

Young Spartacus

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Indochina War Goes On



YOUNG SPARTACUS

SL/RCY contingent intervenes with revolutionary slogans in SWP-sponsored march.

Military Victory to the NLF, Khmer Rouge, Pathet Lao!

The Indochinese war goes on. Given the determination of the National Liberation Front (NLF) to hold onto lands presently under its control and the determination of Thieu to seize these lands for the South, a major intensification and escalation of the civil war remains a possibility. Hanging over Indochina like the Sword of Damocles is the continued threat of direct U.S. intervention either through massive bombing as was carried out last December or through the reintroduction of troops.

The Thieu regime reports that its army, the ARVN, has killed 41,099 "Communists" while sustaining 13,000 casualties since the Paris "Peace" Accords went into effect on 28 January 1973. While one may question the way the statistics are weighted, for no doubt the ARVN officer corps has been trained by its American counterpart in the fine art of "body counts" in order to demonstrate military success through a high "kill-ratio," nonetheless no commentator, whether pro-Thieu-U.S. or pro-NLF has questioned the magnitude of these statistics. For example, *The Economist* of 15-21 December 1973 reports that just in the one battle for Keim Duc, a small town on the Cambodian border, 1,000 casualties each were sustained on both sides.

Throughout 1972 the major battle that raged within the U.S. peace movement was between the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and its demand, "Bring Our Boys Home Now," and the demands of the Stalinists, both the "social imperialist" Brezhnevite Stalinists and the "splitters and disrupters" in the Maoist-Stalinist movement who formed a united front bridging even the Ussuri River around the demand for the U.S. to "Sign Now" the Paris "Peace" Accords. No matter how sharp their rhetoric became, both the SWP and the Stalinists accepted the Menshevik "two-stage revolution" strategy for Vietnam which dictates that a colonial country can only obtain national liberation through a bourgeois-democratic revolution led by a multi-class political bloc (the NLF) including (and therefore politically subordinated to) the national bourgeoisie.

"Self-Determination" or Social Revolution?

Therefore (and here there was a convergence with the *left* wing of the International Socialists!), what was at stake in Vietnam was not an anti-capitalist social revolution, but simply a struggle for "self-determination." Thus the SWP and the Stalinists, accepting this Menshevik framework, accused each other and their respective slogans of performing a treacherous betrayal of Vietnamese "self-determination." This sharp "principled" political struggle culminated in a joint SWP-Stalinist "Out Now"- "Sign Now" demonstration in Washington, D.C.

In addition to agreement over the

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RCY Conferences Plan Campus Activities, Black Work; Traditions of Communist Youth Work Discussed

Regional conferences on the West Coast and in the mid-West were held by the Revolutionary Communist Youth (RCY) in November, in conjunction with Spartacist League (SL) regional gatherings. Sixty-seven members and supporters attended the West Coast conferences and 102 attended the mid-West gathering, reflecting the continuing national growth of the RCY and SL.

The national RCY report at the conferences included a brief historical overview of the work of the Communist Youth International (CYI) through the period of the first four Congresses of the Communist International (CI), and of the youth work of the American Trotskyists from the period of the Left Opposition up until WWII.

The historical roots of the tendency towards the error of "youth vanguardism" in the early CYI were located in the conjunctural vanguard role played by many of the social-democratic youth organizations in breaking from the social patriotism of their parent parties at the outbreak of WWI. A section of the youth, led by Willi Munzenberg, incorrectly generalized this fact into a conception of the youth as a natural revolutionary vanguard or, at least, as guardians of revolutionary principles and program who must play the role

of keeping the party on the correct track. This was the basis for the dispute over youth-party relations that occupied the CYI for several years and which resulted in the CI's development of the theses on youth-party relations, laying out the norm of "organizational independence, political subordination" for the youth, a tradition followed today by the RCY. (For a lengthy discussion on this dispute in the CYI, see "Youth-Party Relations in the Communist Youth International," this issue, p. 12.)

That ostensibly revolutionary youth organizations have not played a consistently leftist role was underlined by the speaker through a number of historical instances. Stalin was successful, for example, in transforming the youth groups into effective factional weapons against the Trotskyists in the period of "Bolshevization" (i.e., complete bureaucratization) of the CI (1924-27); and in the 1939-40 factional dispute in the American Socialist Workers Party, the majority of the youth split with the petty-bourgeois Shachtman-Abern faction.

CYI: "Turn to the Masses" (of Young Workers)

The Second CI Congress adopted the

slogan "turn to the masses," defeating the ultralefts who saw an ever-ascending revolutionary spiral in the immediate period. The "right wing" of the CI, led by Lenin and Trotsky, held that the Communists did not have hegemony over the masses and, in view of a series of defeats for the working class and a growing capitalist offensive, it was adventurist to attempt now to lead insurrections; it was necessary to conquer the masses, not to indulge in suicidal "putschism." This line was rather mechanically carried over to the youth sections of the CYI, where all sections were instructed to turn to the "masses of young workers."

It was to be applied equally in countries with mass youth organizations (Russia) and where the youth organizations were still quite small (e.g., England, the U.S.). It was to be applied equally in countries where young workers were organized as such (e.g., Germany, where the trade unions had youth sections and where most young workers were separated from the rest of the class in apprenticeship programs) and where young workers were generally integrated into the working class as a whole (e.g., the U.S.).

Concomitant with this turn to the

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EDITORIAL NOTES

Free Karl Armstrong!

MADISON—On 24 August 1970 the Army Math Research Center (AMRC) at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, was destroyed by an explosion equivalent to 3400 sticks of dynamite. A researcher, Robert Fassnacht, working in a physics laboratory in the same building, was killed. (Although a telephone call informed the police of the impending explosion and warned them to clear the building, they did not respond.)

The character of the AMRC is established beyond any doubt: It is an army-funded project for the investigation of the application of mathematical techniques to military ends—a research center for the repressive apparatus of the bourgeois state. Projects have included the development of infrared sensors to detect guerrilla detachments (like that of Guevara in Bolivia) and research laying the basis for the "carpet bombing" techniques used in Vietnam.

Karleton Lewis Armstrong was apprehended on 17 February 1972 in Toronto, Canada, and illegally extradited to Wisconsin (Canadian law bars extradition for "crimes of a political character"). On 28 September of this year, Armstrong pleaded "guilty" to four counts of arson and second degree murder—in order "to fully deal with the real issues and not be inhibited by the restrictions of a trial where legal obstructions, high emotions, personalities and inevitable confrontations and sensation would serve no constructive purpose" (statement by Armstrong). He was sentenced on 1 November to an "indeterminate" prison term not to exceed 23 years.

Although Armstrong's actions were based on a sense of moral outrage against the Vietnam War and American imperialism, rather than a conception of the strategy and tactics necessary to abolish the blood-drenched capitalist system through proletarian revolution, they were directed against the class enemy, and Armstrong must be unconditionally defended. For revolutionaries, the death of an innocent bystander is an unfortunate—but subordinate—question in the matter of Armstrong's defense.

As Trotsky wrote:

"We Marxists consider the tactic of individual terror inexpedient in the tasks of the liberating struggle of the proletariat as well as oppressed nationalities. A single isolated hero cannot replace the masses. But we understand only too clearly the inevitability of such convulsive acts of despair and vengeance. All our emotions, all our sympathies are with the self-sacrificing avengers even though they have been unable to discover the correct road."

—"For Grynspan," *Writings 1938-39*, p. 144

Contributions for the defense should be sent to the Karl Armstrong Defense Committee, 1127 University Avenue, Box 2521, Madison, Wisconsin 53711.

Defend Shelton McCrainey! Oppose RU Gangsterism!

DETROIT—The period of the 1973 auto contract talks saw the victimization of militants at the hands of the Big 3 auto companies, as the labor bureaucracy clearly revealed its treacherous role as the agents of the bosses in the workers' movement, seeking to whip any opposition into submitting to their egregious betrayals.

Shelton McCrainey, a young black militant who worked at GM's Truck and Coach Master Parts Warehouse No. 10 in Belleville, Michigan, was subjected to racist intimidation and harassment, and now faces 15 years in prison for alleged assault with the intent to commit great bodily harm. This is the culmination of a systematic campaign to get McCrainey, who was well known as a militant in the plant, and a member of the Justice for the People Caucus, a caucus supported by the Revolutionary Union (RU) and the Black Workers Congress (BWC).

McCrainey had previously been physically beaten in the bathroom at the plant by a group of workers, including the son of a GM foreman. Racist epithets directed at McCrainey were scrawled on the bathroom walls. On 28 June, McCrainey was set up by a foreman, Ron Sears, who wrote him up for allegedly not wearing his safety glasses during his break. McCrainey called his committeeman but was never able to reach him. McCrainey was pulled aside later in the day by Sears, and a scuffle with six foremen and management personnel ensued, leading to the arrest of McCrainey. The Spartacist League/Revolutionary Communist Youth (SL/RCY) stands in solidarity with Shelton McCrainey against the attacks of the company and the government, and calls for all charges to be dropped and for McCrainey and other fired militants to be reinstated.

While denouncing the atrocities of the UAW bureaucracy in its complicity with the auto companies' attempts to purge McCrainey, the RU and the BWC, the dominant organizations in the Shelton McCrainey Defense Committee, have demonstrated blatant disregard for workers democracy, resorting to the methods of the labor bureaucrats themselves to silence left critics, and thereby greatly weakening the defense of McCrainey—which would have the best chances for success through a united struggle of all forces opposing his victimization.

Members of the SL/RCY were prevented from attending a defense meeting/rally in Detroit in November. At a forum on McCrainey held in Ann Arbor, SL/RCYers were consistently bureaucratically cut off by members of the RU and Attica Brigade when the SL/RCY members attempted to raise the need for a class-struggle alternative in the UAW. On 3 December, SL/RCYers went to the trial at the City Court Building to demonstrate support for McCrainey's defense. While the SL/RCY unconditionally defends Shelton McCrainey against the attacks of the capitalist class, we have fundamental differences with the RU and the BWC regarding revolutionary strategy. Don Williams of the BWC attempted to stifle the criticisms of the SL/RCY through physical intimidation, pushing around two RCYers, and charging disruption and diversion. We oppose hooliganism and thuggery within the left as it undermines the strength of the working-class movement, opens up the left to bourgeois attack, and serves as a roadblock to the struggle for political clarity so necessary to the construction of a genuine Marxist vanguard.

The RU has developed non-criticism of reformists into a fine art, yet uses physical violence against other left opponents in blatant defiance of the principle of workers democracy. At a critical time for the farm workers, when the Chavez bureaucracy was sabotaging the strike, the RU not only did not attack the Chavez bureaucracy, but continued tail-ending it, including doing its work by physically threatening left critics of the bureaucracy. When a goon squad inspired by UAW officials attacked not only *Workers Vanguard* salesmen but also those of the RU-supported paper *People Get Ready* at the Parma, Ohio,

Chevrolet plant, the RU categorically refused any joint action with the SL despite common victimization by the same anti-communist bureaucrats. While demonstrating their total servility to the wretched labor bureaucracy, RU supporters have attacked *WV* salesmen and salesmen of the Workers League's *Bulletin* at the Fremont, California GM plant, which provoked the passage of the following resolution at a meeting on 28 Oct., 1973 of UAW local 1364 (see *Workers Vanguard* No. 32, 9 Nov. 1973):

"No member of this union shall attempt to prevent the sales or distribution outside of the plant of the literature of the various labor-socialist groups, since this violates the basic traditions of this union of free and open discussion within the labor movement."

It is understandable that the RU and the BWC feel vulnerable to Marxist criticisms of their policy of supporting only those minimal demands which can gain instant popularity and support to lesser-evil bureaucrats like Miller in the United Mine Workers and the Brotherhood Caucus at Fremont. Perhaps they are sensitive to criticisms of the Justice for the People Caucus, which poses no clear programmatic alternative to the present union bureaucracy and calls, for example, for the hiring of more black foremen.

While we will defend our rights by all appropriate means, it is with the strength of our ideas and organization that the SL/RCY will demonstrate the correctness of our program—in the Bolshevik tradition of ideological struggle within the left.

YSA Stoges for Chavez Bureaucracy

DETROIT—On 30 October, Richard Chavez (brother of Cesar Chavez) spoke at a meeting of the Wayne State University United Farm Workers Support Committee, laying out the current "strategy" of the Chavez bureaucracy. This amounted to the abandonment of the strike in California through the dispersal of UFW organizers and pickets across the country as part of the current lettuce boycott.

This move by the UFW tops represents more than just a retreat from the immediate survival issues of the union (the ability to strike); it is the clear exposure of the *political course* Chavez has chosen—rejection of a class-struggle road in favor of a class-collaborationist one. The boycott does not pressure the growers so much as it placates the liberal bourgeoisie and their friends in the church.

The divergence of the two paths is further shown in the UFW bureaucrats' insistence that the union *forewear* all physical violence, even in self-defense. The "progressive" Chavez bureaucracy is the first to put this into any union constitution! And further, when noting the hundreds of union pickets who have been jailed, Chavez could only moralize on the "nobleness and dignity" with which the farmworkers went to jail.

This total disarmament of the UFW in the face of grower/government/Teamster bureaucracy attack is meant to reduce the union into a sympathy-drawing pawn of the Kennedys and, like all pawns, to be eventually sacrificed. Indeed, the UFW has today undergone such a drastic decline in membership and jurisdiction that its very existence is imperiled.

Also speaking at the meeting was Arturo Ramirez of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) who did not feel compelled, when facing the union bureaucrat, to say anything more critical of this betrayal than, "Farm workers ought to have the right to defend themselves"—not even insisting that they should! Ramirez ventured only a token, implied criticism, all the while solidarizing with the overall class-collaborationist "strategy" of the bureaucrats.

The YSA's commitment to this course was put to the test early on in the discussion when a supporter of the Revolutionary Communist Youth spoke to the urgent need for a call addressing all California labor and especially Teamster ranks to defend the UFW through a general strike, "hot cargoing" scab products and defense of the picket lines.

Richard Chavez did not even have to respond before Lee Artz, YSA National Committee member, jumped up and began to rave about immediately adjourning the meeting, ending the discussion and setting up a boycott picket line instead. This stoging for the Chavez bureaucracy left Chavez himself with little more to add than some redbaiting in the Meanyite tradition, ending the meeting with the remark, "I don't know if you're with the *Bulletin* or the *New Solidarity* or any of that other trash, but if you are, you're no friend of mine and we don't want your help!" Even though Chavez and his YSA ("other trash"?) sycophants would have rather seen the forces split, the RCY went on to participate in the picket line outside the campus newspaper, *The South End*, which was running ads for scab products. On the line the RCY continued to raise class-struggle demands and criticisms of the sell-out bureaucracy.

U. of ILL. Dismantles Puerto Rican Recruitment Program

CHICAGO—The Administration of the University of Illinois Circle Campus combined budget cuts with a racist attack on Latin students when it bureaucratically dismantled the Puerto Rican Recruitment Program (PRRP) which had recruited 117 Latin students and merged it with the Educational Assistance Program (EAP). In February Chancellor Cheston had said, "Our rate of growth at this campus will have to be curtailed," since Nixon's Federal Budget proposal meant a loss of \$9 million to the University. To cut costs the PRRP was abolished and merged into the do-nothing EAP.

On 27 September the Puerto Rican Community Advisory Board responded with a sit-in in University Hall where 39 students were arrested. SDS, active in the sit-in, was adventurist (announcing that the arrests were a victory) and politically tail-ended the prevalent nationalism and reformism.

In fact the PRRP's exclusionist nature prevented a unified fight against the end to recruitment. The protesters demanded that 300 Puerto Ricans, 300 Chicanos and a proportionate number of other Latins be recruited, reflecting the fact that 400 out of 20,000 students (2.5 percent) at Circle are Latin in contrast to their representation in the population of Chicago (17 percent). Similarly, the percentage of blacks enrolled (11 percent) is below that of their numbers in the city population. The protesters wanted to increase the number of Latin students without increasing the total enrollment. This allows the administration to pit white, black and Latin youth against each other by offering minimal gains for one group at the expense of the others.

Unlike SDS, which based its strategy on widening these divisions and tailed the nationalists, the RCY opposed the closure of the PRRP, called for student-teacher-worker control of the entire university as opposed to simply having each group control its own recruitment, open admissions for all with a full state-provided stipend, and unconditional defense of those arrested.

Calif. State U. Teach-In Protests Greek Events

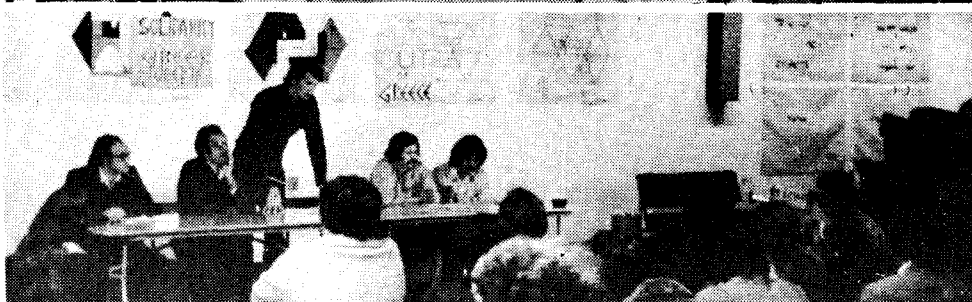
SAN FRANCISCO—In response to the suppression of the 17 November worker-student demonstrations in Greece and the Ioannidis coup, Greek students held a teach-in at California State University on 29 November. Among the speakers at the teach-in were the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and the Revolutionary Communist Youth (RCY).

The thrust of the remarks of the YSA's speaker was an appeal to liberal bourgeois public opinion. While giving lip service to the need for workers revolution in Greece, the YSA ignored the questions of program, strategy and revolutionary leadership necessary to execute such a revolution. Except for the slogans calling for an end to U.S. aid to the junta, withdrawal of NATO from Greece, and U.S. troops out of Greece (slogans we of course support), the YSA ignored the international questions which must be addressed if a social revolution in Greece is to be achieved.

Nowhere did the YSA address itself to the question of European reaction, the role of the deformed workers states, or the American proletarian revolution. Instead of using the teach-in as a platform for revolutionary propaganda, the YSA saw the event only as one which could "play an important role in gaining wide support for the Greek students and workers, while exposing the crimes of the junta and the U.S. government," thus placing the strategic focus on "public opinion" rather than on the international working-class struggle.

The RCY, on the other hand, stressed that the execution and consolidation of the Greek revolution must be seen in the context of the struggle for the international proletarian revolution and its leadership. While expressing solidarity with the struggle of the Greek workers, students and peasants, calling for labor strikes in defense of Greek class-war prisoners, and the destruction of the junta through workers revolution, the RCY pointed out that any effort for revolution in Greece cannot be divorced from the struggle for a United Socialist States of Europe, for the American proletarian revolution, and for political revolution in the Soviet Union.

Whereas the YSA posed a "solution" to the Greek question which for the most part could be supported by any liberal Democrat, the RCY posed the necessity for the rebirth of the Trotskyist Fourth International to provide the solution to the international tasks posed by the Greek struggle.



SL/RCY raised class-struggle and proletarian internationalist slogans in response to Greek events. SL/RCY banners in New York City demonstration in front of Greek Embassy (top). RCY speaker at San Francisco teach-in sponsored by Greek students (bottom).

LETTER

3 December 1973
Cambridge, Mass.

Dear Comrades,

The accusations made against the Zionist "Old Guard" in "Not Jew Against Arab, But Class Against Class!" in *Young Spartacus* No. 20 (Nov.-Dec. 1973) ("It is the same Zionist 'Old Guard' who sends these youth into battle who collaborated with the Nazis during WWII to load the bulk of European Jewry into the boxcars for the gas chambers in order that a handful of Jews with enough money and the 'right' connections could escape. It is the same 'Old Guard' who went to the capitals of the major 'Allied powers' and lobbied these countries to shut their borders to Jewish immigration so that the refugees from Hitler's 'final solution' would be forced into the 'Promised Land.'") if not substantiated with evidence may appear to be lies and rhetoric to readers (who are subjected to an endless barrage of Zionist lies and distortions), attempting to analyze with some objectivity the Arab-Israeli conflict. Although space limitations often-times prevent documentation of historical facts, I believe that it is necessary to realize in debunking the myth of the "Jewish national liberation" movement the propaganda strength of American Zionists and prove without doubt claims that certain Zionists cooperated not only with Allied imperialism, but Nazism as well, to the detriment of the Jewish masses in Europe.

I would direct the readers of *Young Spartacus* interested in the origins of Zionism to *Workers Vanguard* No. 33 (23 Nov. 1973) for an excellent Marxist

analysis of "The Birth of the Zionist State."

For a Socialist Federation of the Near East,
Ben V.

[The editors reply:

The most impeccable and revealing source for Nazi-Zionist collaboration is *The Secret Roads: The "Illegal" Migration of a People, 1938-1948*, the account of the "illegal underground" that helped Jews escape from Nazi-occupied countries, which is extensively quoted from in the article "The Birth of The Zionist State" in *Workers Vanguard* No. 33. What makes this account both impeccable and revealing is that it is by two of the world's most prominent Zionists, Jon and David Kimche, who glory in the various Zionist dealings with Eichmann and other SS tops. No wonder Israel finally had to do away with Eichmann—not for his crimes against the Jewish people but because he knew too much about the role of the Zionist movement both prior to and during WWII.

There are many other academic sources which deal with Nazi-Zionist collaboration, the most important of which is Raul Hilberg's comprehensive and well-documented *The Destruction of European Jewry*. Hilberg's book is a scathing indictment of the Nazis and also of those self-proclaimed "democratic" governments like the U.S. which through general insensitivity to the Jewish problem and reactionary immigration quotas bear no small share of the blame for the destruction of European Jewry.

At the height of the extermination campaign, for example, when 6,000 Jews every day were being marched off to the Nazi ovens and thousands more were dying of starvation, disease and exposure in the concentration and forced labor camps, the U.S. government, fully aware through its intelligence operations of the extent of this catastrophe, allowed no more immigration than that which was permitted under the quotas established in 1924: 1,500 a month for all of Central and Eastern Europe! Further, the Roosevelt government did everything possible to suppress information about the genocide of European Jews from reaching the American public.

Hilberg's account also deals with the role of the various Jewish organizations, including the Zionists. Nothing could be more incriminating than this scholarly and restrained treatment of the treachery of the Jewish-Zionist establishment. The principal instru-

ment for collaboration with the Nazis was the "Jewish Councils" or *Judenrat* which were set up in German-occupied Eastern and Central Europe wherever there was a large concentration of Jews. They were a macabre variant of the autonomous ghetto which was a legacy of the Middle Ages, a kind of Yiddish "community control." These Councils were composed of the "prominent Jews"—leading businessmen, rabbis, Zionists and intellectuals. The Councils were the local adminis-

Hilberg writes of the cosy and profitable relationship between the Jewish Agency, the Zionist proto-government in Palestine, and Hitler's Germany:

"Jews emigrating to Palestine were given a special opportunity to remove their capital by the so-called *Haavara* agreement. This agreement was concluded by the German Reich and the Jewish Agency for Palestine. In form, it was a modified clearing arrangement. Under its terms a Jewish 'capitalist' who wanted to emigrate to Palestine was permitted to make a contract with a German exporter for the transfer of goods from Germany to Palestine. The German exporter was paid with funds drawn from the blocked accounts of the emigrant Jew. The emigrant received his Palestine currency from the Jewish Agency upon his arrival in Palestine... The Jewish Agency and the exporters were satisfied with this arrangement as were the emigrants themselves. It seemed as though economic relations between Nazi Germany and the Jewish community in Palestine were excellent."

—*The Destruction of European Jewry*, p. 95

The most notorious case of Nazi-Zionist collaboration was that of Dr. Rudolph Kastner, the associate president of the Hungarian Zionists and the head of the Budapest Jewish Council. Kastner raised from rich Hungarian Jews the equivalent of \$1,600,000 in order to save exactly 1,684 Jews for Israel while he aided in the extermination of 760,000 Hungarian Jews. In his memoirs, Eichmann said of Kastner:

"...[he] agreed to keep the Jews from resisting deportation—and even keep order in the camps if I would close my eyes and let a few hundred or a few thousand Jews emigrate illegally to Palestine. It was a good bargain."

—"Eichmann's Story," *Life Magazine*, 5 December 1960

As Hilberg narrates, the American Jewish-Zionist establishment was no better than its European counterpart. Even during the height of the Nazi extermination campaign during WWII the Zionist and even certain prominent Jewish organizations did not demand that the U.S. open its borders to Jewish refugees. What Hilberg does not document was that while the Zionists were busy raising funds for the SS, it was the Trotskyists who took an active role in the struggle against fascism in Europe and were the leaders of the campaign for England and the U.S. to open their borders to the Jews.]■

Forums

World Oil Tangle

Speaker: Joseph Seymour, SL Central Committee. Thurs., 17 Jan., 7:30 PM and Fri., 18 Jan., 12:30 PM at Hilberly A-UCB, Wayne State U; Fri., 18 Jan., 7:30 PM at Rm. 4203, U. of Mich., Ann Arbor.

Detroit

trative extension of Hitler's "final solution" at the "grass roots" level.

The Councils made a complete census of their communities, including an inventory of all the possessions of every Jew living under their "jurisdiction," including every stick of furniture, every piece of clothing and the infamous gold fillings. These lists would then be handed over to the Nazis and on this basis the Nazis would establish quotas for the labor, concentration and extermination camps. The Councils would have full "freedom" to select those who would fill the quotas. The Councils often raised a Jewish police force to round up the candidates and put them on the boxcars and then expropriate their possessions to pay the passage.

As Hilberg points out, and this is corroborated with a vengeance by the Kimche brothers, the Zionists worked both through and with the Jewish Councils in order that a handful of Jews could escape to the "Promised Land" with full knowledge that the overwhelming majority of European Jewry was destined for destruction. The Jews who escaped were overwhelmingly wealthy Jews who could pay and bribe their way to the land of the prophets. Thus,

Young Spartacus

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Circulation manager: M. Sanders

Young Spartacus is published by the Revolutionary Communist Youth, youth section of the Spartacist League. We seek to build a revolutionary socialist youth organization which can intervene in all 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

City College RCY Supports N.Y.C. 1199 Strike

NEW YORK—RCY supporters from the City College of New York (CCNY) marched in November in solidarity with striking 1199 (Drug and Hospital Workers' Union) workers at Knickerbocker Hospital adjacent to the City College campus. Through a leaflet distributed on the campus and at picket lines throughout the city, students were urged to support the strike, while the link was made between the attacks faced by students in the form of tuition hikes and educational cutbacks and those faced by

the striking workers and the working class as a whole (see "1199 Leadership Bows to Nixon," Workers Vanguard No. 33, 23 Nov. 1973).

Just as we have counterposed a working-class perspective on cutbacks to the parochial, student-power approach of the rest of the campus left, so we were the only left organization to initiate a politically substantive response to the strike. We print below sections of the text of the leaflet passed out by the CCNY Chapter of the RCY.

a political fight, waged around the demands of a revolutionary program, and with the leadership of a revolutionary vanguard party.

Class-conscious students and workers must see the necessity of transcending the narrow campus parochialism which assumes that students alone fight for a better educational system while workers fight only for wage demands. Historically, gains in the quality of public education have been by-products of working-class struggle; fighting to keep reforms like open admissions in existence means maintaining education for workers and their children. More importantly, the demand for free higher education for all with stipend raises the issue of education for the entire working class—the need for a wage to maintain workers and students while they are in school. Through actively supporting the 1199 strike, the RCY seeks to further link the fight against educational cutbacks to the struggle in the labor movement as a whole.

In the last few weeks New York City has experienced an increase in city-wide labor strikes. After waiting four months for a second-year 7.5 percent increase (about \$12.00 per week) to be approved by the Federal Cost of Living Council, and after having a 5.5 percent interim increase rejected, 1199 struck 48 voluntary hospitals and nursing homes with a work stoppage by 30,000 technical, service and maintenance workers. One of the units being struck is Knickerbocker Hospital, adjacent to CCNY at 70 Convent Avenue. As of this writing, the mayor's office has reportedly sent appeals to the Council, which in turn claims that it is reviewing the case but does not know how long that will take. The union is up against a federal court injunction and has hired lawyer Leonard Boudin to go to court to test the constitutionality of the Council itself, obviously calling into question the legality of any of the measures which the administration has taken against labor.

The 1199 strike poses an important role for students—the perspective of building work-stoppage and strike-support committees as well as the immediate task of supporting the strike by physical and political presence on the picket lines. If the initial turnout by left campus organizations at the Knickerbocker lines is any indication, almost all the supposed revolutionary tendencies are abstaining from participation. This despicable response clearly exposes all the lofty words about fighting cutbacks and tuition hikes put forth by such groups as the Attica Brigade, the

Black Anti-Imperialist Student Caucus, the Third World CUNY Coalition, the SWP/YSA, as well as the nationalist leadership of the Black Studies Department.

For a City-Wide Strike Against Wage Controls and to Oust Nixon!

The federal wage controls are the fundamental cornerstone of Nixon's domestic policy. We raise the demand of a city-wide strike against the wage controls and to oust Nixon because it directly poses the tasks of a united labor struggle. With other unions striking for their own series of demands, an excellent opportunity for labor to unite against the controls exists; 1199 could spearhead such a movement. It is important to recognize that by striking against wage controls, labor strikes against the Nixon government.

No Cutbacks in Social Service; Jobs for All! Oust Nixon! For a Workers Party to Fight for a Workers Government!

United labor action to fight wage controls and to oust Nixon from office would represent the independent force of the working class and would expose the hypocrisy of those bourgeois political leaders from both parties who are merely calling for impeachment and resignation, neither of which would even result in new elections. Impeachment-mongering by the liberal bourgeoisie, represented on campus and elsewhere by numerous impeachment petitions, in no way fundamentally challenges the class interests which any government led by bourgeois parties would serve. The same congressional leaders who cry for impeachment continue to support vicious attacks upon labor as well as imperialist foreign policy, the true obscurities of the capitalist class and the government which it supports. These are the same spokesmen who cynically bait 1199 for supposedly striking against "the public," while they themselves hold down wages and maintain indecent social service budgets. The demand for a workers party to oust Nixon and fight for a workers government would represent the struggle on the part of the rank and file of the trade unions to take measures against class enemies on their own terms. The creation of such an alternative class-struggle party which could fight for the interests of the working class as a whole, particularly in the instance of crisis in the bourgeois apparatus, would be a monumental achievement in the fight for a workers government!



SL/RCYers on 1199 picket line.

Support the 1199 Strike!

The strike of Drug and Hospital Union 1199, currently in progress, comes in the midst of severe attacks on the working class and students as well, in the form of massive cutbacks in social services and education. Through such repressive mechanisms as the wage-price freeze, no-strike clauses, veto of the minimum wage, the Cost of Living Council, and "workfare" programs, the capitalist class is proceeding to squeeze the blood out of the working class, while the farcical Nixon administration sinks deeper into an abyss of cynicism and corruption. On the campuses, in particular throughout the CUNY [City University of New York] and SUNY [State University of New York] systems, tuition hikes went into effect this fall, cutbacks are threatened in the ethnic studies departments and the overall Open Admissions Pro-

gram for city residents at schools like CCNY is clearly in jeopardy. The RCY, youth section of the Spartacist League, has consistently and militantly opposed the hikes and threatened cutbacks—most recently, those leveled against the Black Studies Department at CCNY (see "Black Nationalists Oppose United Struggle," *Young Spartacus* No. 20, Nov.-Dec. 1973).

For Free Higher Education for All With Stipend! Only the Working Class Can Defeat Capitalist Attacks!

As socialists, we see the working class as the agent of revolution in capitalist society, because of the nature of its organization in production. It is the only class with the strategic social power to make a successful socialist revolution as the resolution of the crises of capitalism. The struggle is not merely an economic one, but rather

Indochina War Goes On...

Continued from page 1

"two-stage revolution" for Vietnam, both the SWP and the various Stalinist groups were united in their commitment to social pacifism, i.e., that the way to end imperialist war is to parade all peace-loving people from all classes in big demonstrations of supplication before the temples of bourgeois state power. And, of course, when the U.S. both signed the "Peace" Treaty and brought "Our Boys" home, the SWP and the Stalinists claimed this as their respective victories.

The continuation of the Indochinese War demonstrates that both the SWP and the Stalinists were right about each others' slogans. For neither Henry Kissinger's signature on the "Peace" Treaty or the fact that "Our Boys" are at "Home" (or in Europe and in various aircraft carriers throughout the world) has meant that

the Vietnamese are able to realize their "self-determination," much less their social revolution which so much of the left has ignored.

In fact the "Peace" Treaty was the framework in which the SWP's pacifist dreams would be realized, i.e., a withdrawal of "Our Boys" from Indochina without exacerbating the American class struggle and with the consent of the American bourgeoisie, and at the same time allowing Nixon enough loopholes to continue to prop up Thieu and prevent the consummation of the social revolution in South Vietnam. According to the NLF, since the "Peace" Treaty was signed, the U.S. has provided Thieu with 500 aircraft; 600 tanks; 200 ships; 600 pieces of heavy artillery; 200,000 tons of artillery shells; and 150,000 tons of bombs.

According to *New York Times* cor-

respondents, Thieu is receiving more military aid from the U.S. than he can use even to equip his 1.1 million-man army, his 120,000 uniformed police, his 40,000 secret police and his 100,000 "pacification cadres" (and all this recruited from a population of only 19 million!), so that armaments rust unused in warehouses and hangars. Nixon requested \$4.1 billion from Congress for military aid to Thieu which the Congress, "taking the offensive against Nixon and his war-making powers" as we are so often told by the Communist Party's *Daily World*, cut back to a "mere" \$2.5 billion. Of course, according to the U.S. government all of this military aid is perfectly legal under the "one-for-onereplacement" stipulation of the "Peace" Treaty. And so are the 22,000 American "advisors" in South Vietnam who have traded their uniforms for civilian clothes and now

receive their dollars from the Vietnamese treasury instead of from the U.S.

Cambodian Struggle Continues

In Cambodia the situation is similar to South Vietnam. Lon Nol has simply substituted continuous, heavy artillery barrages for U.S. bombing support. Congress waged another one of those parliamentary tempests in a teapot, first by revealing Nixon's Watergate in Cambodia, i.e., the "unauthorized" and secret bombings of Cambodia during 1969-70. Then Congress cut off the bombing and threatened to cut off all military aid.

However, behind the threats and rhetoric for the *Congressional Record*, the 20 December 1973 *New York Times* reports that Congress gave "the

(continued on next page)

Gov't Attacks Black Education in South

As part of the fallout from last year's student upsurge on the Southern University (SU) system campuses in Louisiana, attacks are being made against black education in the state. Governor Edwin Edwards' earlier threat to simply close the SU system and his current threat to refuse all federal aid to education rather than integrate the universities reflect the most reactionary racist callousness to the problems facing black youth who seek higher education. The NAACP's proposal to simply merge the SU system with the predominantly white Louisiana State University (LSU) system without proposing any changes in the latter does not take into account real advantages which the SU system's merger would remove (e.g., the tuition differential). While the separatist National Save and Change Black Schools Project (NSACBS) is more sensitive to the problems facing black youth, NSACBS offers no break from the reformist confines which its nationalism has built.

Edwards' Attack on Black Education

Immediately after the murders of students at SU in Baton Rouge last year, Edwards closed the university there and began to study the possibility of using its facilities for other state functions. But in the end, Edwards' segregationist appetites and his ability to break the back of the student struggle have prevailed. He is now a supporter of maintaining the SU system as a separate black educational system.

The Federal government via the Health, Education and Welfare Department has threatened to cut off all Federal funds to state universities if they do not integrate more fully. Mainly the increase in integration of state colleges would affect the SU system which is totally attended by blacks. But since Edwards favors racial se-

gregation, he has threatened to let the federal government cut off funds rather than touch the admissions policy of the black colleges.

The cutoff of federal funds would create additional enormous burdens on the state universities, and the alleviation of this burden would be at least partially if not totally accomplished by a hike in tuition.

The NAACP Merger Proposal

The NAACP via a court suit has proposed simple merger of the SU and LSU systems. This proposal does not take into account the difference in tuition paid by students attending the different systems—students at SU have always paid lower tuition than students attending the LSU system. Nor does the NAACP proposal take into account the ability of SU to meet the needs of students who come from educational backgrounds crippled by racist school boards. The NAACP proposal would only grant equal opportunity to middle-class blacks; poor black youth would suffer.

NSACBS: "Separation and Change"

The NSACBS Project was started after last year's events at SU, chiefly in response to the attacks on the SU system by the NAACP and Edwards. The NSACBS while seeing the need to upgrade black education endorses separation as necessary:

"We also see the efforts to establish independent educational institutions from kindergarten to the university level as a necessary and legitimate endeavor."

—National Save and Change Black Schools, p. 9

But it is precisely the separation of black and white students which is at the heart of the inferior education

which many blacks receive. As the NSACBS states in the Southern University chapter's newspaper:

"...the economic pressures which operate on all institutions hit Black institutions twice as hard.

"...Since many of the remaining Black institutions are public they obviously are dependent on state funds—and therefore state political whims—for their survival."

—TABU, 23 October 1973

As long as racial discrimination continues to exist—as long as capitalism exists—black schools will be treated as "second-class citizens." No racist state legislature will ever grant really equal educational opportunities to blacks attending separate colleges.

But the cornerstone of the NSACBS justification for maintaining the existence of separate black universities lies in the following argument:

"Environment has a great deal of influence on a person's ideology and in many cases a Black student who attends a predominantly white university becomes white-oriented. Their primary concern is becoming a tool in the main stream of our corrupt society. In comparison a Black student attending a Black university is concerned with forming a cohesive relationship with the Black community; contributing their resources into the Black community and preservation of their culture and life style."

—TABU, 23 October 1973

What kind of ideology a person has when he or she graduates from a university is not determined in the first place by the racial makeup of the university. It is the function of all universities—black or white—to produce petty-bourgeois administrative, technical and cultural personnel for capitalist society. The specific job of the black university for the racist capitalist system is to be the training ground for subservience. Short of overturning capitalist society, it is impossible to create a university which serves the needs of the black and working masses.

So the 23 October 1973 issue of TABU, the Southern University chapter of NSACBS's paper, states:

"Fellow students, where are you at this time? How much success have you had in resolving your conflicts? Where do you stand on the issue of Saving and Changing Black Schools? Is it the case that you have not resolved the inner conflicts or answered the questions raised and have decided to AVOID the issue?"

"Where are you that the struggle to stop the merger is taking place?" The answer for most is: "Getting an education to prepare for a career, i.e., upward social mobility."

For a Class-Struggle Program

The only way to improve the educational opportunities open to black youth is through the merger of the SU and LSU systems, but on a basis which allows no room for class and racial prejudices. If all students came equally well prepared, merger would give equal opportunity to all who were able to attend. But simple merger would only raise the barriers blocking the road that black youth must travel to get university educations. Coupled with and inseparable from any merger proposal must be demands for open admissions, an end to all tuition, a paid stipend for all students, and special classes to enable those who come ill-prepared to catch up.

But even the full realization of these demands would not revolutionize the curriculum of the university or the ideology of those emerging from the university. Furthermore, reforming the university is not the key to ending racism in this capitalist society. While supporting the merger of the LSU and SU systems in the context of democratic educational reforms, the RCY points out the necessity to link the fight against racial oppression to the struggles of the working class as a whole. The prerequisite to black liberation is a successful socialist revolution. ■

Pentagon's military-assistance program authority to turn over \$200 million in Defense Department stocks of weapons and ammunition to the Cambodian armed forces." And this was just "emergency" aid in addition to the regular \$173 million that Lon Nol's troops already had been given, "because," according to the *Times*, "the Cambodian army has used up so much ammunition."

While both Lon Nol and Thieu's armies are receiving a cornucopia of military aid from the U.S., on the other side of the barricades Prince Sihanouk's Cambodian People's National Liberation Armed Forces (CPNLF) and the NLF have not fared so well with their "allies." Interviewed at the Algiers "Nonaligned Nations Conference" by T. D. Allman, the *Far Eastern Economic Review* of 1 October 1973 reports Sihanouk as saying of his current host and "unshakeable ally": "China remains faithful to us, but China is playing the big-power game with America now, and so cannot help as much as it would like." And of his other "allies," he said:

"We thank [North Vietnam] for training our troops. But we have had to do without their active support since June, 1972. They are not even helping us to get supplies. They want us to negotiate with the Americans and Lon Nol—the same way they negotiated with Nixon and Thieu.... We signed a treaty with North Vietnam, with the PRG and with the Pathet Lao in South China in 1970. We pledged to fight together to the end, against U.S. imperialism. I am wondering now what is the value of that treaty?"

Of course Sihanouk ends his interview, after claiming that North Viet-

nam has sold out in pursuit of U.S. aid and out of fear of U.S. retaliation, with a plea for U.S. "friendship," knowing full well that the rations for mendicant princes are much less paltry in Washington than in Peking.

While the Chinese press ignores Sihanouk's complaints to Western reporters, the faithful mouthpiece of the Chinese bureaucracy in the U.S., the

side intervention in Cambodia—thus providing a legal basis for U.S. congressional action to halt the bombing in the long run will be more decisive. The same may be said of China's diplomatic, political and economic support."

—Guardian, 24 October 1973

In fact the "Peace" Treaty only ended the "outside intervention" of Chinese and North Vietnamese aid to the

visit, notably those by Mr. Chou, were moderate and seemed to reflect what is taken as Peking's opposition to large-scale renewal of the Vietnam War.... in particular there was no endorsement by Premier Chou of the statements threatening retaliation against the Saigon regime for what Mr. Tho called military attacks and other provocations against Communist areas and troops in South Vietnam."



Banners of Revolutionary Union (left) and Indochina Solidarity Committee (right) at 1 December demonstration in New York City give enthusiastic political support to Cambodian bourgeois nationalist (royalist) forces. Youth Against War and Fascism's slogan is more (conveniently) vague, but in fact YAWF shares Maoist/Stalinist position of uncritical support to Indochinese bourgeois nationalism.

Guardian and its correspondent, Wilfred Burchett, perform the apologetics:

"Sihanouk has suggested in recent interviews that certain supply problems exist because of the rigid respect by China and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam for those clauses of the Paris agreement forbidding the introduction of military equipment into Cambodia. The contribution of the Vietnamese in securing the departure of U.S. troops from South Vietnam and in writing into an international accord an end to out-

CPNLF; it has not ended U.S. aid to Lon Nol.

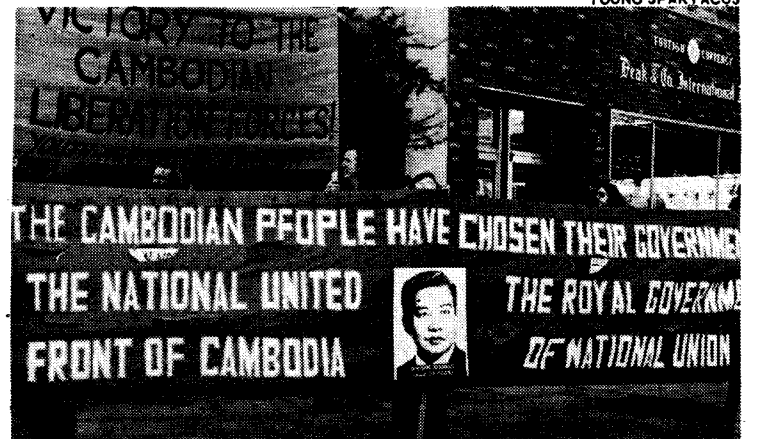
The NLF and the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) in South Vietnam are not finding China any more cooperative as an "ally" than did the "Patriotic Prince" of Cambodia. Of a recent visit to China by the PRG President, Nguyen Huu Tho, the *New York Times* of 24 November 1973 commented:

"Speeches by the Chinese during the

The NLF's "Respect" for the Paris Accords

For many years the ex-Trotskyist SWP and the never-Trotskyist Workers League have tried to portray the NLF as the innocent victims of Sino-Soviet betrayal. They are indeed victims but hardly innocent. It is clear both from reading the NLF press (*Vietnam In Struggle*) and by observing their battle-

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Black Oppression and Proletarian Revolution



BROWN BROTHERS



NEW YORK BRANCH LIBRARIES

Black crowd waiting in rain to say good-bye to Marcus Garvey (left) who had just served two years in Federal Penitentiary in Atlanta and was being deported. Capitalizing on widespread black discontent following post-war mass migration of rural blacks to cities, Garvey's "Back to Africa" Universal Negro Improvement Association developed genuine mass base and spread reactionary nationalist illusions among the black population. Communist Party shifted back and forth between friendly attitude and hostility towards Garvey movement.

3/ EARLY COMMUNIST WORK AMONG BLACKS

World War I, which set the stage for the collapse of the Second International, paved the way for the struggle for the Third International, and gave additional stimulus to the national movements of colonial peoples, also marked the transformation of the black question in the U.S. from primarily an agrarian question left unsolved by the defeat of Reconstruction to a question in which the utilization of blacks as an industrial reserve army was fast becoming its dominant character. As Lenin remarked in his *Capitalism and Agriculture in the United States of America*, written at the beginning of WWI while he was preparing his work on imperialism and elaborating his positions on the national question:

"To show what the South is like, it is essential to add that its population is fleeing to other capitalist areas and to the towns just as the peasantry in Russia is fleeing from the most backward gubernias, where the survivals of serfdom have been greatly preserved...to those areas of Russia which have a higher level of capitalist development, to the metropolitan cities, the industrial gubernias and the South...."

"The Negroes are in full flight from the two Southern divisions where there is no homesteading: in the ten years between the last two censuses these two divisions provided other parts of the country with almost 600,000 'black' people."

—*Collected Works*, Vol. 22, pp. 26-27

Lenin's figure of 600,000 is for the period 1900 to 1910; between 1910 and 1920 the flight of blacks from the countryside to the cities increased to 1-1/2 million. From 1910 to 1920 the Negro farm population declined from 5.3 million to 2.5 million. In 1910, 27 percent of the Negro male work force were farmers; by 1920, 16.5 percent were farming. During this period, blacks went to the cities often as strike-breakers and later to replace conscripted white labor and to provide the industrial reserve in the expansion of war-related industries. The return to civilian life, i.e., the job market, of hundreds of thousands of soldiers, both black and white, combined with the prior

mass migration of blacks to the cities and the post-WWI economic downturn, set the stage for the 1919 race riots.

U.S. Communists' Economism on Black Question Countered by Russian CP

It was within this context that the supporters of the Russian Revolution in the U.S. attempted to crystallize an American section of the Communist International (CI). The early American Communist movement was shot through with factionalism, doctrinairism and those sectarian vices against which Lenin polemicized in *Left-Wing Communism*. Further, it was in the main a movement of foreign-language federations composed of immigrant workers who were somewhat distant from the mainstream of American life; they were unfamiliar with the black question and, given the tension between blacks and immigrants, were sometimes hostile to the special needs and problems of blacks.

These language federations had their origins in the Socialist Party where they composed the left wing, and insofar as they were familiar with the black question at all they were at best schooled in the Debsian attitude that the black question was simply an economic question. Thus the founding program of the Communist Party of America stated:

"The Negro problem is a political and economic problem. The racial oppression of the Negro is simply the expression of his economic bondage and oppression, each intensifying the other. This complicates the Negro problem, but does not alter its proletarian character."

—*Manifesto and Program*, 1919, p. 18

The Communist Labor Party's founding program simply ignored the black question. Just as it took the direct intervention through the CI of the party which led and embodied the experience of the Russian Revolution for the American Communists to transcend their politically unjustified factionalism and sectarianism, so it took the direct intervention of the Bolsheviks for the American Communist move-

ment to transcend its partial, insensitive and economist understanding of the black question. The classical anti-communist view of this Bolshevik influence upon the American Communists was expressed most clearly by Theodore Draper in *American Communism and Soviet Russia*. James P. Cannon characterized Draper's view in the following way:

"...the trouble with the American Communist Party began at the beginning when it tied itself to the Russian Revolution and the Russian leaders, and this initial mistake—the party's original sin so to speak—led it inexorably from one calamity to another, and to eventual defeat and disgrace."

—*The First Ten Years of American Communism*

But as Cannon points out in his splendid essay, "The Russian Revolution and the American Negro Movement":

"The American communists in the early days, under the influence and pressure of the Russians in the Comintern, were slowly and painfully learning to change their attitude; to assimilate the new theory of the Negro question as a special question of doubly exploited second-class citizens, requiring a program of special demands as part of the over-all program—and to start doing something about it...."

"The influence of Lenin and the Russian Revolution, even debased and distorted as it later was by Stalin, and then filtered through the activities of the Communist Party in the United States, contributed more than any other influence from any other source to the recognition, and more or less general acceptance, of the Negro question as a special problem of American society—a problem which cannot be simply subsumed under the general heading of the conflict between capital and labor, as it was in the pre-communist radical movement."

—*The First Ten Years of American Communism*, pp. 232-34

This essay, along with the letters Cannon wrote to Draper for the latter's historical research and which make up the bulk of Cannon's *First Ten Years of American Communism*, constitutes a revolutionary reaffirmation of the heritage of internationalism that was to be found in the early years of the CI. And this work is made more significant by the fact that it was written in the midst of the Cold War and the McCarthy witchhunt when faint-hearted liberals and renegade ex-radicals were trying to put as much distance as possible between themselves and all things associated with the Russian Revolution.

Further, Cannon himself had been badly scarred by the bureaucratic perversions of internationalism contained in the Stalinized CI and the Pabloist International Secretariat. Thus, while Cannon's *First Ten Years* has as its dominating thesis the need for a revolutionary movement, especially in its formative period, to be linked to a democratic centralist international, yet Cannon's fight and break with Pablo and the International Secretariat in 1953 led him to draw into question the legitimacy of international democratic centralism in the absence of a section with the authority of Lenin's Bolshevik Party. Nonetheless, Cannon's thesis was correct that it was the Russian Revolution and the CI which gave the initial impetus to the recognition of the special oppression of the American black, and has shaped to this day the struggle against that special oppression.

John Reed on Black Question at Second CI Congress

The first full discussion of the black question from a Communist viewpoint took place not in the U.S. but in Moscow, in 1920 at the Second Congress of the CI. In the beginning of his draft theses on the national and colonial question, Lenin asked the delegates their opinions on 16 questions, the 14th of which was the "Negroes in America." John Reed was the main reporter on the black question at the Congress. Perhaps responding to the subsuming of the black question under the national and colonial question, Reed reported (as quoted in *The Second Congress of the Communist International, Proceedings*, 17 July, 19 July-7 August 1920, Publishing Office of the Communist International, Moscow, 1920):

"Considered as an oppressed and subjugated people, the negroes present a twofold problem: that of a strong racial and social movement and of a proletarian labor movement advancing very fast in class consciousness. The negroes have no demands for national independence. All movements aiming at a separate national existence for negroes fail, as did the 'back to Africa movement' of a few years ago. They consider themselves first of all Americans at home in the United States."

He made the following interesting observations about the black movement, which are made particularly timely in light of recent developments in the black movement:

"Among the negroes themselves a

great racial consciousness arose. There was and is among negroes now a section which advocates armed insurrection against the whites. Defense societies were organized everywhere by the returned negro soldiers for resistance to white lynchings. But while Communists should energetically support the negro defense movement, they should discourage all ideas of a separate armed insurrection of the negroes. Many people think that a negro rising would be the signal for the general revolution in America. We know that without the co-operation of the white proletariat, it would be the signal for the counterrevolution...."

Reed concluded his report by setting out, albeit in rather abstract fashion, the tasks for the American Communist Party in regard to the black question:

"The policy of the American Communists toward negroes should be primarily to consider the Negroes as workers... every effort must be made to organize them in the labor unions with the white workers as the best and quickest means of breaking down race prejudice and developing class solidarity. But the Communists must not stand aloof from the negro movement for social and political equality, which in the present growth of racial consciousness enlists the negro masses. The Communists must use this movement to point out the futility of bourgeois equality and the necessity of the Socialist Revolution, not only to free all workers from servitude, but also as the only means of freeing the negroes as a subject people."

With the exception of Serrati who tried to cut off debate on the national and colonial questions complaining that "one comrade [Reed] spoke here for ten minutes on the question of the colored people in Chicago," Reed's report was apparently well received, even though he made it quite clear that he did not consider the black question in the U.S. to be a national question.

Initial CP Writings on Black Question

The first extensive literary discussion of the black question in the U.S. took place in the political organ of the Communist Party of America, *The Communist* (Vol. I, No. 4-5) in 1921, with a two-part article by J.P. Collins (Joseph Zack) and "John Bruce" entitled "The Party and the Negro Struggle." But it was precisely in regard to the relationship of the party to the Negro struggle that the article



John Reed

was at its vaguest. The article did recapitulate the following widely held fear at that time:

"The Negro, then, is in danger of becoming the backbone of a vicious White Guard system. We need to reflect for a moment on the fact that the backbone of the reactionary French government today is represented by colored colonial troops... The situation confronting us today in the United States is replete with no less awful possibilities."

These articles overestimated the potential of the class-collaborationist policies inspired by Booker T. Washington and put into practice by the Urban League to train and recruit an industrially skilled black professional

strike-breaking force which in the context of the deep racial polarization of the period could lead straight to race war. The Communists felt that the development of the pro-capitalist and anti-union Garvey movement was particularly ominous within this context.

However, the article did take note of another kind of black nationalist organization:

"The African Blood Brotherhood headed by Briggs is more militant than any of the others. Its slogan is 'Immediate protection and ultimate liberation for the Negroes everywhere.' It preaches co-operation with white radical forces. It is an organization of defense against lynching and terrorism."

The article concludes with a vague call for the unity of all militant Negro organizations, presumably those like the African Blood Brotherhood.

Need for a Black Communist Cadre

The abstractness of Communist perspectives and propaganda in this period was partially due to its lack of a black cadre. The U.S. Communist Party's (CP) first black members came from the left-wing social-democratic black publication, the *Messenger*, and included Otto E. Huiswoud, a native of Dutch Guiana, a union printer and a member of the Harlem branch of the Socialist Party before he went over to the Communists.

The CP's real breakthrough in black recruitment came from the African Blood Brotherhood. The Brotherhood was organized by a West Indian black, Cyril Briggs, who was the active editor of the *Amsterdam News* during WWI. He was forced to resign because of his opposition to the war and he went on to launch *The Crusader* in September 1918. *The Crusader* was both pro-Socialist and black nationalist, stating:

"The surest and quickest way, then, in our opinion, to achieve the salvation of the Negro is to combine the two most likely and feasible propositions, viz., salvation for all Negroes through the establishment of a strong, stable, independent Negro state (along the lines of our own race genius) in Africa and elsewhere; and salvation for all Negroes (as well as other oppressed people) through the establishment of a Universal Socialist Co-operative Commonwealth."

—*The Crusader*, April 1921, p. 9

The African Blood Brotherhood was organized in December 1919 by Briggs and, by 1921, Joseph Zack, the CP section organizer for Harlem and Yorkville, was in contact with the organization. Within a year the CP was to recruit a majority of the Brotherhood's leading body, its Supreme Council.

4th CI Congress: "Theses on the Negro Question"

The Fourth Congress of the CI in 1922 appointed a Negro Commission which was charged with drafting "Theses on the Negro Question." The "Theses" briefly referred to the relationship of the Negro question to the domestic class struggle and in particular advocated the following:

"The CI will use every instrument within its control to compel the trade unions to admit negro workers to membership... Failing in this it will organize the Negroes into unions of their own and specifically apply the United Front tactic to compel admission to the unions of white workers."

—*Resolutions and Theses*, Fourth Congress of the Communist International, Communist Party of Great Britain, 1922

But most of the document was devoted to placing the American Negro question within the context of the "world Negro movement" stating: "The history of the Negro in America fits him for an important role in the liberation struggle of the entire African race." Thus the defining characteristic of the "Theses" was a variety of Pan-

Africanism in which American Negroes were seen as the vanguard of the world Negro movement.

At least one of the American delegates, Billings, still adhered to the even more grossly inaccurate theory of some sort of black fascism:

"The Negro in the New World will be the source from which the 'white guard' elements will be recruited in the event of revolutionary uprisings anywhere and everywhere."

—*Abridged Report of Meetings Held at Petrograd and Moscow*, 7 Nov.-3 Dec., 1922, Communist Party of Great Britain, 1922

The "Theses" also stated:

"The 4th Congress accordingly declares it to be a special duty of the Communists to apply the 'Theses on the Colonial Question' to the negro problem."

—4th CI Congress, *Resolutions and Theses*

The "Theses on the Negro Question" (which also called for a CI-sponsored world Negro Congress which was never called) thus proved to be disorienting to the American CP. While William F. Dunne was asserting in *The Workers Monthly* (April 1925) that "American Communist Negroes are the historical leaders of their comrades in Africa," the 1923 CP convention passed resolutions which stated:

"The Workers [Communist] Party will oppose all movements looking to the surrender of the Negroes' rights in this country, such as the 'Back to Africa' movement, which is only an evasion of the real struggle and an excuse to surrender the Negroes' rights in their native land, America. The United States is the home of the American Negro, and the Workers Party champions his full, free and equal partnership with his white brothers in the future society."

—*American Communism and Soviet Russia*, p. 328

CP's Flipflops on Garvey

Another example of the CP's disorientation on the black question was its shifting attitude on the Garvey movement. The factors which were the prelude to the 1919 race riots—the war-induced expansion of industry, labor shortage and mass migration of rural blacks to the cities, followed by demobilization, recession and unemployment—also provided the stimulus for the growth of militant black nationalist movements, the most important of which was Garvey's "Back to Africa" Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA).

The UNIA was the only black nationalist organization to have a genuinely mass base. While Reed wrote off the UNIA and Garvey in his report to the 2nd CI Congress, nonetheless the Garvey movement reached the height of its influence just as the fledgling American CP attempted to crystallize a black cadre.

Cyril Briggs in the early days of the African Blood Brotherhood had already crossed swords with Garvey. When Briggs proposed a united front with Garvey in 1919, Garvey attacked the light-complexioned Briggs as a white trying to pass himself off as a Negro.

While the initial CP response was to write off the Garvey movement, under the inspiration of the Pan-African bent of the 4th CI Congress "Theses on the Negro Question," the American CP made an accommodationist approach to the UNIA which, perhaps luckily for the

reputation of early American Communism, was rejected by Garvey. Robert Minor in the *Liberator* (March 1924) characterized the Garvey movement as the "spontaneous classic cry of the Black Spartacus" and in editorials dated 29 and 30 July 1924, the *Daily Worker* sent effusive greetings to the 4th Congress of the UNIA.

According to *American Communism and Soviet Russia* the CP even considered inviting Garvey to the 5th CI Congress, an invitation that if actually sent would have been a stupid betrayal comparable in kind if not in scale to making Chiang Kai-shek an honorary member of the CI Executive Committee. Rebuffed by Garvey and unable to woo away Garvey's mass base the CP finally returned to its previous position:



James P. Cannon

"The dramatics of Marcus Garvey, under the cover of which he sabotages the struggle against the Ku Klux Klan, while he builds up a petty bourgeois circle of 'leaders' with a vested interest in subduing the class struggle in America with the opiate of emancipation through running away from this continent, are another form of the exploitation of the Negro."

—*Daily Worker*, 9 August 1924

Several years later, during the CP's "third period," it was to characterize the UNIA, as well as the NAACP and all other black movements not directly under CP control, as "social fascist." However, during the years when the CP was still a revolutionary party its inability to penetrate the ranks of the Garvey movement compared to its success with the African Blood Brotherhood must essentially be laid to the differences between the two black movements.

Precisely because it so accurately caught the disillusionment and demoralization that leads to both anger and escapism, following the defeat of the postwar strike wave and the 1919 race riots, the Garvey perspective of race war instead of class war was for a time able to capture the mood of the black masses (parallel to the growth today of Pan-Africanism following the failures of the civil rights movement and destruction of the early Panthers).

At the same time, Briggs, beginning from a similar perspective of race pride and black self-organization was led by his uncompromising hostility to the imperialist-capitalist establishment to embrace a class-struggle outlook. A similar comparison could be made between the Black Muslims of the late fifties and the Black Panthers of the late sixties. The African

(continued on page 9)

RACIAL OPPRESSION & WORKING-CLASS POLITICS

The December 1969 resolution submitted to the New Haven SDS National Council Meeting by the Revolutionary Marxist Caucus, predecessor of the RCY, on the need to link up a communist program with the fight against the pervasive double oppression of the black masses.

\$1.10

Order from the RCY, Box 454, Cooper Sta., New York, N.Y., 10003.

RCY Conferences...

Continued from page 1

masses of young workers was the instruction to reorganize the youth sections on the basis of factory nuclei, or cells, as opposed to the previous method of organization, based on where the members lived. While this plan was generally a complete failure, except in Russia and, to a much more limited extent, in Germany, it was transformed into a useful weapon of the Stalin faction in its drive to rid the CI and CYI of "Trotskyists" in the years 1924-27. Under the guise of carrying out this plan, locals were reorganized to the factional advantage of the Stalinists.

Some of these errors of the CYI, in particular the tendency to mechanically extend the Russian model on all questions of organization to every CI section, can in general be laid to the influence of Zinoviev, the President of the CI. Zinoviev, a transitional figure in the period from the isolation of the 1917 revolution due to the failures of the revolution in Europe to the entrenchment of Stalinist bureaucratization, tended towards bureaucratic organizational methods in the working out of the relations between the sections of the CI and the CI Executive Committee (ECCI), and towards the substitution of organization for politics and political struggle. Zinoviev-inspired resolutions on organizational questions at the Third and Fourth CI Congresses came under serious criticism from Lenin precisely for their mechanical application of certain organizational structures and methods of the Russians to other parties in the CI (see E.H. Carr, *History of the Bolshevik Revolution*, Vol. III) and later facilitated the "Bolshevization" of the CI through Stalin's ability to stand on the authority of certain elements of organization of these CI Congresses, and extend the bureaucratic tendencies to a more extreme conclusion.

U.S. Trotskyist Youth Work: SYL, YPSL(4)

Some of the errors of youth vanguardism and workerism tended to be carried over in the work of the Trotskyist youth organizations in the U.S., at least in their written documents. The Spartacus Youth League (SYL), youth section from 1932 to 1936 of the Communist League of America (CLA—the Left Opposition in the U.S.) and the Workers Party (representing the fusion of the CLA and Muste's American Workers Party), declared that orienting towards the masses of young workers was the priority of their work; in practice, the SYL (which never numbered more than 200) oriented primarily towards opponent organizations on the left and student work. The most important aspect of this work was the SYL's intervention into the National Student League, the front organization of the Stalinist Young Communist League, where, in line with Trotskyist policy internationally (until 1933), it considered itself a faction within the YCL struggling for a new, revolutionary, leadership.

Likewise, the Young People's Socialist League (Fourth Internationalist) [YPSL(4)], youth group of the Socialist Workers Party from 1937 to 1940, did its most important work intervening in the American Student Union (representing the fusion of the Stalinist and social-democratic student front groups) and American Youth Congress, combatting those organizations' growing capitulation to FDR's war and domestic policies. YPSL(4) also did important anti-militarist, anti-capitalist propagandistic work among unemployed youth and youth enrolled in FDR's New Deal work programs. While YPSL(4) rejected the idea of youth trade union fractions independent from party fractions (unlike the SYL which, at least in writing, favored them), it continued the SYL's claim to have a primary orientation towards young workers, while in practice having student work as primary.

In critically reviewing the history of these youth groups, the speaker pointed out that the "youth question" changes according to location and period. The "arena" for youth work must be understood in terms of how youth are organized as youth; in Germany, where most young workers are in apprenticeship programs and socially organized separate from the rest of the class in youth sections of the trade unions and Social Democracy, a special orientation to young workers on the part of a Trotskyist youth group would be necessary. In the U.S., youth are primarily organized as youth on the campuses, so that this becomes a major "arena" of work for a Trotskyist youth organization. In different periods, certain aspects of the "youth question" become critical. Thus, in pre-WWII days in the U.S., YPSL(4) was necessarily involved in anti-militarist campaigns among students and unemployed youth. The goal of any youth organization is to become a young workers' organization; in the U.S. this cannot happen outside of the growth of a mass revolutionary workers party.

Example of a Non-Leninist Youth Group: WL's Young Socialists

To orient primarily to working class



Section of session on trade union work at Spartacist League mid-West regional conference. RCY gatherings were held prior to SL conferences in two regions.

youth at all times and in all places, as the Workers League's Young Socialists (YS) claims to (while in reality orienting to "community" youth, especially to street gangs and other lumpenized elements), is to conceive of the youth organization as a "youth party" (as the mistake was characterized by the CYI), carrying on tasks parallel to the party's tasks, rather than being an arm of the party in a special field of work. The party is the leader of the whole class; the youth does not lead a section of the working class autonomously from the party's leadership of the class, but is a department of the party carrying out special supplementary tasks defined by the concrete circumstances of the period and the country. The YS adds youth vanguardism to the "youth party" conception, with its constant exhortations for "youth to take the lead." This "youth leadership" and calls for "youth to take up the fight to build a labor party" reduce in practice to newspaper sales, block parties and dances, rather than any independent youth role in the class. Thus, on paper the YS appears to fall into the errors of a "youth party" conception; the reality is even worse. The YS has a "community" youth orientation, apolitical activities and no internal life of its own. Furthermore, the "mass working-class youth orientation" of the YS is part of the WL's newspaper verbiage and bombast intended to serve as a cover for the absence of any consistent WL work in the trade unions based on the Trotskyist Transitional Program.

While pointing to the dangers of a "youth-party" conception, the speaker noted that the role of the communist youth section at all times is as champion of the proletarian program and proletarian cause in whatever work it does, and included within its ranks are young workers and students. The youth section is best defined as, in Lenin's term, a "training ground for professional revolutionaries." The youth participates in the party's re-

cruitment of young workers through its general political activities and educational work. The most important task of the SL's youth section in this period is as an auxiliary to the SL's struggle to build a communist opposition in the trade unions. This takes the form of propaganda campaigns on campus in support of party work in the class, strike support campaigns, plant sales and the recruitment and preparing of young revolutionaries to join the party, some of whom will work as communist cadre in the labor movement.

Student Vanguardism: The SWP's YSA

This conception of youth work stands sharply counterposed to that of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), youth group of the reformist Socialist Workers Party. The YSA practices another variant of youth vanguardism; while the WL's YS sees ghetto and unemployed youth "taking the lead," the YSA projects petty-bourgeois, single-issue reformist campaigns as its central work. Its analysis, for example, of the social role of students in the recent events in Greece, Thailand and Korea was student-vanguardist in its thrust. The RCY sees neither "community"

campuses. It was pointed out that the success of the SL/RCY fall subscription drive opened up many new regional possibilities for expansion and that these should be energetically pursued. In addition to continuing the RCY's work of participating in and initiating struggles on campus like those against the budget cuts, struggling against reformist and revisionist tendencies, carrying out educational and propagandistic work around major social issues, and engaging in support activities for the party's trade union work, several RCY chapters indicated their intention to participate in upcoming student election campaigns, using these campaigns as a platform for revolutionary propaganda.

Black Work: Strategic to the American Revolution

An extremely useful discussion took place at the mid-West conference on black work, reviewing recent RCY activities on the East Coast. It was pointed out that, on the whole, the black nationalist movement has moved from the contradictory "revolutionary" nationalism of the early Panthers and congealed into the petty-bourgeois reformist tendency of pan-Africanism, but that black nationalist committees and collectives differed from campus to campus and sometimes contained viable elements that could be won to a revolutionary program. It was further noted that, with the capitulation of most organizations on the left to black nationalism, these organizations tend to bury their black members in these nationalist committees. These blacks are generally more subjectively revolutionary than the majority of the nationalists and can more likely be won to the program of Trotskyism.

Central to black work is the SL/RCY's regroupment tactic, as the recruitment of black cadre with years of political experience could have a parallel importance to the success of SL/RCY black work as did the CP's recruitment in the twenties of the leadership of the African Black Brotherhood. The necessity to recruit a black Trotskyist cadre as strategic to making a revolution in the U.S. was emphasized, and it was noted that the implantation of such blacks in the unions is crucial to the SL's struggle to become the communist opposition in the labor movement.

A lively discussion on the United Farm Workers' strike and boycott took place at both conferences, especially on the West Coast where involvement in the UFW strike was an extremely important aspect of SL and RCY work in the past period. The rotten betrayal of Chavez, in collaboration with Meany, in abandoning the strike for the boycott, was discussed and the need to raise this issue sharply in student- or union-initiated boycott-support committees where there were elements open to class-struggle politics was emphasized. It was further pointed out in the discussion that while we advocate a class-struggle policy for the UFW and stand completely opposed to the union bureaucracy's boycott strategy, we honor the boycott itself, i.e., we do not buy scab goods or cross boycott picket lines.

The need to build *Young Spartacus* was underscored by the speaker, who pointed out that an expanding youth group needed a more frequent press to reflect its size and real influence on the left and to be an integral part of the RCY's activities in intervening in political events and social struggles. Steps were taken to stabilize the network of *Young Spartacus* field reporters, and plans were discussed for expanding the staff in preparation for a monthly paper.

The good attendance and lively discussion at the conferences reflected the continued growth of the RCY, its expansion into new areas of work and its growing influence among left-wing youth groups. ■

[Future issues of YSp will carry additional historical material on traditions of communist work among youth.]

Indochina...

Continued from page 5

field strategy that the NLF has as much "rigid respect" for all clauses of the Paris agreement as China and the DRV have for those clauses which call for no introduction of military equipment into Cambodia.

The main objective of both the People's Liberation Army (the forces from North Vietnam) and the NLF is

tion and National Concord," that dress rehearsal for the ultimate in popular frontism—to include the NLF which Thieu has outlawed and viciously hunts down, representatives of the Thieu regime which the NLF used to characterize as "fascist," and that elusive "third force" of neutralists who allegedly stand between the NLF and the Thieu régime. And finally there is that most important question of the 200,000 political prisoners perhaps including many NLF cadre as well as innocent victims, still held in tiger cages and subjected

Chinese and North Vietnamese betrayals, but it was he three years ago who hunted down the Khmer Rouge, allowed the U.S. to secretly bomb NLF sanctuaries in Cambodia and put Lon Nol, In Tam and Siri Matak into positions of power. The PLA-NLF may feel snubbed in Peking but it is their leadership and not the Chinese, not even "Mr. Chou" who recently ordered the SAM-2's moved from Khe Sanh back to north of the 17th parallel. Whatever "Struggle Until Final Victory" may mean to the NLF cadre



SL/RCY banners in anti-war march.

to consolidate and defend those areas allotted to them under the terms of the ceasefire and to only carry out offensive actions in retaliation for ARVN violation of the ceasefire agreements. In other words, the NLF desires to carve out a "Third Vietnam" and build "socialism in 1/3 of 1/3 a country."

As the 240,000 ARVN violations of the "Peace" Treaty claimed by the NLF attest, Thieu will not settle for comprador capitalism in 1/3 of 1/3 of a country but seeks unification of the entire country under his rule. According to the 26 November 1973 *Newsweek* Kissinger said of the Paris agreement: "A lasting peace could come about only if neither side sought to achieve everything it had wanted, indeed that stability depended on the relative dissatisfaction of all the parties concerned." Obviously the NLF is satisfied to be dissatisfied, while Thieu is not.

The NLF bemoans only that Thieu will not abide by the Paris agreement and set up the "Council of Reconcilia-

tion and National Concord," that dress rehearsal for the ultimate in popular frontism—to include the NLF which Thieu has outlawed and viciously hunts down, representatives of the Thieu regime which the NLF used to characterize as "fascist," and that elusive "third force" of neutralists who allegedly stand between the NLF and the Thieu régime. And finally there is that most important question of the 200,000 political prisoners perhaps including many NLF cadre as well as innocent victims, still held in tiger cages and subjected

to regular torture by the Thieu regime, which the NLF and the North Vietnamese bartered away to get Kissinger's signature on the peace agreement. What the NLF dreams of with their popular-frontist "Council of Reconciliation and National Concord," their Pathet Lao "comrades" accomplished for the third time in the last 20 years when they signed the 14 September 1973 agreements with Prince Souvanna Phouma. The agreement calls for the formation of a Provisional Government of National Union with the pro-U.S. Souvanna Phouma as Prime Minister, with his supporters heading the key ministries of defense, interior and finance.

The Pathet Lao is to get the same ministries, in most cases to be headed by the same people, that they received under the 1962 Geneva Accords and which produced the "Three Princes Agreement" or the Laotian Royal family's version of a popular front as a family reunion. In fact the government formed by the 1962 accords was never formally disbanded. The current agreement merely reconfirms the existence or non-existence of the 1962 regime minus the "Third Prince"—believed to be a CIA operative working out of Thailand, who so embarrassed the U.S. Embassy with his last bungled attempt at an anti-Souvanna coup in August that even the CIA has dumped him. However, the 14 September agreements which provide for the same "regroupment of forces" that was supposed to occur under the 1962 accord and the 1954 accord, will probably be as ephemeral and short-lived as its predecessors.

Thus, Indochina, balkanized by French and American imperialism, has seen the balkanization of its various "national liberation" struggles by Stalinism and nationalism. The NLF-PRG gets snubbed in Peking while the Cambodian insurgents are cut off from military supplies by both China and North Vietnam and have only the weapons they can capture to fight with.

The heroism and courage of the NLF, Khmer Rouge and Pathet Lao insurgents are unquestionable. But above them stands a leadership whose commitment to the "armed struggle" is far outdistanced by their abject servility before bourgeois legalistic protocol and popular frontism.

Thus, Sihanouk may complain about

manning an anti-aircraft gun or waiting to ambush an ARVN patrol, to the NLF leadership it means struggle until Thieu sets up the Council of Reconciliation and National Concord where comprador-bonapartist militarists and Communists are to be somehow reconciled. Behind the "armed struggle" of people's war stand the crassest forms of popular-frontist parliamentarian cretinism.

Nothing Settled by Paris Accords

The "Peace" Treaty and troop withdrawals have settled nothing. Lon Nol still occupies Phnom Penh even if the CPNLF occupies 80 percent of the rest of the country, likewise Thieu's ARVN occupies the major cities in South Vietnam. The "peace movement," both its Stalinist and SWP components, has accomplished nothing except to provide the public relations for the imperialist peace that was imposed on Indochina in Paris. Only if the struggle against imperialist war is taken to the labor movement and merged with the class struggle will the hand of the U.S. bourgeoisie be stayed in both Indochina and the Near East.

A revolutionary leadership must be crystallized in Southeast Asia which sees that the struggle for national liberation is inseparable from the struggle for socialist revolution. Only on the basis of this—the permanent revolution of Trotsky—will a multi-national genuinely proletarian revolutionary party be formed in Indochina. In the U.S., revolutionaries must in the immediate period oppose continued U.S. aid to Thieu and Lon Nol, call for a complete dismantling of the U.S. military apparatus in Southeast Asia, agitate for the freeing of political prisoners in Thieu's prisons, and must demand that China and the Soviet Union resume and expand their aid to the PLA, NLF, Khmer Rouge and Pathet Lao fighters.

In Indochina it is imperative that revolutionaries point out the bankruptcy of "people's war." The road to conquering the cities is not by seizing the surrounding countryside and then launching large-scale mortar attacks, but is through the urban working class, whose strategic location and social cohesion indicate that it must, despite its relatively small size, play the leadership role in any genuine struggle for national liberation and socialist revolution. ■

Black Oppression...

Continued from page 7

Blood Brotherhood was able to find the road to revolutionary Marxism while, in marked contrast, the precious cadre of the Panthers were either dissipated in wasted terrorism or liquidated into the Democratic Party. This is a fitting commentary on the transformation that the CP, which played a major role in developments in both black organizations, has undergone in the last 40 years.

CP Launches American Negro Labor Congress

In 1925 the CP attempted to launch a transitional black organization called the American Negro Labor Congress. The transitional organization grew out of the recognition of the need for special organizational forms to draw into the revolutionary movement strata and sections of the working masses with special problems and demands. The experience of the socialist and communist movements has demonstrated the need for special organizations to reach minority races, women, youth, foreign-language workers, and other specially oppressed groups.

As codified by the Leninist Communist International, such special organizations are part of the revolutionary movement and participate in the overall class struggle. They are not substitutes for the vanguard party but are linked to the party both programmatically and through their most conscious cadres. The original conception of the American Negro Labor Congress was in this tradition:

"The fundamental aim in calling the American Negro Labor Congress is to establish in the life of the American Negro working classes an organization which may serve as a medium through which the American Communist Party may reach and influence the Negro working class and at the same time constitute something of a recruiting ground for the party."

—Lovett Fort Whiteman, "American Negro Labor Congress," *International Press Correspondence*, 27 August 1925

The founding convention of the Congress was held in Chicago during

Forum

Impeachment is Not Enough!

Speaker: Martha Phillips, SL.
Thurs., 10 Jan., 7:30 PM. UCLA.
For information on location:
(213) 467-6855.

Los Angeles

October 1925 and was attended by 40 delegates. A newspaper was launched, the *Negro Champion*, which appeared only sporadically. The Congress was launched without sufficient black communist cadre rooted in the working class with leadership authority. As late as 1928 the CP had only 50 black members.

Further, the CP was torn between the American Negro Labor Congress and the Trade Union Educational League, the Party's trade-union organization in the labor movement, in carrying out work among the black section of the proletariat. This conflict was only resolved in the "third period" when the successor to the Congress, the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, was linked directly to the successor of the TUEL, the Trade Union Unity League. Nonetheless, the American Negro Labor Congress is the earliest effort in the communist movement to find the organizational forms to reach the black working masses. ■

[Part IV of this series will deal with the question of pan-Africanism. Part V will discuss later developments in Communist Party black work.]

-CORRECTION-

The September-October 1973 *Young Spartacus* printed a 10 May 1973 letter addressed to the Revolutionary Marxist Caucus (RMC—forerunner to the Revolutionary Communist Youth) and the RCY's response. The headline for the two letters, as well as an advertisement on page one, was "ACWM(M-L)-RCY Exchange on the Black Question," and the letter to us, as printed in *Young Spartacus*, was signed "Fraternally for the ACWM(M-L)." The letter was, in fact, not from the ACWM(M-L), the American Communist Workers Movement (Marxist-Leninist), but was from the ACW(M-L), the American Communist Workers (Marxist-Leninist).

Both organizations are national Maoist organizations not affiliated to one another. Being unfamiliar with the ACW(M-L), we assumed that a typographical error had been made in the letter written to the RMC, which was signed "Fraternally for the ACWML," but subsequently discovered the existence of the ACW(M-L) and ascertained that the letter had, in fact, been written by that organization. We apologize to our readers and to the two organizations for the confusion generated by this error on our part.

Communist Youth International...

Continued from page 12

ception of the Bolsheviks), meant their subjugation to the barracks discipline of their respective imperialist bourgeoisies. Thus Lenin hailed Liebknecht's vote against war credits in the German Reichstag as an act of discipline towards the revolution, although it represented a breach of the formal discipline of the German Social-Democratic Party.

The position of the revolutionary youth was a difficult one. They were forced to substitute themselves to a considerable degree for revolutionary parties which did not exist. Substitute, because they generally lacked the experience and political clarity to become such parties themselves, although they helped to provide the nuclei of such parties in the period after 1917. Their "complete indepen-

the oppositional youth leagues, of whom Liebknecht wrote:

"Its ranks were decimated, its leaders sent to the trenches, imprisoned in 'protective custody,' jail and prison. Class justice raged more mercilessly over them than upon the adults, and swept away many a warm young life to the hecatombs of slaughter. The free [oppositional socialist] youth, however, remained undaunted, and defied their enemies."

—*Gesammelte Reden und Schriften*, VIII, p. 609

Formation of the Communist Youth International

This bitter experience and the Socialist youth's increasing understanding of the Bolsheviks' revolutionary program and analysis of the Second International's collapse led to a coming

oppositional youth had taken place in 1916), but was moved on 10 April for security reasons to Berlin. Finally, on the instruction of the Executive Committee of the CI (ECCI), the CYI Congress "continued" in Moscow from 9-23 June, immediately preceding the Third Congress of the CI.

The political struggle was sharp, both over youth-party relations and the "theory of the revolutionary offensive," the position of the left in the CI itself (grouped around Bela Kun, Maslow and Fischer), which was initially supported by the majority of the youth. This conception failed to recognize the relative capitalist restabilization which had ensued after the defeats of the 1918-20 period, and contended that continued frontal assault of the proletarian forces would lead inevitably to the collapse of world capitalism.

CI Resolution on Youth-Party Relations

The questions of "political subordination" and "the revolutionary offensive" were linked, since acceptance of the political supremacy of the CI meant disciplined acceptance of the tactics of regroupment and the united front, the laborious "winning of the masses" demanded by the CI leadership around Lenin and Trotsky. The political debate over the question in the CI itself was to prove very heated, with a large minority supporting the "lefts," and Lenin and Trotsky winning a majority only after a long struggle. The position of the Bolshevik majority and the Russian youth league, however, finally carried the conference. At the Third Congress of the CI, from 22 June to 12 July 1921, the following resolution on youth-party relations was accepted:

"The relation of Communist Youth Organizations to the Communist Parties is fundamentally different from that of the revolutionary youth organizations to the social democratic parties. In the common struggle for the quick accomplishment of the proletarian revolution the greatest unity and strictest centralization is necessary. The political direction and leadership can lie internationally only with the CI, and in the individual countries only with the national sections. It is the duty of the CYO's to subordinate themselves to this political direction (program, tactics and political directives), and to integrate themselves into the common revolutionary front. ... The CYO's, which have begun to organize their own ranks on the prin-

and CYO's the right of appeal to the ECCI (Executive Committee of the Communist International) shall be utilized. The surrender of their political independence means under no circumstances the renunciation of their organizational independence, which is indispensable on educational grounds."

—*Resolution on the Communist International and the Communist Youth Movement*

The political subordination of the youth to the party flows from the principle of discipline towards the revolutionary movement, and in the concrete instance the recognition that the CI was the bearer of revolutionary continuity and the revolutionary program. The CI Resolution placed the relationship of youth and party clearly in historical and political context:

"In some countries where the building of the communist parties is still in progress and the youth have just split from the Social Patriot and Centrist parties, the slogan of absolute political and organizational independence of the youth movement dominates, and in this situation this slogan is objectively revolutionary. The slogan of absolute independence is wrong in those countries where strong Communist parties already exist and where the slogan of absolute independence is used by the Social Patriots and Centrists for misleading the youth against the communist youth organization. In these cases, the communist youth organization follows the program of the communist party."

—quoted in Richard Cornell, *The Origins and Development of the Communist Youth International, 1914-1924* (Ph.D thesis), p. 316

The Danger of Dual Vanguardism

Whereas it was indispensable for the revolutionary youth organizations in WWI to separate themselves politically from the treacherous and class-collaborationist leadership of the Second International, and struggle to develop and implement a revolutionary program, so conversely it was necessary for the youth to subordinate itself to a truly revolutionary international—which genuinely embodied the program of proletarian revolution. To do otherwise would be to engage in dual vanguardism—in the last analysis to challenge the International for the leadership of the class. The CI resolution is quite explicit:

"With the formation of the CI and the CP's in the individual countries, the role of the proletarian youth organizations changes within the common proletarian movement. The continued existence of the CYO's as politically independent and leading organizations would lead to the formation of two competing communist parties, differentiated merely by the age of their members."

—*Resolution ...*

The recognition of the necessity of *one vanguard*, as the consistent revolutionary leadership of the proletariat, and the necessity of this role lying with the most tested, experienced and capable proletarian revolutionaries—i.e., with the CI and the communist parties, also implies the imperative of political differences being fought out *internally*, should they arise between party and youth. The youth must enjoy full rights of political discussion within its own ranks, and the possibility of influencing the party through its representatives. Conversely, the party must have the opportunity of exercising its guidance at all times upon the youth, of aiding the political maturation of the youth cadre, and maintaining its revolutionary orientation. Should a serious political difference develop, it is imperative that there be channels for its internal political resolution (thus, the right of appeal first to the Executive Committee of the CYI, then to the ECCI and finally to the World Congresses as the highest bodies of the common movement). The party is the concentrated subjective element of the proletarian revolution, and where principled agree-

continued on next page



Liebknecht's anti-militarism and opposition to social patriotism exerted a powerful influence on pre-WWI Social-Democratic youth. Liebknecht (shown here in soldier's uniform) was drafted in 1916 and imprisoned some months later for anti-war activities.

dence" was not a virtue in itself—quite the reverse—it was a byproduct of the Second International's betrayal of its leading role in the proletariat. Thus Liebknecht participated in the illegal conference of the oppositional German socialist youth in Jena, on 23-24 April 1916, and wrote the major political document of the conference, "The Tasks of the Proletarian Youth Movement." The document itself was a model of revolutionary fervor and called for "the proletarian youth movement to struggle against the war with all forces and all means, and to utilize the conditions created [by the war] to accelerate the collapse of capitalist class rule" (Liebknecht, *Gesammelte Reden und Schriften*, VIII, p. 609).

But such cadre were in desperately short supply, and Liebknecht himself was arrested barely a week after the conference (for his call for revolutionary defeatism during the May 1st workers demonstration in Berlin). He remained imprisoned until the November revolution in 1918, and his guiding influence was thus lost to the German—and international—socialist youth for most of the duration of the war.

In the uprisings and revolutions following the October Revolution—in Berlin, Munich, Hungary, Italy and elsewhere—the socialist youth, like the proletariat as a whole, paid a bitter price for the non-existence of experienced and hardened revolutionary parties. But the lack of revolutionary leadership was least of all attributable to

together of the European youth and the Russian Communist youth. On 20 November 1919, in the back room of a beer hall in Berlin, guarded by sentinels and pickets of the Berlin youth, the first Congress of the Communist Youth International (CYI) was held. There were present delegates from 12 countries, representing 200,000-300,000 members when the congress was called to order by Willi Munzenberg—recently released from prison. (By 1921, according to Munzenberg's estimate, the number of affiliated sections rose to 15, with a membership of approximately 800,000.)

However, for some time the nature of the relationship of the CYI to the Communist International (CI) remained undefined. On 20 November 1920, the Russian Young Communist League proposed to the Executive Committee of the CYI the codification of youth-party relations as "political subordination and organizational independence." The majorities of other youth leagues, however, mindful of their recent experience with the betrayal of the Second International, were at first unwilling to accept such a relationship. They had generalized the conjunctural historical role they had played into a conception of an inherently vanguard role for the youth, or, at least, a political watchdog role for the youth in relation to the party.

It was not until the Second Congress of the CYI that the formula supported by the Russian League was adopted. The Congress began on 6 April in Jena (where the conference of the German



Willi Munzenberg, leader of Socialist Youth International, was influential in bringing about fusion of Social-Democratic and Communist youth.

ciples of the strictest centralization, will exercise iron discipline towards the CI as bearer and leader of the proletarian revolution. The CYO's shall occupy themselves within its organizations with all political and tactical questions, will take a position, and work for these resolutions within, but never against, the CP of their country. In cases of serious differences of opinion between the CP's

ment exists no breach is legitimate unless all avenues of internal discussion have been exhausted. Ultimately, of course, the final arbiter of any deep-going dispute is history—and its motor force, the class struggle—thus no organizational mechanism can *guarantee* that schisms will not develop. However, a split within the revolutionary vanguard—especially between party and youth, where it implies a terrible break in continuity—can only be justified by a deep-going principled counterposition. This was precisely the case with the Second International after 1914, but such an eventuality can only be considered as a last resort.

In order to provide for the requisite reciprocal political influence, the CI resolved:

"The close political co-operation of the CYO's with the CP's must also be

expressed in a firm organizational connection between the organizations. A constant reciprocal representation of the organization and party leaderships, from the regional, district and local organizations down to the cells of the communist groups in industry and in the unions, as well as a strong reciprocal representation at all conferences and congresses is unconditionally required. In this way it will be possible for the CP's to continually influence the political line and activity of the youth, and, on the other hand, for the youth to exercise an effective influence on the party."

—Resolution ...

Importance of Organizational Independence for the Youth

The political subordination of the youth to the party—the proletarian vanguard—does not, however, in-

validate the need for organizational independence for the youth. Lenin had outlined the reasons for this organizational independence long before the Third Comintern Congress, in his review of *The Youth International*:

"...the youth must of necessity advance to socialism in a different way, by other paths, in other forms, in other circumstances than their fathers. Incidentally, that is why we must decidedly favour organisational independence of the Youth League, not only because the opportunists fear such independence, but because of the very nature of the case. For unless they have complete independence, the youth will be unable either to train good socialists from their midst or prepare themselves to lead socialism forward."

—Works, Vol. 23, p. 164

Each generation faces a unique con-

junction of problems and tasks, which lead by different routes to the development of communist consciousness. While the fundamental causes are essentially identical (the contradictions of a capitalism which has outlived its progressiveness) the unique character of the process for each generation must be recognized and an organizationally flexible context provided for the development of creative revolutionary response. Although the youth needs the guidance of the party, it also needs to develop the initiative, judgment and political experience of its own leadership and cadre, and to do so *vis-à-vis* the specific problems facing the youth as a specially oppressed group within capitalist society. The primary educative mechanism of the youth is in its own experience of the class struggle. ■

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Women and Revolution

Youth-Party Relations in the Communist Youth International

In August 1914 the majorities of the major Western European Social Democratic Parties capitulated to pro-war sentiment, national chauvinism, and the pressures of their respective bourgeoisies. They pledged themselves to national defense, support of the imperialist war—and ultimately joined bourgeois governments. The statements of internationalism and commitments to the struggle against war—from the Amsterdam Conference of 1904 to the Basle Conference of 1912—became a dead letter. However, despite the capitulation of the party leaderships, a significant section of the loosely organized socialist youth retained an internationalist position. Threatened most directly by the imperialist war—for which they were the intended cannon fodder—and maintaining a revolutionary élan foreign to the bureaucracies in countries like Germany, France and Belgium, many sections of the youth refused to accept the *Burgfrieden* (social peace in a "beleaguered fortress") of the Eberts, Vanderveldes and Guesdes, as well as rejecting the ineffectual petty-bourgeois pacifism of Kautsky, who complained that "the International is founded for the purpose of peace and not for war-time."

This anti-war stance was not universal among the socialist youth. Major sections remained loyal to their reformist organizations—and thus tied themselves to their own imperialist bourgeoisies. Ludwig Frank of the South German Youth Guard became a model and martyr for the German social-patriotic youth by volunteering for the Kaiser's army, and falling promptly on a French battlefield. The Austrian youth under Dannenberg accepted the Kautskyist stance of passive opposition to the war—and the suspension of internationalism for the duration. (Dannenberg hung a black-bordered sign on the door of the Youth Bureau in Vienna which read, "Temporarily closed on account of war.") But significant sections of the youth did not capitulate.

The political differentiation among the European youth groups can at least partially be laid to differences in historical development. The first socialist youth organization, the Belgian Young Guards (formed in 1886) was formed independently of the Social Democrats, for basically political motives, i.e., the desire to engage in anti-militarist agitation and propaganda. The socialist youth groups formed in Sweden (1895), Switzerland (1900), Italy (1901), Norway (1902), Spain (1903) and southern Germany (1904) were based on the Belgian model—they were highly political and independent from the adult parties. The youth groups formed in Austria (1894) and northern Germany (1904-05) were concerned primarily with improving the economic position of young workers and with raising their living standards. The youth organizations formed after 1907, as in Holland, France and the united youth organization in Germany (following Liebknecht's arrest and removal from the southern German youth leadership by the Social-Democratic Party leadership) were based more on the less political Austrian model than on the Belgian one. The youth groups formed for economic reasons were usually formed and controlled by the socialist parties. During WWI, the youth organizations based on the Belgian model in general upheld their opposition to imperialist war and commitment to internationalism while the German and Austrian youth caved in to social chauvinism along with their

parent parties.

The Berne Conference, 1915

After a process of regroupment, led initially by the Swiss, Italian, Swedish and Norwegian youth organizations, the oppositional youth called the first international conference since the outbreak of the war—at Berne, Swit-

ther, it established a new bureau of the Youth International, under the leadership of the left-wing German-Swiss, Willi Munzenberg. The Bolshevik organization, intervening in the conference, argued for the position of revolutionary defeatism. (Early on, the Bolshevik delegation had walked out over a dispute on the allotment of votes, but returned on the insistence

determination and self-defense. It was also a call for bitter and decisive opposition on all levels, for the class unity of the proletariat against the war—and for a new, revolutionary international. Although not the only voice raised in the early *Youth International*, it was the clearest, and soon dominated the rest.

Writing of *The Youth International* in December 1916, Lenin heralded its struggle for proletarian internationalism:

"With this state of affairs in Europe [the betrayal of the major social democracies], there falls on the League of Socialist Youth Organizations the tremendous, grateful but difficult task of fighting for revolutionary internationalism, for true socialism and against the prevailing opportunism which has deserted to the side of the imperialist bourgeoisie. *The Youth International* has published a number of good articles in defence of revolutionary internationalism, and the magazine as a whole is permeated with a fine spirit of intense hatred for the betrayers of socialism, the 'defenders of the fatherland' in the present war, and with an earnest desire to wipe out the corroding influence of chauvinism and opportunism in the international labour movement."

—Lenin, *Works*, Vol. 23, p. 163-64

Lenin did not minimize the political differences lying between the Bolsheviks and the youth leagues and noted their lack of theoretical clarity, but he stressed the difference between this political unclarity and the betrayal of the hardened opportunists:

"Adults who lay claim to lead and teach the proletariat, but actually mislead it, are one thing: against such people a *ruthless* struggle must be waged. Organisations of youth, however, which openly declare that they are still learning, that their main task is to train party workers for the socialist parties, are quite another thing. We must be patient with their faults and strive to correct them gradually, mainly by *persuasion*, and not by fighting them."

—*Works*, Vol. 23, p. 164

Lenin strongly recommended the publication to the attention of Bolshevik cadre.

Lenin Calls for Independence of European Youth Groups

During this period, Lenin called for the "complete independence" of the European youth leagues, while reserving the right of "complete freedom of comradely criticism of their errors" (*Works*, Vol. 23, p. 64). This position must be viewed in its historical context. Because of the egregious betrayal of the Social Democracy, the first duty of revolutionaries had to be the separation of the proletarian internationalist elements from the "rotting corpse" of the Second International. It was impermissible to accept responsibility for the social chauvinists through the disciplined acceptance of their policies. In the major combatant countries of Western Europe there existed no revolutionary parties (with the exception of revolutionary propaganda groups like the Spartacus League and the Bremen Left in Germany). The discipline of a revolutionary is to the revolutionary movement, its principles and program—and to organizations which embody that program and continuity.

Subordination of the youth leagues to the social chauvinist leaders of the major European parties (with the ex-

(continued on page 10)

Lessons from History

The question of youth-party relations is an important aspect of Leninist organizational traditions. Many of those socialist youth sections that operated autonomously from the Social-Democratic Parties became pro-Bolshevik in WWI and the nuclei for the European Communist Parties. The heated discussion that took place later in the Communist Youth International over youth-party relations brought into question the basic Leninist conception of the vanguard party. Most of this history is today ignored by ostensibly revolutionary youth organizations like the Workers League's Young Socialists and the Socialist Workers Party's Young Socialist Alliance because they stand in the tradition of Stalinist or social-democratic conceptions of youth work, unlike the RCY, which stands in the Leninist tradition.

zerland from 4-6 April 1915.

The Berne conference represented a confusion of centrist and revolutionary political tendencies, and like the Zimmerwald conference which followed it, its resolution was tainted by social pacifism, i.e., the dominance of pacifist anti-war perspectives over a class-struggle approach. The cutting edge of the difference between the centrists and the left (the Bolsheviks) at the Zimmerwald conference was Lenin's slogan, "Turn the Imperialist War into a Civil War," whose concrete and immediate agitational demands were for the anti-war general strike and socialist propaganda in the army.

The Berne conference was a step forward of considerable significance. It represented a reaffirmation of internationalism in the face of nationalist war sentiment. It rejected the class collaboration of the social-democratic majorities; and, most significantly, it broke relations with the Bureau of the Second International which, as Rosa Luxemburg was to remark, had become a "rotting corpse." Fur-

ther, who wanted to lose no chance of influencing the left-wing socialist youth towards a consistently revolutionary position.) Although the Bolshevik position was not accepted by the conference, it had considerable impact on the young militants.

The conference also established the publication of *Die Jugendinternationale* (*The Youth International*), which was to appear for the next three years and carry many articles by the representatives of the revolutionary left. The early issues of *The Youth International* showed the same political confusion as had characterized the Berne conference, carrying articles by pacifist reformists like Bernstein, as well as articles representing the centrists and the revolutionary left. Setting the tone, however, was the major article by Karl Liebknecht in the first two issues. Liebknecht's article, "Antimilitarism," was an impassioned indictment of the war: the militarization of state and factory as well as barracks and trenches; the lies of the imperialists, pandering illusions of self-



Communist Youth International meeting in Moscow's Grand Opera House in early twenties. Top banner reads: "Hearty Greetings to Young Revolutionists Languishing in Prisons of Capital."