCY proposed a united-front defense committee in order to build for the broadest and most effective defense. The basis of participation in the united front would be agreement with the single slogan, "No Disciplinary Action!" Within this committee, all organizations and individuals would be allowed to issue propaganda in their own name, carry their own



Yale students protesting Shockley/Rusher "debate."

YALE DAILY NEWS

banners on picket lines and have a speaker at defense rallies. This proposal represents a correct application of the Leninist united front.

The few PWP and AHCSS supporters present opposed this in favor of a coalition which would seek to defend politically shouting down Shockley, as well as to propagandize around anti-racism. The RCY pointed out that this was a veiled attempt to build a chapter of the liberal Committee Against Racism on the Yale campus, that the RCY would have no part in such a thing, and that if this were to pass, the RCY would proceed on its own to organize defense of those threatened with discipline.

The RCY noted the sectarianism of the PWP's approach—making adherence to its specific political program the criterion for membership in the defense committee, rather than gaining

new-found friend Rabbi Wolf—to speak at the rally.

Continue the Defense!

The defense rally was held on 18 April and drew over 300 people. The RCY speaker was very well received; in particular, each time he spoke of the need for a militant, class-struggle approach in fighting racial oppression, he received loud applause.

The Yale Executive Committee (an Administration body) met the next day and voted to solicit information and evidence on participants in the debate disruption. The defense committee responded to this declared witchhunt with a 60-strong picket line of the Executive Committee meeting on 24 April and vowed to keep up the pressure until all charges are dismissed. ■

Vietnamese Stalinists Cancel Offensive

At the national congress of the Vietnamese Workers Party in February, the sell-out leadership vetoed original plans for a large-scale military offensive in South Vietnam, thereby lengthening the already long list of their betrayals. The cancelling of the military campaign is the bureaucracy's way of attempting to resolve the basic "problem" of the January 1973 "peace treaty," namely, that there is no peace—the civil war goes on.

The cancelled offensive marks yet another DRV-NLF scheme to convince the Saigon government of the North's good will and intentions. The main policy of the NLF is to defend the areas it holds and wait for new elections in the South. The DRV-NLF misleaders have less confidence in the long-demon-

between Henry Kissinger and Le Duc Tho.

The bourgeois press is not alone in grasping this policy decision. The *Guardian*, de facto organ of the Maoist October League, noted in its 9 January issue that "all along, the NLF has declared it does not plan an offensive and that such talk was designed to sabotage the Paris peace agreement." On 19 March, the *Guardian* reported that a North Vietnamese army newspaper "denounced as slanderous" the claim of U.S. Admiral Gayler that Hanoi was planning a major Southern campaign.

Lack of Soviet/Chinese Aid

The two major elements in the vetoing of the planned offensive are the



Children in South Vietnam's Binh Dinh Province reading a sign under Vietcong flag. It says, "A peaceful and independent South Vietnam advances to the unification of the fatherland" (New York Times, 26 February 1974).

strated heroic fighting capacity of the NLF soldiers than they do in the "good will" of the Saigon regime, as the DRV's endless attempts at "coalition government" (class collaboration) with the Thieu government demonstrates.

The congress showed that the main political strategy of the DRV is "socialism in one half a country." The main political resolution summarized the basic policy of the Vietnamese Workers Party as "reconstructing the North and remembering our comrades in the South," the real meaning of which was aptly expressed by the *New York Post* (29 March): "...military conquest of the South has taken a back seat to reconstruction of the North."

And the *Christian Science Monitor* (13 March) reported:

"North Vietnam... has decided to give top priority to rebuilding its war-shattered economy, and wants to have American aid for this purpose. In return, it is prepared to abandon plans for a new large-scale military offensive in South Vietnam."

This venal horse-trading appears to be the result of secret negotiations

bureaucratic appetites of the North Vietnamese leadership for a co-existence with imperialism and the capitalist South which will allow their continued parasitic, privileged position as ruling caste, and the Soviet Union's and China's refusal to grant meaningful military aid to the DRV-NLF. Despite the obvious inferiority of this aid, Thieu has attempted to use it to receive increased aid from the U.S.:

"Until recently, Thieu's pretext for demanding the extra billion [dollars in U.S. aid] was the baseless argument that the DRV was preparing a big offensive for the next year. Now the dictator has gone beyond this fantasy, alleging the PRG forces may receive the same advanced equipment the USSR sold to Egypt for the October war."
—*Guardian*, 16 January

The U.S.'s paranoid puppet appears incapable of understanding that it is the greater strategic importance of Egypt over Vietnam for the Soviet bureaucrats in their jockeying for political/economic influence with the imperialists that has led to the sending of SAM 3's and SAM 4's to capitalist

Egypt, while the defense of another workers state is left to more primitive weaponry.

1954 and 1973

The suspended attack on the South does not represent a sudden or qualitative policy change on the part of the North Vietnamese bureaucracy. In the main the 1973-74 events in Vietnam directly parallel the circumstances surrounding the signing of the Geneva Accords in 1954. In that year, the Viet Minh knocked the French out of commission at Dien Bien Phu; however, instead of consolidating their victories, the Stalinists, led by Ho Chi Minh, signed the Geneva Accords, giving up half of Vietnam.

The Stalinists willingly accepted this deal, saying they would construct socialism in the North and would campaign in the South in the elections which were to be held within a year after the Geneva conference (they never were). But the Stalinists neither achieved socialism in one-half a country or the peaceful transition through democratic elections to socialism in the South. What they did get was a resumption of the war in the late 1950's. In short, the result of the Stalinists' sell-out "peace initiatives" was renewed civil war and the reestablishment of direct imperialist intervention, the U.S. replacing France. The peace negotiations of 1973 have had and will have no different outcome.

One Saigon official has been quoted as saying that "the third Vietnam war has already begun" (*Newsweek*, 26 November 1973). And Melvin Laird, noting that the war has been going on for 30 years, predicted that "the war in Southeast Asia will go on for another 20 years" (*Time*, 4 February). In fact, counting the casualties on both sides, more Vietnamese soldiers have been killed since the signing of the January 1973 "truce" than the number of U.S. soldiers killed in battle throughout the whole period of U.S. intervention in the war (*Newsweek*, 24 December 1973).

What is necessary in Vietnam, however, is not just a military offensive in the South. The development of a Trotskyist nucleus and a split within the Stalinists in the direction of Trotskyism can be the beginnings of construction of a Leninist vanguard party.

Such a vanguard nucleus would construct underground cells among the urban masses North and South and seek to infiltrate Thieu's army. While striving to defend NLF-held peasant territories and extend the North's military victories, it would seek to shift the social axis of struggle, placing the urban working classes in the forefront.

Only a party that will see the need for working-class leadership of a one-stage revolution that relies on no political alliances with "progressive" bourgeois elements, i.e., a party dedicated to the program of permanent revolution, only such a party can lead the Vietnamese masses in a victorious socialist revolution. ■

...Portugal

Continued from page 1

soviet dual power where the working class directly confronts the capitalist class in a struggle for state power and where a victory of workers' soviets necessarily must shatter capitalist property relations. FRELIMO and the PAIGC will at best come to power with capitalist property relations intact, i.e., without *economically* breaking with imperialism, as occurred in Algeria.



"Democratic" General Spínola —former Nazi.

It is necessary, of course, to call for military victory of the guerrilla groups against imperialism.

A socialist revolution in Africa however, will only be made through the leadership of the working class guided by a Leninist vanguard party. The possibility exists that the guerrilla groups will be forced by imperialist pressures, as was Castro, to expropriate private capital. This is not their program, however. If the pressure of events after their seizure of state power forced them to change their economic program, the best that could result from this peasant-based, petty bourgeois-led revolution would be a deformed workers state on the Cuban model, having a bureaucratic caste in political power and a disenfranchised working class.

New Openings for Class Struggle in Portugal, Spain

As Marx pointed out, a nation that oppresses another cannot itself be free. Even Portuguese military withdrawal and nominal political independence for the colonies will aid in unlocking the class struggle in Portugal, and the effects of this will spill over into Spain. Over the years there has been increasing popular resentment in the face of military conscription of thousands of youth to fight hopeless wars which have absorbed 40 percent of the government budget in the poorest economy in Europe.

Behind the army rebellion is repressed social struggle. A variety of left currents, from Stalinists to social democrats and ostensible Trotskyists has already begun to emerge from underground. For the moment, there may be mass illusions about the "national hero" Spínola and the army, but they will soon be dissipated when the masses take to the streets to collect on his promises of democracy and freedom.

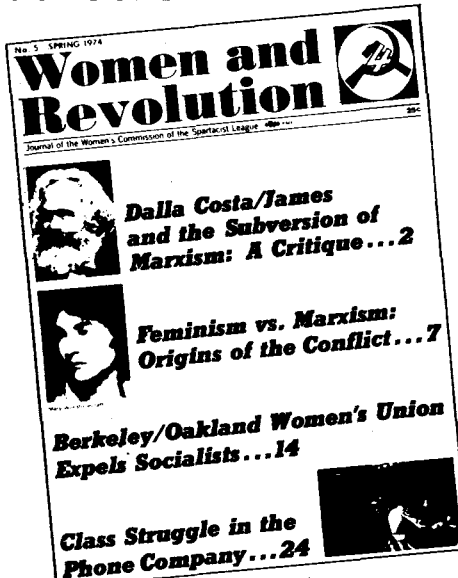
Only one day after the coup, a demonstration of leftist students occurred in Lisbon: "They marched up the broad Avenida da Liberdade with banners proclaiming power to the workers, the end of capitalist exploitation and colonial wars, free unions and the right to strike" (*New York Times*, 27 April). The 27 April *New York Times* further described the atmosphere in the streets of Lisbon:

"People who had been noted for timorous apathy massed, marched and chanted, snatched the suddenly uncensored newspapers as soon as they appeared or strolled with transistor radios at their ears. They showered food and drink on soldiers and gathered into animated discussion groups.

"The scene had a revolutionary fervor that few Portuguese had ever experienced or could remember."

The overthrow of the Salazar-Caetano corporatist police state can open the way for the working masses in Portugal and inspire the Spanish workers to rise up against 40 years of suppressed social struggle. Now is the time to lay the basis for constructing a mass Trotskyist party, Portuguese section of a reborn Fourth International. ■

SUBSCRIBE! \$1/4 issues



Available from:
SPARTACIST PUBLISHING CO.
Box 1377, GPO, New York, N.Y. 10001

RCY Runs in Campus Elections

Student elections, normally a hot-house for personalism, apprentice careerism and campus parochialism, nevertheless can be a useful vehicle for presenting a socialist program. Most student campaigns are dominated by willfully naive academic idealism or are limited to campus reforms; a socialist program which addresses the larger questions students face as members of society and links up struggles against budget cuts, tuition hikes, racist practices, etc. to the only class in modern society capable of overthrowing the oppressive capitalist system—the working class—can attract serious political youth disaffected with this society.

This spring the RCY is running candidates in student elections on four campuses: the State University of New York at Buffalo, Northwestern University (just outside Chicago), the University of California at Berkeley and the City College of New York.

While organizations like the YSA and the Students for a Democratic Society run student campaigns that are confined to campus issues, in which they merely advertise themselves as the best fighters for inconsequential reforms, the RCY has put forward a full socialist program in its campaigns, which also incorporates the solution for problems particular to each campus (e.g., budget cutbacks, Administration union-busting or repression of the left, tuition hikes, racist and sexist admissions or curriculum policies).

While "non-political" student candidates have criticized the RCY campaigns for irrelevancy or utopianism, the opposite is in fact the case. The university is not and cannot be an ivory tower within capitalism. The budget cutbacks and hikes in tuition are part and parcel of the current U.S. economic crisis. The hopeless dreamers and the irrelevant utopians are those who think that university problems can be solved within the campus gates.

The RCY campaigns have stressed that the current political and economic crisis in the U.S. has dramatically demonstrated once again the bankruptcy of the two capitalist parties and the need for a party that will put the working class forward as the contender for political power.

Only through the expropriation of capitalist property and the destruction of the state which upholds it can the basis be laid for constructing a rational society which can satisfy the material needs of its population and end social oppression and alienation. The only class capable of leading the masses in a socialist revolution is the working class under the leadership of a vanguard party.

In response to the effects of the capitalist crisis on education, the RCY calls for nationalization of all universities under teacher-student-campus worker control, open admissions made economically meaningful by providing all students with a stipend, and no cutbacks in faculty, courses or services.

SUNYAB

BUFFALO—RCY member Ellen Haskin ran for President of the Student Association here at the State University campus elections held in March. Running against four other presidential candidates, all of whom ran on standard liberal programs, Haskin received 114 votes, or 3 percent of the total vote cast.

The high point of the campaign was a candidates' forum held one week before the election. Haskin was alone in raising the fundamental political questions facing students as members of society.

On current campus issues, all the candidates stated their opposition to the arming of campus cops and for defense of certain university colleges the Administration intends to shut down.



Ellen Haskin

THE SPECTRUM

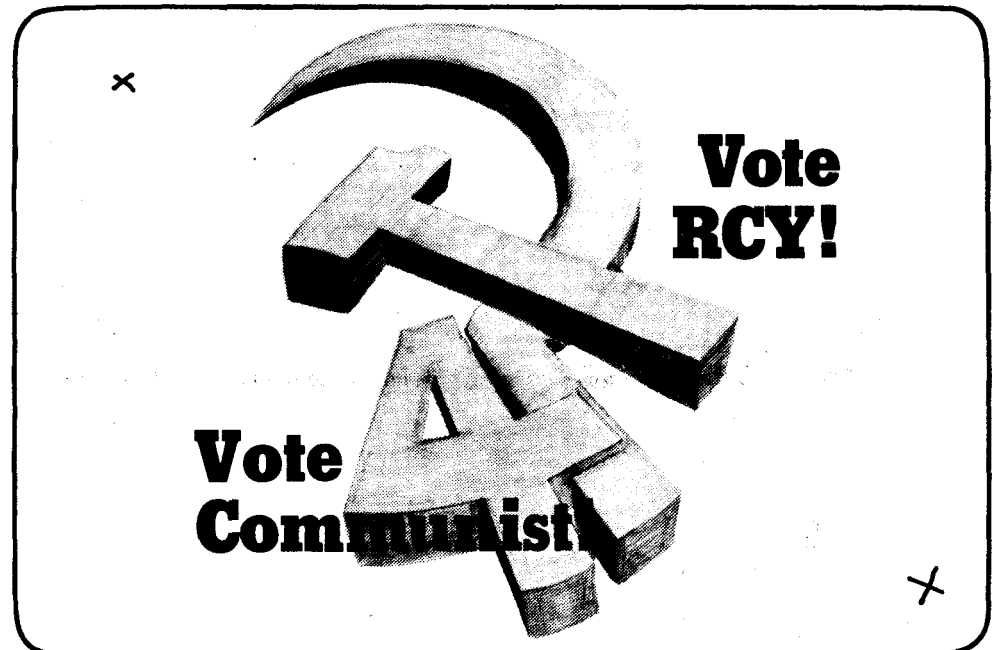


Mark Rosen

DAILY NORTHWESTERN

In contrast to the liberal pacifism of the other candidates on the cop question, Haskin not only opposed arming the cops but called for removal of all cops from the campus. She explained the role that cops play in capitalist society as the armed fist of bourgeois repression against workers, minorities and the poor. Haskin described the RCY's role in attempting to bring about a principled united front of all opposed to the arming of the campus cops, noting the sectarianism of other left

lower the housing budget, and possibly keep housing rates down" (*Daily Northwestern*, 12 April). The answer to these problems lies not in creating more unemployment, but in granting a full stipend to all students, ending tuition and nationalizing Northwestern. Furthermore, students should call for a shorter work week with no loss in pay for the janitors, higher wages and a single campus industrial union. What is needed is an alliance between the students on campus and the workers,



tendencies on this issue, in particular, the Attica Brigade, which built an ongoing propaganda bloc that excluded communist politics. On the question of colleges threatened with shutdown, Haskin pointed out the connection between this, similar cutbacks at other institutions and the current difficulties of U.S. capitalism.

Haskin received wide publicity in the campus newspapers; both *The Spectrum* and *Ethos* printed the RCY's program. She also participated in a candidates' debate on the university radio station, WIRR.

Northwestern

EVANSTON—At Northwestern University outside of Chicago, RCYer Mark Rosen's campaign in April for President of the Associated Student Government emphasized the fact that Northwestern's 9 percent tuition increase was due to government cutbacks and inflation in society as a whole. This view stood counterposed to those of the other candidates, all of whom were either liberals or New Leftists who held that student participation in budget-making or merely the opening of the university's books were the solutions. Such attempts at student power are doomed to failure, since the problem lies outside the university and tuition increases are not due to Administration graft and deception alone.

Rosen attacked as anti-working-class the proposal by one of the candidates to replace through attrition janitors and custodians employed by the university with cheaper student labor in order to "provide more student jobs,

not a battle over the meager handouts of the university!

Rosen, running against six other presidential candidates, received 82 votes, representing 5 percent of the vote cast. He received considerable publicity for his campaign, including a front-page story in the campus news-



Jeff Hunt



Robert Noia



Ed Kartsen

THE CAMPUS

paper, the *Daily Northwestern*. Rosen debated his opponents and was interviewed on the campus radio station. The campus paper revealed the shortsightedness presently typical of the majority of the students at Northwestern in commenting on Rosen's campaign:

"Mark Rosen's candidacy is little more than a vehicle with which to publicize his Marxist politics.

"While we can respect some of his ideas, global revolutionary politics are frankly inapplicable to student government."

—*Daily Northwestern*, 16 April

U.C. Berkeley

BERKELEY—Revolutionary communist candidates will run for office in the campus elections to be held on 7-9 May at the University of California at Berkeley. Unlike the campaigns of other left tendencies on campus, the RCY is running John Burkett and Steve Desavouret for ASUC President and Vice President, respectively, on a clear proletarian revolutionary program. As it has consistently done in its eight-year history on the Cal campus, the RCY will wage a sharp struggle against the student-vanguardist, trade-union reformist, feminist and nationalist illusions being pushed by such left fakers as the ex-Trotskyist Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and the Maoist Radical Student Union (RSU).

CCNY

NEW YORK—At the City College of New York, the RCY will be running three candidates in the student elections to be held from 29 April to 10 May: Jeff Hunt for President, Ed Kartsen for Executive Vice President and Robert Noia for Vice President for Campus Affairs.

In addition to running on a full socialist program, the RCY is publicizing its record of activism, militancy and principled political intervention at CCNY and throughout the city in the past year.

The RCY has actively supported the fight against tuition hikes and budget cuts and defended open admissions, while seeking to broaden these movements to include demands which pose the need to link up with workers' struggles.

The RCY has defended special studies departments from Administration cutbacks, while criticizing the exclusionism of ethnic studies programs. The RCY opposed student participation on department executive committees. All questions of university curricula and policy must be decided democratically by a body of all faculty, students and workers, not unilaterally by the Administration and its student flunkies. Ultimate decisions on hiring must remain in the hands of the union.

The RCY was the only campus organization to consistently participate in and defend striking 1199 workers at Knickerbocker Hospital (adjacent to the College).

On a city-wide basis the RCY has been active in supporting 1199 and

District 65 strikes at Columbia/Barnard, calling for a single campus industrial union and organization of the unorganized. The RCY initiated a united-front campaign in defense of Israeli leftists framed up and victimized by the reactionary government of Golda Meir. It actively helped build united-front actions initiated by the Spartacist League in support of the striking British miners and, more recently, in defense of endangered Chilean militants (in particular, members of the MIR central leadership, who have been largely ignored by the rest of the American left).

Lenin on the Student Movement

The following article, originally entitled "The Student Movement and the Present Political Situation," was written by Lenin in October 1908 during the period of deep political reaction that followed the defeat of the 1905 revolution. The Tsarist university of the time more resembled a military academy than a modern liberal arts college and the student body was almost entirely drawn from the upper classes. However, the university did have certain traditions of self-government which were often circumscribed and abused in periods of political reaction.

Even though Russian students constituted a very privileged elite, Lenin's article insists that Social-Democratic students (before WWI the Bolsheviks were a faction in the Russian social democracy) must participate even in narrow student struggles—such as the defense of university autonomy against attacks by the Tsarist regime—in order to broaden these struggles and attempt to politicize them by linking them to larger social questions, especially to the struggles of the working class.

Lenin made the important point that if the Social Democrats do not seek to transform these academic activists into politicians on the side of the working class, the right wing will win them to the side of reaction.

This article is useful in exposing the countless little petty-bourgeois workerist sects like the Revolutionary Socialist League, the International Socialists and the Class Struggle League, whose resistance to non-proletarian ideology is so low that they must keep great distance between themselves and the petty-bourgeois campuses.

The article is also helpful in exposing the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), youth group of the Socialist Workers Party. The YSA did the left one of its rare services by publishing the major portion of this article in its December 1969 Young Socialist, presumably to justify its student orientation, namely, campus parochialism and student vanguardism.

But judged by this article, the YSA stands condemned. For the YSA does not intervene in student struggles to raise larger social issues which can politicize these struggles, but it attempts to reduce the larger social issues (e.g., imperialist war and racial, sexual and national oppression as inherent components of capitalism) to academic solutions, or to academic "self-determination" with its student-power calls for "anti-war" universities, or cultural-nationalist calls for women's, blacks' or Chicanos' colleges.

Lenin, on the other hand, insists that socialists must not ignore academic issues and struggles, but must intervene in such struggles in order to transform self-contained student activism into left-wing political partisanship, and to win students to the recognition that in a corrupt, decadent and reactionary social order, only the working class can answer the social question.

Some terms in this article may be unfamiliar to our readership. The Duma was a representative body which the Tsarist government was compelled to convene as a result of the revolutionary events of 1905. Formally, the Duma was a legislative body, but actually it had no real power. Elections to it were non-direct, unequal and non-universal. The electoral system was rigged against the working classes and non-Russian nationalities, while most workers and peasants had no vote at all.

The Black Hundreds were monarchist gangs formed by the Tsarist police to assassinate revolutionaries, organize attacks on left-wing intellectuals and carry out anti-Jewish pogroms.

The Octobrists were a counter-revolutionary party formed after October 1905 representing the interests of the big bourgeoisie and landlords.

The Cadets were members of the Constitutional-Democratic Party, chief party of the Russian liberal-monarchist bourgeoisie.



erals have sunk to the level of the "politics" of the eighties (one can of course only in irony speak of politics in this connection), will it not be a debasement of the aims of Social-Democracy if it decides that it is necessary to support the academic struggle in some way or other?

Here and there, apparently, Social-Democratic students are putting this question. At any rate, our editorial board has received a letter from a group of Social-Democratic students which says, among other things:

"On September 13 a meeting of the students of St. Petersburg University resolved to call upon students for an all-Russian student strike, the reason given for this appeal being the aggressive tactics pursued by Schwartz. The platform of the strike is an academic one, and the meeting even welcomes the 'first steps' of the Moscow and St. Petersburg Professorial Councils in the struggle for autonomy. We are puzzled by the academic platform put forward at the St. Petersburg meeting, and consider it objectionable in the present conditions, because it cannot unite the students for an active struggle on a broad front. We envisage student action only as one co-ordinated with general political action, and in no case apart from it. The elements capable of uniting the students are lacking. In view of this we are against academic action."

The mistake which the authors of the letter are making is of much greater political importance than may appear at first sight, because their argument, strictly speaking, touches upon a theme which is incomparably more broad and important than the question of taking part in this particular strike.

"We envisage student action only as one co-ordinated with general political action. In view of this we are against academic action."

Against a Mechanical View

Such an argument is radically wrong. The revolutionary slogan—to work towards co-ordinated political action of the students and the proletariat, etc.—here ceases to be a live guidance for many-sided militant agitation on a broadening basis and becomes a lifeless dogma, mechanically applied to different stages of different forms of the movement. It is not sufficient merely to proclaim political co-ordinated action, repeating the "last

word" in lessons of the revolution. One must be able to agitate for political action, making use of all possibilities, all conditions and, first and foremost, all mass conflicts between advanced elements, whatever they are, and the autocracy. It is not of course a question of us dividing every student movement beforehand into compulsory "stages," and making sure that each stage is properly gone through, out of fear of switching over to "untimely" political actions, etc. Such a view would be the most harmful pedantry, and would lead only to an opportunist policy. But just as harmful is the opposite mistake, when people refuse to reckon with the actual situation that has arisen and the actual conditions of the particular mass movement, because of a slogan misinterpreted as unchangeable. Such an application of a slogan inevitably degenerates into revolutionary phrase-mongering.

Conditions are possible when an academic movement lowers the level of a political movement, or divides it, or distracts from it—and in that case Social-Democratic students' groups would of course be bound to concentrate their agitation against such a movement. But anyone can see that the objective political conditions at the present time are different. The academic movement is expressing the beginning of a movement among the new "generation" of students, who have more or less become accustomed to a narrow measure of autonomy; and this movement is beginning when other forms of mass struggle are lacking at the present time, when a lull has set in, and the broad mass of the people, still silently, concentratedly and slowly are continuing to digest the experience of the three years of revolution.

Extend and Politicize Student Struggles!

In such conditions Social-Democrats would make a big mistake if they declared "against academic action." No, the groups of students belonging to our Party must use every effort to support, utilize and extend the movement. Like every other support of primitive forms of movement by Social-Democracy, the present support, too, should consist most of all in ideological and organizational influence on

(Continued on next page)

Lessons from History

A students' strike has been called at St. Petersburg University. A number of other higher education establishments have joined in. The movement has already spread to Moscow and Kharkov. Judging from all the reports in the foreign and Russian newspapers and in private letters from Russia, we are faced with a fairly broad academic movement.

Back to the old days! Back to pre-revolutionary Russia! That is what these events signify above all. As before, official reaction is tightening the screw in the universities. The eternal struggle in autocratic Russia against the student organizations has taken the form of a crusade by the Black-Hundred Minister Schwartz—acting in full agreement with "Premier" Stolypin—against the autonomy which was promised the students in the autumn of 1905 (what did not the autocracy, faced with the onset of the revolutionary working class, "promise" Russian citizens at that time!); against an autonomy which the students enjoyed so long as the autocracy had "other things to think of than students," and which the autocracy, if it was to remain such, could not but begin to take away.

As before, the liberal press laments and groans, this time together with some Octobrists—the professors lament and snivel too, imploring the government not to take the road of reaction and to make use of an excellent opportunity "to ensure peace and order with the help of reforms" in "a country exhausted by convulsions"

—imploring the students not to resort to unlawful courses which can only play into the hands of reaction, etc., etc., etc. How ancient and antiquated, how hackneyed are all these tunes, and how vividly they resurrect before our eyes what took place twenty years ago or so, at the end of the eighties of last century! The similarity between that time and this is all the more striking by itself, apart from the three years of revolution we have gone through. For the Duma (at first sight) with only the tiniest difference expresses that same pre-revolutionary relation of forces—the supremacy of the wild landlord, who prefers using Court connections and the influence of his friend the official to any kind of representation; the support of that same official by the merchants (the Octobrists) who do not dare to differ from their benevolent patrons; the "opposition" of the bourgeois intellectuals who are concerned most of all to prove their loyalty, and who describe appeals to those in power as the political activity of liberalism. And the workers' deputies in the Duma recall feebly, far too feebly, the part which the proletariat was recently playing by its open mass struggle.

How Important Are Student Struggles?

It may be asked, can we in such conditions attribute any importance to the old forms of primitive academic struggle of the students? If the lib-

wider sections who have been roused by the conflict, and to whom this form of conflict, as a general rule, is their first experience of political conflicts. The student youth who have entered the universities during the last two years have lived a life almost completely detached from politics, and have been educated in a spirit of narrow academic autonomism, educated not only by the professors of the Establishment and the government press but also by the liberal professors and the whole Cadet Party. For this youth a strike on a large scale (if that youth is able to organize a large-scale strike: we must do everything to help it in this undertaking, but of course it is not for us socialists to guarantee the success of any bourgeois movement) is the beginning of a political conflict, whether those engaged in the fight realize it or not. Our job is to explain to the mass of "academic" protesters the objective meaning of the conflict, to try and make it consciously political, to multiply tenfold the agitation carried on by the Social-Democratic groups of students, and to direct all this activity in such a way that revolutionary conclusions will be drawn from the history of the last three years, that the inevitability of a new revolutionary struggle is understood, and that our old—and still quite timely—slogans calling for the overthrow of the autocracy and the convocation of a constituent assembly should once again become a subject of discussion and the touchstone of political concentration for fresh generations of democrats.

Social-Democratic students have no right to shirk such work under any conditions. And however difficult this work may be at the present time, whatever reverses particular agitators may experience in this or that university, students' association, meeting, etc.,

revolutionary training to new cadres. These cadres, trained by every step of the counter-revolution, require the constant attention of ourselves, the Social-Democrats, who clearly see the objective inevitability of further bourgeois-democratic conflicts on a national scale with the autocracy, which has joined forces with the Black-Hundred-Octoberist Duma.

Yes, on a national scale, for the Black-Hundred counter-revolution, which is turning Russia backward, is not only tempering new fighters in the ranks of the revolutionary proletariat, but will inevitably arouse a new movement of the non-proletarian, i.e., bourgeois democrats (thereby implying, of course, not that *all the opposition* will take part in the struggle, but that there will be a wide participation of truly democratic elements of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie, i.e., those capable of struggle). The beginning of a mass student struggle in the Russia of 1908 is a political symptom, a symptom of the whole present situation brought about by the counter-revolution. Thousands and millions of threads tie the student youth with the middle and lower bourgeoisie, the petty officials, certain groups of the peasantry, the clergy, etc. If in the spring of 1908 attempts were being made to resurrect the "Osvobozhdeniye League," slightly to the left of the old Cadet semi-landlord union represented by Pyotr Struve; if in the autumn the mass of youth which is closest of all to the democratic bourgeoisie in Russia is beginning to be disturbed; if the hireling hacks, with malice tenfold, have started howling once more against revolution in the schools; if base liberal professors and Cadet leaders are groaning and wailing at the untimely, dangerous

walls of universities, from the rostrum of representative institutions. It never yields the palm, and will not do so, in the serious and great revolutionary struggle of the masses. All the conditions for bringing this struggle to a head are not ripening as quickly and easily as some of us would hope—but those conditions are ripening and gathering head unswervingly. And the little beginning of little academic conflicts is a great beginning, for after it—if not today then tomorrow, if not tomorrow then the day after—will follow big continuations. ■

Terrorism ...

Continued from page 12

to the wolves. The SWP has been fond lately of comparing its Watergate suit with the work of the International Labor Defense (ILD), led by James Cannon in the late 1920's. What the SWP "forgets" to mention is that the ILD's most famous work was in defense of *anarchist* victims of the Palmer raids, e.g., Mooney and Billings, Sacco and Vanzetti! In the face of anarchist/terrorist actions today, one only hears a massive clucking of tongues from the SWP. If it were not for the Watergate debacle interfering with Nixon's plans for the left, the SWP along with all the other groups might have paid dearly for their sectarian refusal to defend the Weathermen!

As for charges by PL, the WL and the CP that the Weathermen were "proto-fascists" and "cops," one can only point to the revelations about police harassment against them and ask how it is that cops gave that sort of treatment to fellow "cops"?

The Difference Between Weatherman and the SLA

It is necessary to make a distinction between the Weathermen and the SLA, whom the bourgeoisie and the left-wing capitulators are so quick to lump together. As was noted above, the Weathermen came from the broader social movement of the New Left SDS; their actions were self-destructive but insofar as they were aimed at legitimate targets of the ruling class they were defensible from the standpoint of principle.

From what we know of the SLA, neither its actions nor the organization itself is defensible. Unlike the Weathermen, the SLA does not seem to have evolved directly out of the left or radical formations. It claims credit for a few acts—shooting a black superintendent of schools, kidnapping Patricia Hearst, the daughter of bourgeois publisher Randolph Hearst. In the former case the victim was a marginal government bureaucrat and in the latter it was someone whom even the SLA at the time acknowledged was innocent (whether or not Patricia Hearst is now an SLA member is irrelevant); neither was a clearcut representative of capitalist oppression.

More recently, the existence of an SLA "hit list" has come to light, i.e., a list of individuals formerly associated with the SLA who are to be "shot on sight" apparently for reasons of personal or petty organizational revenge. Thus the SLA's criminal terrorism differs qualitatively from the political terrorism of, for example, the Tupamaros, who have always been very careful to kidnap especially obnoxious and well-known representatives of bourgeois repression in their own right.

There are times when organizations which in some way stand on the side of the oppressed commit indefensible terrorism such as the IRA Provos in their bombing of Protestant working-class pubs. While we do not defend such acts, nonetheless in the context of Ulster we would defend the Provos against an attempt by the British army to destroy their organization. We would also call, however, for workers to mobilize to stop Provo mass-terror atrocities. But we would not call on the bourgeois state to prosecute the Provos—or the SLA—for that would only invite the

Black Liberation through Workers' Revolution

Speaker: Ronald Anderson, SL/RCY

To be held in May at Chi. State U. and other locations. For information: call (312) 728-2151.

CHICAGO FORUMS

spread of repression and open the way for the bourgeoisie to exploit the situation by whipping up hysteria over it.

But with the SLA, once its actions are repudiated, there is nothing of political substance left. The SLA's manifestos are notable for their eccentric mystical symbolism and justifications of simple criminal acts (e.g., robbing the neighborhood grocer) in pursuit of "revolutionary" ends.

In examining phenomena like the SLA, it is important to keep in mind that ostensibly political tendencies arising from the ghettos or prisons will probably contain both criminal (i.e., anti-social and parasitic) and political elements. This was certainly the case with the Black Panther Party, for instance. With the Panthers, however, the political character of the organization was predominant over the purely lumpen/criminal aspect. One can also point to a formation like Los Tres in Los Angeles which began as an apolitical, clean-up-the-ghetto formation but which, under the pressure of government repression and exposure to left groups, took an increasingly political direction. It is also important to take note of the transformation and politicization of such figures as Malcolm X and George Jackson.

Furthermore, while lumpen elements in their individuality generally reflect the consciousness of the petty criminal/hustler, in their collectivity,



The Weathermen themselves did not engage in indefensible acts of terrorism such as Marion ("Live Like Him") Delgado's derailment of a passenger train, which, however, they idiotically enthused over in their *New Left Notes*.

such elements are capable of genuine and heroic social rebellion against the state, e.g., Attica. And, of course, inside the prisons there is a mix of political and criminal elements, as well as the many who wound up there simply by virtue of being black or poor. The key point here is that marginal social layers are powerless to enact fundamental social change outside of an alliance with the working class and under working-class leadership.

As for the SLA, it can be said that it begins where Weatherman left off, that is, the politically disintegrative period of Weatherman which was marked by pro-Mansonism and the beginnings of an SLA-type mysticism. Shortly thereafter, Weatherman came apart organizationally, having lost its political *raison d'être*. That the fake lefts have failed to distinguish between the defensible character of Weatherman and the indefensible character of the SLA demonstrates how little they understand elementary principles of working-class solidarity and defense. ■

Y23

SUBSCRIBE TO **Young Spartacus**

Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Youth, youth section of the Spartacist League

\$1

6 ISSUES

Make payable/mail to: RCY, Box 454, Cooper Station, N.Y., N.Y. 10003

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

we shall say: knock, and it will be opened unto you! The work of political agitation is never wasted. Its success is measured not only by whether we have succeeded here and now in winning a majority, or obtaining consent for coordinated political action. It is possible that we shall not achieve this all at once. But that is why we are an organized proletarian party—not to lose heart over temporary failures, but stubbornly, unswervingly and consistently to carry on *our work*, even in the most difficult conditions.

Combat Right-Wing Influence Among Students!

The appeal we print below from the St. Petersburg Joint Student Council shows that even the most active elements of the students obstinately cling to pure academic aims, and still sing the Cadet-Octoberist tune. And this at a time when the Cadet-Octoberist press is behaving in the most disgusting fashion towards the strike, trying to prove at the very height of the struggle that it is harmful, criminal, etc. We cannot but welcome the rejoinder which the St. Petersburg Committee of our Party found it necessary to give the Joint Council (see "From the Party").

Evidently the whips of Schwartz are not enough as yet to change the present-day students from "academics" into "politicians"; they need the scorpions of more and more Black-Hundred sergeant-majors to give a full

disastrous strikes which displease those dear Octoberists, which are capable of "repelling" the Octoberists who hold power—that means new powder has begun to accumulate in the powder-flask, it means that *not only* among students is the reaction against reaction beginning!

"Task of the Hour": Construct a "Strong Proletarian Organization"

And however weak and embryonic this beginning may be, the party of the working class must make use of it and will do so. We were able to work years and decades before the revolution, carrying our revolutionary slogans first into the study circles, then among the masses of the workers, then on to the streets, then on to the barricades. We must be capable, *now too*, of organizing first and foremost that which constitutes the task of the hour, and without which all talk about co-ordinated political action will be empty words, namely, the task of building a strong proletarian organization, everywhere carrying on *political agitation* among the masses for its revolutionary watchwords. It is this task of organization in their own student midst, this agitation based on the concrete movement, that our university groups, too, should tackle.

The proletariat will not be behind-hand. It often yields the palm to the bourgeois democrats in speeches at banquets, in legal unions, within the

"Negro Self-Determination in the Black Belt": Reactionary/Utopian Theory for Black Liberation

Lenin's crucial influence on the American left's recognition of the black question as a "special problem of American society" was noted by James P. Cannon in 1959 at the height of the civil rights movement (see "Early Communist Black Work," *YSp* No. 21, January-February 1974). In addition, Cannon paid tribute to the American Communist Party (CP) black work of the early 1930's:

"It was the Communist Party and no other that made the Herndon and Scottsboro cases national and world-wide issues, and put Dixiecrat legal lynch mobs on the defensive for the first time since the collapse of Reconstruction. Party activists led the fights and demonstrations to gain consideration for the unemployed Negroes at the relief offices, and to put the furniture of evicted Negroes back into their empty apartments. It was the Communist Party that demonstratively nominated a Negro for Vice President in 1932—something that no other radical or socialist party had ever thought about doing....

"The policy and agitation of the Communist Party at the time did more, ten times over, than any other to help the Negro workers rise to a new status of at least semi-citizenship in the new labor movement created in the thirties under the banner of the CIO."

—*The First Ten Years of American Communism*

Thus, even though this work was dominated by Stalinist "third period" ultra-radicalism "with all the crooked demagoguery, exaggerations and distortions which are peculiar to them and inseparable from them" (*First Ten Years....*), nonetheless this period was beyond a doubt the high point of militant mass struggle for black emancipation in this country.

"Negro Self-Determination in the Black Belt"

CP black work during the Great Depression is often identified with the slogan, "Negro self-determination in the Black Belt," which was defined as that part of the South which had a black majority and was most closely associated with plantation agriculture and sharecropping. Needless to say, the formation of an independent black state in this area has never had any appeal for the black masses, either in the South or in the North. Instead this area has always been seen by blacks as a prison from which to escape to large cities both in the North and South.

Insofar as CP black work in the thirties was successful, it was successful *in spite of* this slogan, for which the CP never found the means for concrete implementation and around which it never raised any struggles. None of the very important, very courageous struggles it did wage in the South—the Scottsboro and Herndon defense cases, the Sharecroppers Union, Gastonia textile work, organization of the coal fields and steel mills around Birmingham, struggles for relief and veterans' rights—were ever concretely linked to the struggle for "Negro self-determination in the Black Belt." Nonetheless, certain Maoist-Stalinist groups, such as the October League and the Communist League, who have looked back to this period for inspiration, have chosen what was most tangential to black work during the Depression: the Black Belt theory.

What was the "Third Period"?

The black work and overall strategy

of the CP and Communist International (CI) during the early thirties is closely identified with what was called the "third period." It was the "third period" perspective which facilitated the fascist conquest of power in Germany, to cite just the worst example.

In January 1928 in the Soviet Union there occurred the "bloodless uprising" of the kulaks (rich peasants) who refused to hand over their hoarded grain stocks at state prices. This threatened the urban proletariat with famine and was a direct challenge to the survival of the workers state. Stalin's policy of appeasing the rich peasantry and building "socialism at a snail's pace" opened the road for capitalist restoration. The "bloodless uprising" followed a series of severe defeats for the CI internationally, the most notorious of which was the crushing of the 1927 Chinese revolution by Chiang Kai-shek, whom Stalin had made an honorary member of the CI's Executive Committee. The Trotskyist Left Opposition in the Russian CP had tried to forewarn the CI of the danger of Stalin's policies only to be further persecuted and crushed each time its unheeded warnings were vindicated.

Since the kulak "strike" hit at the very economic foundation of the Stalinist bureaucracy—nationalized property forms—it was forced to borrow the slogans and demands of the Left Opposition: "The main danger is from the right." It would be necessary to liquidate the kulaks, encourage the collectivization of agriculture and the building of heavy industry, and implement careful economic planning.

But the bureaucracy had to present this change in line in such a way so as not to concede the Left Opposition had ever been right or the bureaucracy ever wrong. Above all, the "infallibility" of the Stalinist faction had to be upheld. So Stalin's ideological apologists came up with the theory of the "third period": the first period corresponded to the revolutionary upsurge following WWI, the second period covered the stabilization of capitalism and decline of the revolutionary wave after 1921, and the new "third period" of capitalist decline presumably issued in a period of "final crisis" and "imminent revolution."

Under the blows of the "third period," yesterday's "allies" like Chiang Kai-shek and social-democratic reformists like Purcell of the Anglo-Russian Committee were transformed into "social fascists"; therefore there could be no united fronts "from above" but only "from below." Inside the Soviet Union the "third period" meant that the Stalinist bureaucracy would pursue a reckless breakneck policy that was even a caricature of its own caricature of the Left Opposition as "anti-peasant" and "super-industrializers." And with its transcendental theory of "periods," the bureaucracy was able to claim that appeasing the rich peasantry or social democrats was appropriate for the "second period" while forced collectivization and characterizations of the KMT and social democracy as "social fascists" were appropriate for the "third period."

This ultra-left turn took place, however, entirely within the framework of the two-stage revolution theory, in which the first stage, the "national-democratic revolution," is led by a two-class party which then presumably goes on to the next stage—the national-

socialist revolution, or "socialism in one country."

Sixth CI Congress and the "Black Belt" Slogan

Prior to the Sixth Congress of the CI in mid-1928, "Negro self-determination" had never been discussed or even conceived of in the American CP. The party shared the view expressed by John Reed at the 2nd CI Congress that the "Negroes have no demands for national independence."

There was, however, an insensitivity to the Negro question as a *special* question and a sense, expressed in CPer Billing's report to the Fourth CI Congress, that Negroes would "be the source from which the 'white guard' elements will be recruited in the event of revolutionary risings anywhere and everywhere" (see "Early Communist Black Work," *YSp* No. 21).

Lovestone, for example, held the position that the landbound blacks on the Southern plantations were a "reserve of capitalist reaction" which could only be liquidated through migration, industrialization and the integration of the black tenant farmer and sharecropper into the proletariat. This position, which was also shared by John Pepper prior to the Sixth Congress, was attacked in "The Right Danger in the American Party," the Cannon-Foster document submitted to the Congress, for writing off any perspective for work among the "Negro peasantry" in the South and for not mentioning the necessity for an anti-white chauvinism campaign in the party. There was general recognition that

in a document co-signed by Haywood and Nasanov, a Russian youth leader who was the Communist Youth International representative to the Commission.

Haywood had been recruited to the African Blood Brotherhood in 1922, to the CP youth league in 1923, and to the CP in 1925. He had spent the two years prior to the Sixth Congress studying in the Soviet Union and it was there, in collaboration with Nasanov and with the approval of the Stalinist leadership that the Black Belt theory was cooked up.

When first presented to the Congress, it ran up against the resistance of the rest of the American black delegation, with both Ford and Hall speaking against it. Ford stated:

"It seems that any nationalist movement on the part of Negroes does nothing but play into the hands of the bourgeoisie by arresting the revolutionary class movement of the Negro masses and further widening the gulf between the white and similarly oppressed groups."

—quoted in Theodore Draper, *American Communism and Soviet Russia*

Opposition to "Negro self-determination" was put even more strongly by Hall:

"The historical development of the American Negro has tended to create in him the desire to be considered a part of the American nation. There are no tendencies to become a separate national minority within the American nation."

—quoted in Draper

Pepper, who had made his political career by keeping one step ahead of and then carrying to an illogical ex-



Communist Party was very active in Scottsboro case in 1931 in which nine blacks were sentenced to death for allegedly raping two white women. The last of the Scottsboro defendants was freed in 1950.

the American Negro Labor Congress, a transitional black organization launched by the CP in 1925, had not been successful, but only vague alternatives had been suggested, e.g., Pepper's call for a "Negro Race Congress" and Cannon-Foster's proposal for a "revolutionary race movement led by the Negro proletariat."

The discussion on the black question at the Sixth Congress took place primarily in a special "Negro Commission." Of the 32 members of the commission five were blacks from the U.S., including Harry Haywood, Otto Hall and James Ford. The position on "Negro self-determination in the Black Belt" was presented to the Commission

trema the zigzags of the Stalinist bureaucracy, caught the direction of the wind on the Negro question at the Sixth Congress and completely reversed his previous position that the black question was a race question and now claimed that the "Black Belt" was an "internal colony" which could only be freed by a Communist-led "Negro Soviet Republic" (*The Communist*, June 1928).

After the Sixth CI Congress, resistance to the Black Belt theory continued. At first the theory was not even mentioned in the CP press. The CI codified its position in a resolution issued by its Political Secretariat on 26 October 1928 and a debate ensued

in both the pages of *The Communist* and *The Communist International*, the theoretical organs, respectively, of the American CP and the CI.

Otto E. Huiswood, who was the first black to join the CP, coming over from the *Messenger* group in the Socialist Party in 1920, published an article entitled "World Aspects of the Negro Question" in the February 1930 *Communist*. While recognizing that "the Negro race is everywhere a subject race and there exists a common bond of interest based on racial oppression," Huiswood wrote:

"It is essential that we distinguish the situation of the Negro masses in the colonies—Africa and the West Indies, the semi-colonies of Haiti and Liberia, who suffer from colonial exploitation, from that of the Negro in America, a racial minority, subject to racial persecution and exploitation. We must take into consideration the national-colonial character of the Negro question in Africa and the West Indies and the racial character of the question in the U.S."

In the former, Negroes had:

"1) a majority of the population and organized communities, 2) a common language and culture. In contrast to this the Negro in America has a) no distinct language and culture from the dominant race, b) it is a minority of the population, c) its only distinguishing feature is its racial origin."

Huiswood was answered by Haywood in his "Against Bourgeois Distortions on the Negro Question in the U.S." (*Communist*, 1930). The article opened with the following "comradely" criticism: "The fact that there exists a practical alliance between the chauvinist elements and some of our Negro comrades should not be the occasion for wonder." Haywood's polemic against Huiswood reduced to the following syllogism: 1) Huiswood asserts that oppression of the Negroes in the U.S. is racial and not national; 2) but reactionary and racist theories also assert that the Negro is unequal because of his race; 3) therefore, Huiswood's position is racist and reactionary. Thus Haywood writes:

"...concretely it would be tantamount to reducing the Negro question, a social question, to a question of racial ideology, i.e., to slur over the economic and social roots of the question and finally to capitulate to bourgeois race theories."

Haywood conceded that the national characteristics of the Negro are weak and it is for that reason that the bourgeoisie singles out race as the only factor against which they "can erect a hostile ideology...towards inflaming the 'national mind' against them." Haywood also accepts the distinction between blacks in the West Indies and Africa and the U.S.:

"Here they are not territorially separated from the oppressing white American nation, but on the contrary, live with the whites within the confines of one state. Under these conditions the bourgeois ruling classes must pursue the most energetic policy in order to keep up the bar of separation between white and Negroes, i.e., retard the process of assimilation and thus preserve the conditions for the superexploitation of the latter."

For Haywood, the economic and social content of the black question in the South was given a national dimension in the following way:

"...the unfinished agrarian revolution as reflected in the preservation of the remnants of slavery in the economy of the South has its political counterpart in the unfinished bourgeois democratic revolution (as far as Negroes are concerned) as reflected in the denial of democratic rights of the Negro masses."

Therefore Haywood saw a "national revolutionary movement" based on the Negro peasantry in the South emerging:

"Marx, Engels and Lenin at all times considered that the revolutionary strength of the bourgeois-democratic nationalist movements...to lie mainly in the struggle of the peasants."

In October 1930 the CI Executive Committee issued another resolution to elaborate and expand on the Black Belt theory. (Both CI resolutions are

reprinted in the Communist League's *Negro National Colonial Question*.) The earlier resolution began:

"The industrialization of the South, the concentration of a new Negro working class population in the big cities of the East and North and the entrance of the Negroes into basic industries on a mass scale, create the possibility for the Negro workers, under the leadership of the Communist Party, to assume the hegemony of all Negro liberation movements, and to increase their importance and role in the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat."

The new resolution, however, began by denouncing Lovestone's theory that "the 'Industrial Revolution' will proletarianize the Negro peasantry, so that the Negro question as a special national

fellow white worker or tenant farmer, the resolution goes on to proclaim:

"First of all, the right to self-determination means that the Negro majority and not the white minority in the entire territory of the administratively united Black Belt exercises the right of administering governmental, legislative and juridical authority."

James Allen's *Negro Question in the U.S.*, published in 1935, was the most extensive elaboration of the Black Belt theory ever produced by the CP. Turning gerrymandering into a fine art which even those who carved a Jewish state out of Palestine in 1947 would have admired, Allen was still only able to creak out a "Black Belt" with a 50.3 percent black majority (4,790,716 out of a total

industry. In arguing against Pepper's "colony" thesis, however, the 1930 resolution is forced to concede:

"Industrialization in the Black Belt is not, as is generally the case in the colonies, properly speaking, in contradiction with the ruling interests of the imperialist bourgeoisie, which has in its hands the monopoly of all industry...."

Thus, somehow the black tenants and workers were to "drive out the imperialists," set up a black independent state and confiscate the land while all the industry remained in the hands of the imperialist bourgeoisie. The resolution even explicitly states: "One cannot deny that it is just possible for the Negro population of the Black Belt to win the right of self-determination during capitalism...." and continues with an argument against Pepper's "Negro Soviet Republic."

Was Lovestone Right?

Has subsequent history proved the correctness of the Lovestone thesis that industrialization would liquidate the agrarian component of the black question through migration and assimilation into the proletariat?

What the Black Belt theory from its "third period" perspective of American capitalism could not see was that U.S. capitalism was capable of expanding, but that it was capable of expanding only in a chaotic, uneven and destructive fashion, stimulated by preparation for and participation in another world imperialist war. Certainly, the expansion of American capitalism could in no way be progressive.

Lovestone was wrong insofar as he thought the expansion of capitalism would in simple, linear and natural fashion liquidate the reactionary tenancy system in the South and assimilate blacks into the proletariat. The previous world imperialist conflict, WWI, had also stimulated an enormous expansion of U.S. capitalism in which the black "reserve" from the South played an enormous role. But immediately after WWI they were tossed right back out of industry and sent back to the plantations in boxcars.

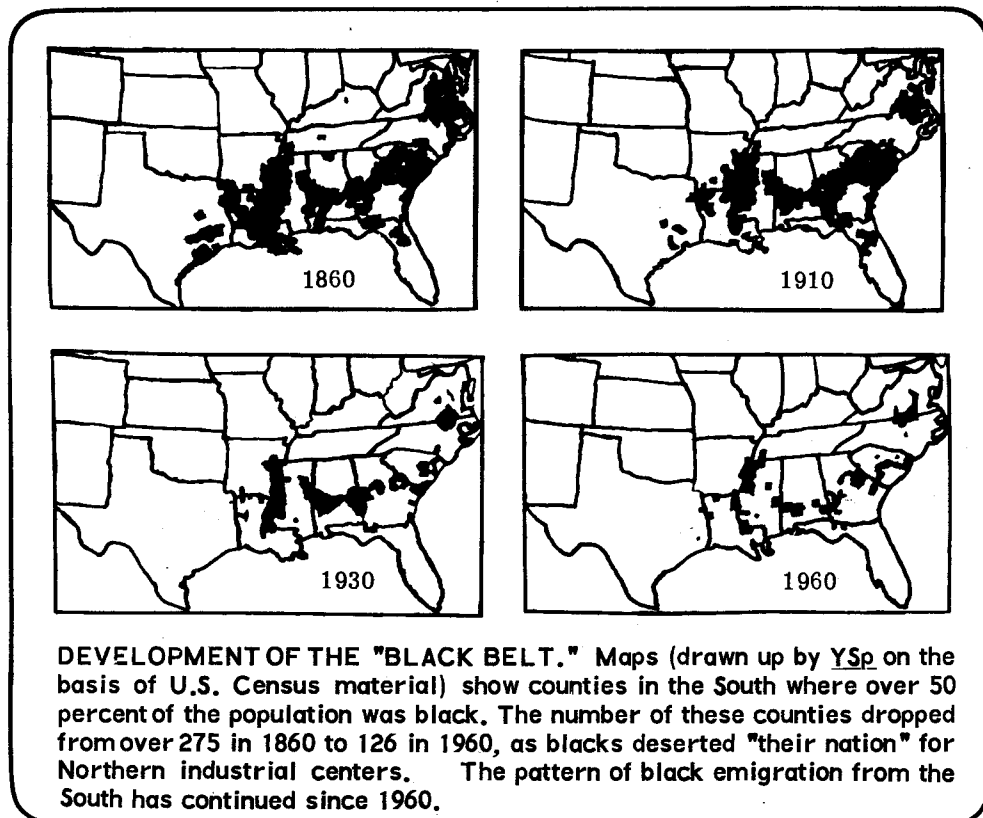
It was precisely the fact that CP black work in the 1930's was guided not by "Black Belt self-determination" but by a militant struggle for equal rights, especially the struggle to bring blacks into a new labor movement on the basis of equality, that opened the door to genuine assimilation into the proletariat. And in the main they were not purged from industry at the end of WWII to the same degree as after WWI because, as a result of the heroic work of the CP in the early 1930's, they had at least obtained the status of "semi-citizenship" in the labor movement.

Maoism and Black Self-Determination

Thus it is indeed ironic that Maoist groups like the Communist League and the October League look back to "third period" Stalinism for inspiration on the black question and overlook what was progressive and healthy in the CP's black work: the efforts of the Trade Union Unity League, the International Labor Defense, the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, the Unemployment Councils and Tenants Leagues and the Sharecropper Union. Instead, they resurrect what was most tangential and reactionary: the Black Belt theory.

It is, however, understandable, in that they have chosen the aspect that was most Maoist, i.e., most Stalinist: the reduction of the black question to a peasant and national question, the conception of a peasant-based "national revolutionary movement" leading an "anti-imperialist" (but not anti-capitalist) struggle for independence. The Black Belt theory may not be one of bourgeois reaction but, with its theory of a peasant-based, two-stage revolution culminating in a "New Democ-

(Continued on page 10)



question would thereby presumably be resolved." After complimenting the American CP for purging Lovestone and his position on the black question, the new resolution goes on to attack the Party for not "overcoming in its own ranks all underestimation of the struggle for the slogan of the right of self-determination, and still less in doing away with all lack of clarity on the Negro question." In the North the main slogan was to be "equal rights" and in the South "the right to self-determination."

The resolution gives "recognition and support for the Negro's right to their own special schools." As Lenin pointed out in *Critical Remarks on the National Question*, in the South blacks already had their own "special schools" and Lenin considered them a product of the deep oppression, persecution and cultural backwardness to which blacks in the South were subjected. He used the example of the



Harry Haywood

"special schools" for Negroes in the South in polemicizing against the demand for "special schools" for oppressed minorities, nationalities, religions and races in general.

The 1928 resolution did not mention the "white minority" in the Black Belt, but the 1930 resolution stated: "Within the limits of this state there will of course remain a fairly significant white minority which must submit to the right of self-determination of the Negro majority." As if this were not enough for a Southern black Communist to tell his

population of 9,525,865). Certainly the "white minority" of 4,735,716 whom the CI carpetbaggers wanted to disenfranchise and turn into non-citizens under a black dictatorship could not all have been Southern Bourbons and their henchmen or former officers of the Confederate Army. The overwhelming majority of the "white minority" were in fact tenant farmers and workers who, while generally better off than Southern blacks, were often worse off than workers in the North or farmers in the West. This "poor white trash" was certainly no privileged aristocracy. This sort of political outlook could not have done more to inflame racial tensions and set white worker and farmer against black than had it been written by the Klan.

As was clear from both the Haywood article and the 1930 CI resolution, the Stalinists had learned nothing from the Chinese Revolution and were trying to apply, with a little "third period" demagoguery, the two-stage revolution to the black question in the South, thus reducing it to a national question because of the unresolved agrarian and therefore bourgeois-democratic aspects.

It was envisioned that in the "third period," U.S. capitalism was at its "apex" and could only go on to stagnate and decline; therefore, there could be no further assimilation of blacks into the proletariat. Blacks were seen as locked into the Black Belt and the plantations. What was needed was a primarily peasant-based "national revolutionary movement" or "bourgeois democratic nationalist movements" (a black Kuomintang?), to use Haywood's words, which would foment rebellion, drive out imperialism and carry out the bourgeois-democratic revolution—in part, by disenfranchising 4.7 million whites who would then become the downtrodden and oppressed, and perhaps would be granted by the Moscow wizards the "right to self-determination in the White Belt."

Another example of the CI's application of the theory of two-stage revolution is that, while great stress is placed on the confiscation of the land, nothing is said about confiscation of

INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS

... "Black Belt"

Continued from page 9

racy"-type "bloc of four classes," it is one of the few ways to apply Maoist-reformist theories to the U.S.

Within the American Stalinist movement, the Black Belt theory has generally been associated with "leftism" as a distinctly Communist alternative to liberal integrationism. Thus, the right turns of the CP have generally involved burying the Black Belt theory as unacceptable to bourgeois public opinion. However, while opposition to the theory from within the confines of American Stalinism was generally a rightist conciliation to liberalism, the Black Belt position itself is objectively utopian and reactionary. The only progressive solution to the black question lies in revolutionary integra-

even then, capitalism had already outgrown its cocoon, its national unit, and could only develop by subjugating other peoples (the slave trade, Ireland).

National oppression is the subjugation of a people so that they cannot fulfill their normal economic function in the process of technological growth: the development of nationhood. Either the technological development is itself retarded and/or the emerging national characteristics (language, culture) are suppressed. In Ireland both were the case.

The Black Belt could have gone the way of Ireland (the analogy most frequently used by the Communist League) if the South had won the Civil War under the direct intervention and "protection" of imperial England. By losing the Civil War, the South and the Black Belt in particular were thoroughly integrated into a common national economic unit with the North. The

School Busing...

Continued from page 1

racial balance plan, and rejecting the State Board's proposal that high school seniors be allowed to finish in the schools they had been attending, which has been a standard practice in other busing plans.

After nine years of attempts to block and repeal the Imbalance Act and three years of mass demonstrations against busing, both led by these reactionaries, the issue is coming to a head. Barring the adoption of the Nixon-backed anti-busing amendment, which would turn the issue back into the courts, all indications are that the Massachusetts State Board of Education "Racial Balance Plan" will go into effect in September of this year.

While Boston outlawed segregation in 1855, the city has been found guilty twice in recent years—once by a State court and once by the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare—of operating a segregated school system. There are presently over 94,000 students in the Boston system, 38.5 percent of whom are non-white. Over 30,000 students now attend 68 schools classified as "imbalanced" under the Imbalance Act, i.e., having a student population that is more than 50 percent non-white.

The state plan calls for the busing of 10,000 additional students in Boston (only 1,800 of which are in grades 1-6). The net effect of this busing will be to reduce the number of students in imbalanced schools to 10,000 and the number of these schools to 44. According to the State Board these 44 schools are "impossible" to balance because of a State court ruling restricting the distance a child may be bused for desegregation to two miles. Kindergarten children and students assigned to bilingual and special education programs will continue to be assigned "without consideration to racial balance" (*Boston Globe*, 1 April 1974).

Critical Support to Busing

In general, the Revolutionary Communist Youth (RCY) gives critical support to busing plans like the Boston one, as they represent, on balance, a minimal democratic reform in the direction of desegregation and greater equality in access to quality education.

While the Boston plan does take steps toward racial desegregation, it also contains many weaknesses. As has been characteristic of virtually all court-ordered busing, the Boston plan makes use of "paired busing," i.e., blacks from predominantly black schools are bused to predominantly white schools and vice-versa. This means that concomitant with an in-

crease in the number of blacks who will gain access to improved education, there will be a decrease in the number of white students receiving the superior education generally available in predominantly white schools. While the necessary demand is, of course, for free quality education for all, the RCY still extends critical support to the plan even given these built-in inequities.

An analogy can be made with the Spartacist League's (SL) critical support to the City College Plan in New York a few years back. This was a proposal by City University officials, made in response to a campaign by minority students, to replace the existing admissions system, based on high school academic standing, with a quota system which would increase the percentage of minority admissions. While calling for open admissions with stipend, the SL critically supported the quota proposal, even though it might have resulted in a decline in the number of whites attending City College. To not lend critical support to the quota plan was to support the status quo, which discriminated against black and Spanish-speaking high school graduates.

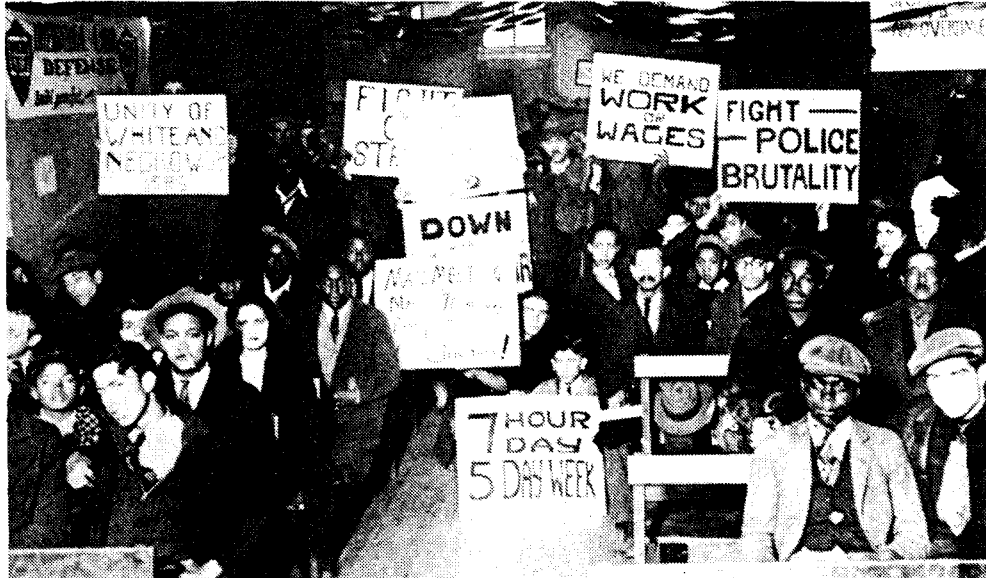
Another inequity in such busing plans is that they have been proposed almost exclusively in cities, allowing the privileged suburban areas to maintain the status quo. Busing between black ghettos and white working-class urban neighborhoods does not necessarily mean a qualitative improvement in anyone's education, as facilities are frequently inferior in both areas. At present there is a case in Federal District Court which could result in Boston schools being desegregated through cross-busing with the suburbs; a decision is pending, awaiting the outcome of a case involving Detroit and its suburbs presently before the U.S. Supreme Court.

Busing Does Not Solve Segregation/Education Problems

Most importantly, the Boston plan, like other busing plans, defines racial segregation superficially; such plans cannot bring about either quality education or complete racial integration in the schools, let alone integration in society as a whole.

The quality of public urban education has consistently declined in recent years, for both black and white students (although generally at least quantitatively worse in black ghettos than in white areas). In 1962 the "Sargent Report" recommended the closing of 80 Boston public schools by 1975 for health and safety reasons; by 1965,

(Continued on next page)



International Labor Defense meeting in the late 1920's. It was through movements like ILD that CP did important black work, not around "Black Belt" theory.

tionism—egalitarianism rooted in a socialist economic system.

Black Question Not A National Question

The nation, as even Maoists must know, is not a transcendental or timeless entity. It is a "historical category belonging to a definite epoch, the epoch of rising capitalism" (Lenin, *Critical Remarks on the National Question*). The amalgamation of peoples into nations occurs when technology is sufficiently developed so that commodity production and circulation become the dominant modes. Then the nation becomes the natural unit of commodity exchange and the rising capitalist class seeks to secure its "own" market within the unit of the nation. As Lenin says, "The market is the first school in which the bourgeoisie learns its nationalism."

But even in the epoch of rising capitalism, when the development of capitalism had an overall progressive role to play and the first nations were consolidated out of bourgeois revolutions (Holland, England, France)—

fact that the former slaves were still bound to the land through a tenancy structure grew out of the level of technological development: after the Civil War there was nothing to replace

FORUM

Black and Red

BLACK LIBERATION
and the CLASS STRUGGLE

SPEAKER: LEN MEYERS, SL/RCY.
Woodward 13100, Trinity Methodist Church. For more information: call (313) 921-4626.

Sunday, May 12th, 7 PM

DETROIT

the contribution that the plantation made to the American economy and nothing to replace labor-intensive farming and therefore the continuing need for a stable labor supply.

Blacks are not oppressed as a nation. They do not desire to develop those national characteristics which could be the foundation for a separate economic unit. They are oppressed insofar as their aspiration to assimilate into the American political economy, the wealthiest political economy in the world (whose wealth is in large part due to the exploitation of the black slave, black tenant farmer and black worker), is thwarted. Nothing could be more reactionary than the proposal that blacks form a separate political economy in the Black Belt based on cotton and turpentine.

It was the first paragraph of the 1928 CI resolution on the black question which caught the real importance of the black question for the proletarian revolution in the U.S.: The entry of blacks into basic industry and the industrialization of the South laid the basis for a bi-racial proletarian vanguard in which blacks, because of their special oppression, will play a vanguard role.

[The next article in this series will deal with CP black work in the Great Depression.]

sub- scribe

Y23

\$5

includes
SPARTACIST
24 ISSUES

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____

Make checks payable/mail to:
SPARTACIST PUBLISHING CO.
Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10001

WORKERS VANGUARD

SL/RCY Public Offices

BAY AREA

Wednesday } 1:00-6:00 p.m.
and Thursday }

Saturday 2:30-6:00 p.m.

330-40th Street
(near Broadway)
Oakland, California
Phone 653-4668

NEW YORK

Monday } 3:00-7:30 p.m.
through Friday }

Saturday 1:00-6:00 p.m.

260 West Broadway
Room 522
New York, New York
Phone 925-5665

RCY Local Directory

BERKELEY: RCY, Box 852, Main P.O., Berkeley, CA 94701, or call (415) 653-4668.
BINGHAMTON: RCY, Box RCY, SUNY, Binghamton, NY 13901.
BOSTON: RCY, Box 137, Somerville, MA 02144, or call (617) 492-3928
BUFFALO: RCY, Box 6, Norton Union, SUNY, Buffalo, NY 14214, or call (716) 837-1854
CHICAGO: RCY, Box 4667, Main P.O., Chicago, IL 60680, or call (312) 728-2151
CLEVELAND: RCY, Box 02182, Cleveland, OH 44102, or call (216) 651-4613
DETROIT: RCY, Box 07037, Gratiot Sta., Detroit, MI 48207, or call (313) 921-4626
LOS ANGELES: RCY, Box 29115, Vermont Sta., Los Angeles, CA 90029, or call (213) 485-1838
MADISON: RCY, Box 3334, Madison, WI 53704
NEW HAVEN: RCY, Box 1363, New Haven, CT 06505, or call (203) 624-7015
NEW ORLEANS: RCY, c/o SL, Box 51634, Main P.O., New Orleans, LA 70151, or call (504) 866-8384
NEW YORK: RCY, Box 454, Cooper Sta., New York, NY 10003, or call (212) 925-5665
SAN FRANCISCO: RCY, Box 1757, San Francisco, CA 94101, or call (415) 653-4668

62 of the 73 elementary schools cited were still in operation. The city of Boston spends less on education per pupil than over 40 of the 80 Boston-area suburban school districts.

Furthermore, low wages and unemployment act to effectively bar minority, poor and working-class youth from quality education. Blacks, in particular, are segregated into the lowest-paying jobs and are most affected by unemployment (19.8 percent in 1972 for blacks as a whole, 36 percent for black youth). Education for those who are increasingly marginal to the productive process is seen, from the capitalist point of view, as an unnecessary luxury.

Additionally, most school segregation is *de facto*, a result of discriminatory housing patterns, a situation directly linked to the problem of low wages and unemployment and the fact that housing, like any other commodity, is subject to the anarchy of capitalist production. Low-rent housing is unprofitable and generally not built, or, when it is, it is constructed in the areas with the lowest property values and, correspondingly, the worst educational systems.

The fight against racial segregation

in the schools cannot be separated from working-class struggles against racial oppression. Such struggles involve the capacity of the class to overcome racial divisions and unite against capitalist attempts to slash living standards, enforce speed-up and increase working hours. Racist consciousness can be overcome and transformed into class consciousness only through the lessons learned in strikes and periods of heightened class struggles, and from the intervention of socialists into these class fights. Liberal-moral exhortations against racist ideas and racial segregation in the schools will neither eliminate the economic basis for racial oppression nor the racist consciousness that strengthens it. Fundamentally, the issue will be settled in the fight of the working class against capitalism, for socialist revolution.

Left's Response to Busing: Utopianism to Opportunism

The struggle around racial integration in the Boston schools exposes the bankruptcy of "community control" schemes like those advocated by the reformist Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/

YSA). The foremost advocate of "community control" in Boston these days is none other than the reactionary Louise Day Hicks ("neighborhood schools for neighborhood children," or, white control of the white community).

The pernicious character of the "community control" slogan is especially clear in Boston which is very much a collection of narrow, parochial little neighborhoods where various communities under the "control" of racist reactionaries or opportunist demagogues (in reality controlled by large financial interests who have little concern about community betterment) do their best to sabotage the fight for improvements that can better the lives of people throughout the city. Despite the fact that "community control" has been exposed as not only utopian and fraudulent but dangerously reactionary, the cynical opportunists of the SWP/YSA continue to assert that "control" by their inhabitants of communities of failing small businesses, rat-infested tenements, decaying hospitals and schools is a step in the direction of socialist consciousness!

On the other side of the coin, the ultimatum opposition to busing by groups like the International Socialists and the tiny Class Struggle League grouping represents a tacit acceptance of the status quo. Behind the ultra-left veneer of "busing will not end racial oppression" stands the opportunist and workerist desire to adapt to the present level of consciousness of white workers in Boston.

PL Split-Off Continues PL Tradition

The Party for Workers Power (PWP), a recent split-off from the Progressive Labor Party located predominantly in Boston, has declared itself in favor of building a "third force" in the busing controversy between the opponents and proponents of the state plan (*Spark*, April 1974). An examination of the PWP's programmatic response to busing reveals that this "third force" is nothing more than militant reformism with liberal doses of parliamentarianism, true to the traditions of Progressive Labor.

The PWP starts out correctly by opposing the repeal of the Racial Imbalance Act as an attack on integration and blacks in general and by supporting the state plan in so far as it achieves integration. The PWP also correctly points out that the state plan has many bad aspects and that it will not bring about real integration or quality education for all. When the PWP ventures beyond this it sinks into the swamp of reformism and parliamentary illusions.

The PWP proposes essentially two remedies for the problems in Boston schools: (1) "MODIFY THE STATE PLAN. Take out all the crazy features, and put in *sensible* ways to increase integration... We could have referendums in STATE SENATORIAL DISTRICTS this summer around such modifications in the state plan" (*Spark*, April 1972, emphasis in original); and (2) a series of simple trade-union and liberal reform demands—more schools, smaller classes, more teachers, more funds.

The PWP goes on to again point out correctly that the busing issue has become a political football in the hands of racists and conservatives like those that dominate the Boston School Committee. However, the PWP puts forward no class alternatives at all to the bourgeois politicians who run the School Committee, nor to the liberals like Mayor White who oppose the School Committee simply to increase their own control over the school system and the wealth of patronage that goes with it.

Candidates for the School Committee must run on a class program that, in addition to calling for reforms in the schools, points to the need to link up with working-class struggles, in particular to seek solidarity with the teachers' union. In this context it is necessary to raise demands for a class-

struggle union leadership to replace the reformist and bureaucratic incumbents and for a labor party that will fight for a workers government. The PL candidates (now PWPers) in the last School Committee elections, however, ran on a strictly reformist program with a single-issue focus on "ending racism."

The PWP's program in the School Committee elections and in the present busing controversy makes no attempt to deal with the fundamental social and political problems. Least of all can these problems be solved through "referendums in STATE SENATORIAL DISTRICTS" or any other districts (except in the "district" workers councils in a revolutionary workers state). This is parliamentary cretinism of the

RCY RADIO PROGRAM:
Thursdays 6:30 p.m.

"Young Spartacus: A Marxist Commentary"

WHPK, 88.3 FM
(southside Chicago radio station)

CHICAGO

first order, as bad as PL's campaigns to put "30 for 40" on the ballot. Such campaigns serve only to build illusions in the possibility of fundamental social change through legislative and electoral means.

While we give critical support to the Boston busing plan and support reform and democratic demands in general, the attempt to *limit* the struggle to these demands is disorienting and spreads utopian-reformist conclusions or, when translated into political demands alien to Marxism ("community control"), is dangerously reactionary.

What is necessary is the creation of a class-struggle alternative leadership in the trade unions and a political party of the working class that will fight against lumpenization through struggles to organize the unorganized, institute a shorter work week with no loss in pay to end unemployment, and end discrimination in hiring and upgrading. Only such developments can dispel the fears of white workers that gains for blacks must come at their expense; only a class-struggle leadership is capable of breaking the influence of racist demagogues on the working class. ■

— CORRECTIONS —

Three minor errors appeared in the March-April *Young Spartacus*. The article on page 2 entitled "Gangsterism and New Left Nonsense: Attica Brigade at Work" reports a demonstration against Gerald Ford as having taken place at the University of Connecticut at Storrs. The demonstration in fact took place at Providence College in Rhode Island.

The same article contains the following paragraph:

"In Buffalo the AB demonstrated its understanding of the class line by wildly cheering some campus cops (the same who had helped crush the 1970 student strike) who, at a campus meeting in January, expressed their opposition to possible budget cutbacks (after all, cops like to hold onto their jobs, too)."

This is inaccurate as the campus cops at the meeting were not facing cutbacks in their jobs or salaries; rather, they were voicing opposition to the Administration's attempt to shut down the colleges, since they attend classes as students in one of them, College Z.

A paragraph in the article "How to Defeat Shockley, Fight Racial Oppression" discussing fascist political figures mistakenly refers to Norman Rockwell. The reference intended, of course, is George Lincoln Rockwell, for years the leader of a Nazi organization in the U.S. until he was killed several years ago in the South by a disgruntled ex-member of his group.

RCY EVENTS

ANN ARBOR

Class Series—
MARKISM AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE
Last class in bi-weekly series. Wednesday, 8 May, 7:30 PM. Rm. 4202, U. of Michigan Union. For more information: (313) 921-4626.

BAY AREA

Class Series—
THE STRUGGLE FOR AN INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION
Continuing bi-weekly series. First class in May takes place on Monday, 13 May, 7:30 PM. Stevens Lounge, U. of Calif. at Berkeley. For more information: (415) 653-4668.

Rally/Demonstration—
DEFEND THE ENDANGERED CHILEAN MILITANTS
Wednesday, 1 May, 12 noon. Speakers Platform, Calif. State U.

BOSTON

Class Series—
MARKISM AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE
Continuing bi-weekly series. First class in May takes place on Thursday, 2 May, 7:30 PM. For information on location: (617) 282-0866.

CHICAGO

Class Series—
REVOLUTIONARY MARXISM: THEORY AND PRACTICE
Continuing bi-weekly series. First class in May takes place on Wednesday, 1 May, 4 PM. Room to be posted, Circle Center, U. of Ill. For more information: (312) 728-2151.

Class Series—
STRATEGY FOR THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION
Continuing bi-weekly series. First class in May takes place on Wednesday, 1 May, 7:30 PM. Rm. 3A, Norris Center, Northwestern U. For more information: (312) 728-2151.

Class Series—
BASIC MARXISM
Continuing bi-weekly series. First class in May takes place on Thursday, 9 May, 7:30 PM. Rm. 102, Cobb Hall, U. of Chicago.

Forum—
BLACK LIBERATION THROUGH WORKERS' REVOLUTION
Speaker: Ronald Anderson, Spartacist League/RCY. To be held in May at Chicago State U. and other locations. For more information: (312) 728-2151.

Radio Show—
YOUNG SPARTACUS: A MARXIST COMMENTARY
Weekly radio show broadcast Thursdays, 6:30-7:00 PM, WHPK, 88.3 FM.

DETROIT

Class Series—
MARKISM AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE
Last class in bi-weekly series takes place on Tuesday, 7 May, 7:30 PM. Rm. 277, University Center Bldg., Wayne State U. For more information: (313) 921-4626.

Forum—
BLACK AND RED
Speaker: Len Meyers, Spartacist League/RCY. Sunday, 12 May, 7 PM. Woodward 13100, Trinity Methodist Church. For more information: (313) 921-4626.

KENT

Class Series—
MARXISM OR NEW LEFTISM?
Continuing bi-weekly series. First class in May takes place on Wednesday, 8 May, 8 PM. 319 Student Center, Kent State University. For further information: (216) 651-4613.

LOS ANGELES

Class Series—
SPARTACIST LEAGUE/RCY CLASS
Weekly series meets every Friday, 7:30 PM. For more information: (213) 485-1838.

NEW YORK

Class Series—
BASIC TROTSKYISM
Bi-weekly series. First class takes place on Thursday, 25 April, 7:30 PM. Rm. 522, 260 West Broadway (near Canal St.), Manhattan. For more information: (212) 925-5665.

Young Spartacus

Terrorism No Strategy for Revolution

Why We Defended Weatherman But Do Not Defend the SLA

A wave of terrorism has swept the globe over the past few years: Weatherman bombings in the U.S., kidnappings of corporate executives in Argentina, the spectacular bombing-assassination of the Spanish Prime Minister, the mass killings by Black September, and the blowing up of Protestant working-class pubs by the Provisional wing (Provos) of the Irish Republican Army (IRA). Most recently, the terrorist activities of the Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA), a California grouping of unclear origins which claims to be political, has brought the question of terrorism to the fore.

The real capacity of ostensibly revolutionary organizations is often revealed when they are forced to take a stand on violence against the ruling class—not contemplated off in the safe and distant future, but committed suddenly in the immediate present.

The Leninist attitude toward acts of terrorism is that terrorism can at best be a tactic, such as the taking of hostages in time of civil war, but it can never be a strategy for revolution. Only when the proletariat is mobilized through its own struggles with a leadership committed to a revolutionary socialist program will there be a social overturn, i.e., the dictatorship of the proletariat.

When heroic but misguided militants commit terrorist actions directed against symbols of social oppression, it is the elementary duty of revolution-

well by Lenin in *What Is to Be Done?* when he spoke of the Economists (step-at-a-time trade unionists):

"The Economists bow to the spontaneity of the labor movement pure and simple, while the terrorists bow to the spontaneity of the passionate indignation of intellectuals who lack the ability or opportunity to connect the revolutionary struggle and the working-class movement into an integral whole. It is difficult indeed for those who have lost their belief, or who have never believed, that this is possible, to find some outlet for their indignation and revolutionary energy other than terrorism."

Thus there is a close relationship between reformism and left-wing terrorism. Almost every left-wing terrorist group in the world has reformist or centrist origins. The ERP of Argentina which has kidnapped and executed corporate executives was until recently affiliated to the same Pabloite United Secretariat as the social-democratic PST of Argentina; the split between the mainly social-democratic Officials wing of the IRA and the terrorist Provos serves to illustrate the same point. Given all of this, it is necessary to struggle against the terrorists as one does against the reformists—politically. And it is just as necessary to defend the terrorists against government attacks as it is the reformists.

Weatherman and the Left

A clear example of where such an approach was necessary but almost entirely absent on the left was the question of the now-defunct Weathermen. In the face of the Weathermen's ultra-confrontationism, virtually the entire left wrote them off as merely a "nut group" or a collection of police provocateurs, and refused to offer them

the imperialist foreign policies, nor was it even possible, as American workers had been too "bought off" by the super-profits extracted from the colonies. Instead, a necessary first step would be the construction of a broad "united front against imperialism" that would even include the "progressive" section of the bourgeoisie. Hence the ease with which McGovern later picked up New Left support, as typified by such staunch "Marxist-Leninists" as the Maoist *Guardian*.

What distinguished the Weathermen from the rest of the New Left-Maoist SDS was that they recoiled from the clearly class-collaborationist implications of their strategy. Failing to grasp the Leninist-Trotskyist alternative of the program of international proletarian revolution, the Weathermen sought an alternative merely in tactics: They addressed the bourgeoisie with bricks and bombs instead of the ballots, petitions and demonstrations of the reformists. They saw themselves as military detachments of the NLF behind enemy lines and acted accordingly.

When the Weathermen's bombings made headlines, the bourgeoisie saw in this an opportunity to crack down on the left as a whole, not just on the Weathermen. However, as Weathermen were being placed on the FBI's ten-most-wanted list and hunted down, the response of the organized left was, with the exception of the Spartacist League and the Revolutionary Marxist Caucus (the SL-supported caucus in SDS and predecessor to the Revolutionary Communist Youth), a sectarian scramble for disassociation and respectability in the eyes of the bourgeoisie, or, in the case of Youth Against War and Fascism, adaptation to the Weathermen.

The Stalinist Communist Party (CP) and the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) could only deliver cheap sermons and ridicule. Nowhere in the CP's self-proclaimed adherence to Leninism or the SWP's self-styled Trotskyism could one find a call for defense of the Weathermen (how much more easily forthcoming was the SWP's "deepest sympathy to Mrs. Kennedy and the children in their personal grief" when occasion called!).

Progressive Labor (PL), through the post-May 1969 SDS whose leadership it controlled, called Weatherman "police agents and hate-the-people lunatics" (*New Left Notes* Moratorium Supplement, 2 October 1969). This vicious cop-baiting was nothing more than cowardly slander, contrived to side-step the obligation to defend a persecuted section of the left.

The Workers League (WL), not to be outdone, was apparently enthusiastic about seeing the Weathermen smashed and called them a "proto-fascist group of declassed hoodlums" (*Bulletin*, 6 October 1969). The cynicism of this so-respectable "Marxism" is revealed when one reads in the same editorial that "the Panthers are nothing more than a black reflection of Rudd." The WL had stated earlier (*Bulletin*, 29 July 1969) that the defense of the Panthers was a class issue! If the WL really believed what it was saying about the Weathermen, then the only conclusion that could be drawn is that the Panthers are also indefensible. But the Panthers were popular and the Weathermen were not and that, for the Workers League of Tim Wohlforth, was the decisive issue.

defense against capitalist repression. Nothing could be more incorrect.

The Weatherman wing of SDS shared the erroneous conception propounded by Lin Piao and held by most of the Maoist New Left; the strategy of the "country-side surrounding the cities," i.e., that revolution in the imperialist countries had to be "postponed" until the colonies were liberated. This conception dovetailed nicely with the liberal, anti-Leninist notions of the Klonsky/Rudd/Dohrn leadership of SDS that imperialism was not an integral stage of world capitalist development, but rather a "preferred" set of foreign policies of the most reactionary section of the ruling class.

Operationally, this meant that socialist revolution in the "metropolis" was neither needed for the reversal of



Patricia Hearst

But Wohlforth does not have a monopoly on hypocrisy. In fact all the left groups who now decry the dirty tricks of the Watergate gang, but who failed to defend the Weathermen are guilty of the same opportunism. As was revealed in the recent indictments and grand jury investigations of the Weathermen, all the Watergate-type espionage and provocateurism was all given its trial run on the Weathermen. That the Weathermen would be relatively isolated and hard-pressed to find sympathy on the left or elsewhere was undoubtedly taken into account by Nixon and his cronies.

Dismissal of Federal Charges Against Weatherman

Fifteen Weathermen were indicted in June 1973 for plotting a campaign of bombing and allied acts of terrorism. The indictment was secured by Guy Goodwin of the Special Litigation section of the Justice Department's Internal Security Division. Goodwin specializes in the prosecution of radicals and in this case he apparently directed the work of Larry Grathwohl, who "joined the group," according to the *New York Times*, "as a federal agent and has said that he gave instructions in explosives and fuse-making and helped to plan bombings."

When it was discovered that the prosecution had also resorted to illegal wiretaps to get evidence, Judge Damon Keith ordered the prosecution to disclose any illegal electronic surveillance, mail covers, break-ins, sabotage, espionage or provocateurism carried out against the Weathermen by the White House, Intelligence Evaluation Committee, FBI, CIA, National Security Agency and others. Rather than comply, the prosecution requested on 15 October that the charges of interstate conspiracy be dismissed. That in itself spoke volumes about the extent of these agencies' involvement in illegal harassment of the Weathermen.

Thus while the SWP proclaims loudly that it is in the forefront of the fight against Watergate dirty tricks with its suit against Nixon and Co.'s harassment of the SWP/YSA, in practice it left the first victims of the 1968 Hoover Memo

(Continued on page 7)



Bernardine Dohrn announcing "expulsion" of Worker-Student Alliance majority at May 1969 SDS National Conference. To her left is Mark Rudd. Both later became Weatherman leaders.

aries, while politically criticizing these acts of self-defeating adventurism, to solidarize with the just motives of the terrorists as against the systematic terror of bourgeois "law and order."

That solidarity can only be given substance by calling for the defense of the militants against capitalist repression! It is only with these commitments to defense that we have the moral authority to demand of the terrorists that they take another road. Anything less betrays class solidarity and invites the spread of repression to the rest of the left and workers movement.

Left-Wing Terrorism and Reformism

The interconnection between reformism and terrorism was captured