

# Revolutionary Communist Youth NEWSLETTER

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## Cease Fire Settles Nothing

# For A Communist Indochina!

Just as the recent monetary agreements codify the collapse of U.S. economic hegemony, so the recent "cease-fire" agreement in Vietnam signifies the collapse of U.S. military hegemony. Uncle Sam is no longer either world imperialism's top cop or its banker-broker.

The collapse of the American empire leaves it the strongest among competing imperialist powers. The collapse takes place within the context of the global sharpening of inter-imperialist rivalries—the trade wars which, unless stopped by social revolution, must inevitably culminate in a third world war. Sensing this as far back as 1965, an increasingly large section of the U.S. bourgeoisie wanted to sacrifice the U.S. intervention in Vietnam in order to strengthen other U.S. competitive positions. Exemplifying this group is U.S. Senator Vance Hartke, the darling of the peace movement, who was the first senator to support unilateral U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam. Yet the same Hartke stands with the most racist, jingoist reactionary section of the U.S. capitalists on the issue of economic protectionism.

### The War Must Go On

Behind all "peace" agreements, from the 6 March 1946 accords between Ho and the French, to the 1954 Geneva accords, to the most recent Nixon-Thieu-DRV-NLF "agreement" lies the fundamental question of *who will rule Vietnam*. It is precisely this political question that is not answered by the cease-fire.

On the surface, the cease-fire provides an exchange of POW's and the removal of U.S. troops. Supposedly then having found peace, an NLF-Thieu organized "National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord" is to organize "genuinely free and democratic general elections," and to consult in "a spirit of national reconciliation and concord, mutual respect and mutual nonelimination [!]"—this based on the fact that neither Thieu nor the NLF recognize each other! While preparing to "collaborate," Thieu's police have been given orders to shoot "Communists and collaborators" on sight, and the torture of captured political prisoners in South Vietnam will continue. NLF-Thieu "collaboration" is to develop, despite the fact that even such South Vietnamese anti-communist parties which wish only to get on the U.S. gravy-train have been driven underground. The machinery to implement the agreement, using the apt description of I.F. Stone (*New York Review of Books*, 30 November 1972) "is like a delicate watch, intricately fabricated to make sure it doesn't work."

Unlike the earlier 1954 accords, the present agreement does not provide for a regroupment of military forces. DRV-NLF troops remain in the South—U.S. bases in Thailand and Guam and its Seventh Fleet remain. Even assuming that the details of the cease-fire are carried out in a formal manner, the agreement simply sets the framework for a renewal of the civil war to determine who will rule. With an army as corrupt as the Kuomintang of 1949, Thieu's real base is U.S. fire power. And Nixon's speech, recognizing Thieu

as the sole legitimate government in Vietnam, leaves open the threat of a U.S. re-intervention.

### Soviet Desires—Soviet Role

The capitalist press has been full of praise for the "responsible behavior" of the Soviet Union and China. The ability of the DRV to knock out 20% of the U.S. Far Eastern B-52 fleet with obsolete SAM-2 missiles shows what they could have done with the more modern SAM-3's and 4's. Instead the Soviet bureaucracy squandered these weapons on capitalist Egypt, which repaid the USSR by driving the Egyptian Communist Party underground, purging pro-Russian elements from the army and state apparatus, and finally giving the Soviets the boot in hopes of a China-like rapprochement with the U.S. on the basis of anti-Sovietism. At the time a quarter of the Soviet Air Force and Army was tied up defending the "fatherland" of frozen islands and tundra from the competing territorial claims of the Chinese. As the Vietnamese bore the brunt of U.S. imperialist assaults, the Stalinist bureaucrats of the USSR and China argued over who—ancient Chinese emperors or Russian tsars—had first laid claim to the contested desolate islands upon which, apparently, "socialism in one country" depends.

The record of Soviet betrayal in Vietnam is well documented—from Stalin's Teheran proposal to place Indochina under Chiang Kai-shek's "trusteeship," to the 6-year period following the foundation of the DRV and the anti-French struggle where the Soviets withheld both military aid and diplomatic recognition, to the Geneva accords of '54 and '62, to the present period. Throughout, the Soviet bureaucracy has demonstrated that the Vietnamese revolution is at best a pawn to be sacri-



North Vietnamese downed 20% of U.S. Pacific B-52 fleet with obsolete SAM-2 missiles. Soviets saved modern SAM-3's and 4's for capitalist Egypt. AP

ficed to protect Soviet bureaucratic interests.

While Moscow has loudly denounced the Chinese and "splitters and wreckers of the anti-imperialist united front," it was Moscow that nearly wrecked the Chinese economy by its precipitous and complete withdrawal of technical and military aid. It was not accidental that the Sino-Soviet split came immediately before increased U.S. intervention in

Vietnam. Anticipating heavy bombing of the North, President Johnson cabled U.S. Ambassador Lodge in Saigon on 20 March 1964: "... we expect a showdown between Chinese and Soviet Communist parties soon and action against the North [Vietnam] will be more practicable after than before the showdown."

Even the February 1965 visit by Kosygin to Peking was little more than  
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## RCY Defends Israeli Left: Repulses Zionist Attack

The response of the ruling class in Israel to the renewed upsurge in militancy on the part of Israeli workers has been a wave of repression directed against left-wing organizations, beginning with arrests of members of the Red Front, an anti-Zionist organization, and of the Revolutionary Communist Alliance (*Struggle*). The threats, imprisonment without bail, transparent frame-ups and brutal tortures are employed against both Jews and Arabs. The Israeli bourgeoisie clearly recognizes the existence of a class struggle in Israel and the threat posed to its rule by the organization of Jewish and Arab Israeli workers along class rather than national lines. In the face of this repression five Israeli organizations—Avant-garde Group, Israeli Socialist Organization (Matzpen-Marxist), Israeli Socialist Organization (Matzpen), Revolutionary Communist Alliance (*Struggle*) and the Arab Students' Union (Hebrew University, Jerusalem)—issued a call for international solidarity

(reprinted in the Socialist Workers Party's *Militant* of 2 February 1973).

In solidarity with the appeal, the Revolutionary Communist Youth throughout the U.S. has initiated a campaign of propaganda and demonstrations in defense of the Israeli left. In New York City, the call was issued on 13 February for a united-front demonstration to be held outside the Israeli Consulate to the United Nations on 21 February. It was mailed to 18 organizations, and was followed up by telephone calls or personal visits. The slogans proposed by the RCY for the united front were: "Defend the Israeli Militants!" "For Unconditional Defense of the Left Against Bourgeois Repression!" "For International Working-Class Solidarity!" In addition, the RCY contingent marched under the following slogans: "For the Right of Self-Determination for the Palestinian and Hebrew-Speaking Nations!" "For a United Socialist States of the Middle East!" "For the Permanent Revolution in the

Middle East!" "For the Rebirth of the Fourth International!"

### Fake Internationalism of U.S. Left

The responses by the ostensibly revolutionary organizations in the United States to the united-front defense call were indicative of those groups' organizational opportunism towards united fronts as well as their petty sectarianism. Of the 18 organizations which received the call, only the National Caucus of Labor Committees, Vanguard Newsletter/Class Struggle League and a supporter of the Palestine Liberation Organization politically supported the demonstration.

The Young Socialist Alliance stated bluntly that it would not support the protest. The Socialist Workers Party—which had originally reprinted the Israeli appeal in its press—simply informed the RCY that it would have to discuss the matter with *Militant* editor  
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CP's "LEFT TURN"

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# For A Communist Indochina!

a formal (and empty) attempt to restore Soviet-Chinese harmony. Shortly after the visit China's arch-enemy, Premier Shastri of India, was given a royal welcome and high-level tour of the Soviet Union. Afterwards, India was rewarded by a \$900 million "honorarium" (more than double Soviet aid to the DRV in any one year!).

In short, the Soviet role has continuously been to use the Vietnamese as a bargaining tool to "restore the spirit of Camp David" and continue the Soviet-American detente.

## Chinese Role No Better

The Maoist bureaucracy has sharply criticized the Vietnam policy of its Russian counterpart. But the role of the Chinese themselves has been no better. Neither Mao nor his international supporters have broken from the counter-revolutionary tenets of so-called "Khrushchev revisionism": peaceful co-existence; the various recipes for class collaboration (bloc of four classes, "New Democracy," people's fronts); the "two-stage revolution" (itself a Menshevik theory against which Lenin polemicized in his April Theses); and the theory of "socialism in one country" which is at the core of all these Stalinist schemas. This theory led inevitably to the Sino-Soviet border clashes and the maneuvers of both bureaucracies with the imperialists as the Russians and Chinese each sought to defend the "socialism" of *its own* country at the other's expense.

China has been no more generous in materially aiding the DRV than has the Soviet Union, nor has it been motivated any differently. After the "Tonkin Gulf incident" China rushed planes to the DRV, sent 30-50 thousand Army engineers and construction brigades to North Vietnam, and began construction of airports in Yunnan and Kwangsi to provide air sanctuary for DRV planes. By 1966, however, the troops were withdrawn, airport construction ceased, and other aid dwindled despite U.S. escalation. What was the cause of this?

China's foreign policy in the early 1960's was based on the proposition that the "fundamental contradiction in the world is between U.S. imperialism and the oppressed nations and peoples." This denial of the primacy of the *class* contradiction dictated that Chinese policy was based on the attempt to construct an "anti-imperialist united front" of bourgeois-nationalist regimes. Even in its own terms, this policy was untenable and collapsed as these "progressive" bonapartist regimes collapsed—Nkrumah in Ghana, Lumumba in the Congo. The final payoff of this policy was the slaughter of the 3 million-member pro-Chinese Indonesian Communist Party.

The Chinese bureaucracy had been engaged in an internal economic debate following the failure of the Great Leap Forward and the cessation of Soviet aid. The Tonkin incident raised the further questions of Chinese defense policy, the character of its armed forces, and, finally, the nature of Soviet aid to the NLF-DRV and other similar groups. It was during these debates that the Cultural Revolution occurred. What emerged from the Mao-Lin factional victory was the "3 No's Policy" (i.e., no Soviet aid; no military confrontations with the U.S. over Vietnam; no peace negotiations) and the revival of the "People's War" strategy.

"People's War" has been heralded by Maoists and even ex-Maoists like Progressive Labor as the road to victory for the Vietnamese Revolution. But in fact People's War was a strategy of retreat and betrayal as was apparent even to the DRV-NLF leadership. It is no accident that Lin Piao's "Long Live The Victory of People's War" was published in September 1965, after massive introduction of American troops and fire power into Vietnam. Lin Piao's emphasis on "self-reliance," on the evils

of depending on foreign military assistance "even though this be aid from socialist countries which persist in revolution" (which could only mean China), was the pontifical fig-leaf behind which Mao and his "Great Comrade in Arms" withdrew their military aid to the DRV-NLF. "Self-reliance," like "socialism in one country," is simply the slogan behind which China can renege on her duties to the Vietnamese revolution. The other side of People's War is class-collaborationism and conciliationism. Thus, Lin makes much of the Chinese Red Army's "United Front" with the bourgeois-led Kuomintang (KMT) and her wooing of the "national bourgeoisie and enlightened gentry," i.e., in the late 1930's the Red Army was formally liquidated into the KMT, confiscated land was returned to the landlords and peasant-soldier councils were eliminated and replaced with the "three-thirds system" in which all classes were allegedly represented. In reality, KMT-Red Army collaboration was never viable, nor was the "three-thirds" system. Finally, "People's War" projected a guerrilla war-peasant war-protracted war strategy which was literally a recipe for retreat for the DRV-NLF forces, namely to abandon attacks on the cities, go into the countryside and up the mountains, fight little skirmishes for many years, i.e., avoid Dien Bien Phu-like decisive victories over the enemy.

The response of the DRV-NLF to Lin Piao's arguments for a strategic retreat were both sharp and negative. For example, at a DRV Army conference in May 1966, Le Duan, Secretary-General of the Lao Dong party (DRV's Communist Party) stated:

"It is not fortuitous that in the history of our country, each time we rose up to oppose foreign aggression, we took the offensive and not the defensive. ... Taking the offensive is a strategy, while taking the defensive is only a stratagem. Since the day the South Vietnamese people rose up, they have continually taken the offensive."

While China never cut off the flow of Soviet aid to the DRV it had, at times, seriously disrupted the aid by refusing to allow Soviet planes to fly over China and refusing Soviet ships the use of Chinese ports. Since the Cultural Revolution, the Soviets had become "social imperialists" which could be even more of an enemy to the "third world" than U.S. imperialism. Such "Mao-thought dialectics" opened the way to a new "united front" of the U.S. and China against "Soviet imperialism."

Perhaps no more telling statement can be made of how the U.S. eagerly joined the "united front" to "exploit the contradictions" among the deformed workers states than the statement made by the Assistant Secretary of the U.S. State Department William H. Sullivan:

"... when Mr. Nixon decided May 8 to mine North Vietnam's harbors, he produced a situation in which North Vietnam became 100% dependent upon China for the provision of its equipment. Everything coming from the Soviet Union had to transit Chinese territory. ... Nothing could go through the waters and come into Haiphong overseas. This means that China's preoccupation with Soviet encirclement came into play. This means that China's feeling that it would rather have four Balkanized states in Indochina rather than an Indochina that was dominated by Hanoi and possibly susceptible to Moscow came into play."

—New York Times, 31 January 1973, quoting Sullivan on "Meet the Press"

Thus the mining and bombing of Haiphong harbor actually facilitated the Sino-American detente and the Nixon visit. The Chinese bureaucracy was only too eager to accept continued U.S. presence in Vietnam, as long as the

Soviet presence could be weakened.

## North Vietnam: Pawn Captured By Its Past Betrayals

The North Vietnamese bureaucracy was caught in a double contradiction. As Stalinist bureaucrats, they were prepared to betray the interests of the international proletariat just as fully as their counterparts in Moscow or Peking, capable of defending the working people's gains only in a deformed way and only when an implacable imperialism seemed imminently to threaten the very existence of the workers states upon which the bureaucracies themselves rest. But for the Vietnamese Stalinists, the "one country" to whose "socialism" they owed their power was Vietnam. As bureaucrats, they rested on a genuine social revolution where the masses had expelled the imperialists, nationalized property and established a monopoly of foreign trade. Yet in the absence of workers democracy, soviets and a revolutionary party, the state upon which the privileged bureaucracy rests represents both the *economic* expropriation of the *capitalists* and the *political* expropriation of the *workers*.

The North Vietnamese bureaucracy

## RCY Newsletter

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The *RCY Newsletter* 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.

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never questioned the "theory of socialism in one country" even when poised as a dagger at their throats by "socialist" Russia and China. Just as the North Vietnamese bureaucracy had in the past invited the French back into Indochina after WWII and exterminated the Trotskyists who controlled Saigon's trade unions, so also in 1954 they showed themselves quite willing to "build socialism in one-half a country." As late as April 1960, on the eve of the NLF's formation, Le Duan stated:

"... in the present conjuncture, when the possibility exists to maintain a lasting peace [:] in the world and create favorable conditions for the world movement of socialist revolution and

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# An Open Letter to the SWP/YSA

National Executive Committee  
Young Socialist Alliance

We are writing to you concerning the attack on YSA member Will Stanley by members of the Young Workers Liberation League at the Borough of Manhattan Community College on 29 November 1972. You have issued a call for all organizations to publicly condemn the attack, to condemn violence within the left and to support the YSA's right to exist on the BMCC campus.

The Revolutionary Communist Youth condemns the attack by the YWLL and supports your fight for full rights as a student organization at BMCC. We of the SL/RCY have never hesitated to come forward to defend other left-wing organizations, including the SWP/YSA against violations of their rights. For example, we defended you at the SMC National Steering Committee meeting held in May 1970 when it was attacked by PL/SDS.

Our position on this specific issue flows from our *unconditional* defense of the Leninist principles of workers democracy and therefore the refusal to initiate violence against any left group. Basing our position on these principles as we always have, we are likewise in agreement with your statement that differences within the workers movement must be resolved through discussion and debate and that those groups which resort to violence and exclusionism must be roundly condemned.

On the basis of these Leninist principles and our first-hand knowledge of your past history, however, your statement can only be seen as hypocritical and opportunist.

—On 4 July 1971, members of the SWP/YSA refused to even discuss an SL/RMC (Revolutionary Marxist Caucus, predecessor to the RCY) motion to remove U.S. Senator Vance Hartke from the podium of the anti-war convention held by the National Peace Action Coalition. After refusing to follow the norms of democratic discussion and debate, SWP member and head NPAC marshal Fred Halstead admitted launching an unprovoked physical attack against members of PL/SDS and the SL/RMC. In this SWP-launched attack, one SL member received a broken nose and at least one PL member was pushed through a plate-glass window.

—On 5 July 1971 all recognized PL/SDS and SL/RCY members were excluded from the open national anti-war convention by NPAC marshalls composed of SWP/YSA members.

—On 25 July 1971, members of the SWP/YSA physically attacked members of the National Caucus of Labor Committees. NCLC member Marsha Freeman was thrown down a flight of stairs suffering head injuries.

—On 4 November 1972 a member of the Socialist Forum group was assaulted by SWP/YSA members as he was distributing leaflets outside an SWP/YSA forum.

—On 25 November 1972 a member of the SL/RCY was distributing leaflets outside your national convention. Nine of your comrades, organized by SWP members Sid Stapleton and Al Budka, told him to stop leafletting or "be physically stopped."

—On 9 December 1972 members of the SL/RCY were excluded from an open forum on Black Nationalism and at least one member was assaulted by your members.

We could continue to provide specific examples of SWP/YSA intimidation and violence against groups on the left, of your harassments and of your undemocratic exclusion of worker-militants from meetings. When representatives of G. Healy's Socialist Labour League in England had your supporter Ernie Tate beaten, you considered this one example more than enough to condemn Healy throughout the world.

If your statement on the Stanley case concerning open discussion instead of violent exclusion was real, then you must condemn your previous actions. After the Stanley statement, not to condemn your previous actions is to demonstrate your contempt for workers democracy. Without such a condemnation you turn a principle for which countless workers' lives have been spent into a cheap organizational trick.

Unfortunately, we of the RCY cannot expect any such honest reappraisals of your past. Your own history provides no basis to suppose that you will suddenly find again the road of revolutionary honesty and Leninist principles which you deserted along with the program of Trotsky.

National Bureau  
Revolutionary Communist Youth

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# RCY Defends Israeli Left...

Doug Jenness, who turned out to be "in a meeting" whenever the RCY called.

The Workers League/Young Socialists also refused to join the united front, stating that it would handle the defense "in its own way."

The International Socialists vacillated on its support for the call, stating that it felt the united front to be supportable while continuing to put off a definite commitment. But at the time of the demonstration the IS failed to participate. Following the demonstration, the IS felt impelled to send the RCY a letter to attempt to explain away its abstention from the action. The IS letter stated in part: "The way to build real united front actions would have been to call a meeting of all groups willing to defend the Israeli left to agree on common actions and common slogans. This would have guaranteed the largest possible actions while still permitting each group to have its own banners and slogans." In fact, of course, the IS was well aware that all groups supporting the call for the action (i.e., defense of left militants in Israel and internationally) were urged to participate with their own slogans and banners. Had the IS had any criticisms or further proposals to raise, however, they certainly had ample opportunity to do so in the course of the several calls made to them in New York and nationally by the RCY.

Thus even those groups who like to boast of their international connections—the SWP which proclaims political solidarity with the "United Secretariat" of the Fourth International, the WL's "International Committee" led by G. Healy's Socialist Labour League in Britain, the IS of Tony Cliff's rag-tag collection of hangers-on—demonstrated that their internationalism is a hollow sham. When the time came to take concrete action in demonstration of international working-class solidarity, each group backed down. This elementary lack of working-class solidarity was particularly transparent in the case of the SWP and the IS, each of which claims to be in political solidarity with one of the co-signers of the appeal of the Israeli left, the SWP with the ISO (Matzpen-Marxist) and the IS with the ISO (Matzpen).

The Progressive Labor Party, after receiving the RCY's call, held its own demonstration on 19 February (two days prior to the RCY-called demonstration) in support of one Israeli group (Revolutionary Communist Alliance). When asked whether it would support the united front, PL refused to even discuss the matter with SL/RCY members, thus demonstrating incredible sectarianism. The Revolutionary Communist Alliance, with which PL has friendly relations, is engaged in Israel in united-front defense work for its own defense and defense of the rest of the left and working-class movement, and has joined in an international appeal for other organizations to do the same. Not only has PL refused to unite with other groups in the U.S. to defend this group, but in its own little sectarian picket line, it did not call for defense of



Defend the Israeli Left! SL/RCY demonstrate against Golda Meir at Brandeis University.

the Israeli left groups with which this group signed the appeal! Thinking this over (perhaps under pressure from their own membership), PL wrote in the latest *Challenge* (8 March 1973, p. 9), that it had demonstrated in defense of both the Revolutionary Communist Alliance and the Red Front (the other group which has most suffered from the recent state repression)—this is simply a lie as both the leaflets and banners at PL's picket line made mention only of the Revolutionary Communist Alliance. PL refuses to understand that the bourgeoisie's capacity to successfully attack any left-wing organization opens the door for attacks on the entire left and working class.

SDS members who were approached at PL's demonstration were initially very enthusiastic about the RCY-called united-front demonstration to defend the Israeli groups, and some argued with PL members who opposed participation. But SDS is, of course, controlled by PL and did not show up at the RCY-called demonstration.

### Zionist Hooligans Repulsed

Two days before the demonstration, the RCY received several calls from people identifying themselves as supporters of the Jewish Defense League, who threatened to attack the demonstration and "kill" all "the commies." In response to these calls, the RCY made careful defense preparations and once again telephoned the 18 organizations to which it had mailed the call, urging that, even if they did not wish to give political support to the united front, they should take part in a bloc for defense against the right-wing terrorist JDL.

The RCY also issued an additional press release, which was hand-delivered to as many of the avowedly anti-Zionist socialist groups as possible (as well as to the bourgeois papers). The press release pointed out that the threats emanating purportedly from the JDL injected another issue into the demonstration—the right of anti-Zionists to publicly raise their views despite attempted intimidation by the ultra-right. The RCY also contacted civil liberties groups and the mass media in the attempt to protect the demonstration's participants from frame-up legal charges should serious violence occur.

The response of most of the left to the RCY's heightened efforts to build the

demonstration in the face of the threats was predictably sectarian. PL refused to discuss the question. The SWP and IS continued to hand out the same run-around. The Maoist Revolutionary Union, which had earlier stated its intention to "have nothing to do with Trotskyism," responded to the news about the JDL threats by saying, "that's too bad." The Black Panther Party and the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization stated their desire to send representatives to help with defense, but said they were not able to mobilize anyone on short notice. The Palestine Liberation Organization sent a representative to the picket line. The NCLC and VNL/CSL, which had earlier indicated political support for the united-front call around the three slogans (see above), agreed to participate in defense against the JDL. The NCLC sent additional forces for defense purposes but made it known to RCY leadership that it considered the entire united-front action to be "diversionary" from the struggle to build the working-class movement in this country, of which the defense of the National Welfare Rights Organization is currently the crucial aspect—demonstrating once again their total lack of internationalism and failure to understand the vanguard role of the proletariat.

All groups which had said they might participate were called for a planning meeting held the morning of the demonstration (only the RCY and NCLC showed up). Explaining its plans for the physical self-defense of the march, the RCY also stressed again that the purpose of the action was political—the defense of the Israeli left—and must not be allowed to be obscured by the ultra-right's threats.

At the demonstration itself, a group of right-wing Zionists armed with iron pipes and brass knuckles suddenly charged the picket line in two places. This attack was successfully repulsed by the picket line and two members of the attacking force were arrested by police. Despite the fact that they wielded deadly weapons, the obvious conspiratorial nature of their attack and the fact that one member of the New York Police Department was injured, the police charged the attackers only with "disorderly conduct" and those arrested were released without bail. It was reported that one of the Zionist swine was knocked cold and another badly beaten by those defending the line. Injuries to

the picketers were slight and were taken care of on the spot by an RCY medical team.

### RCY Continues Defense of Israeli Left

The RCY will continue to defend the Israeli militants in the spirit of international working-class solidarity. We will not allow right-wing Zionist pseudo-stormtroopers to stand in our way. Not only was the Revolutionary Communist Youth alone in taking the initiative to call a principled, public united-front demonstration (unlike the sectarian little surreptitious street-gathering of PL and its dwindling circle of friends called SDS), but we have established an important precedent: In the city where the JDL has its largest base, it was unable to prevent an anti-Zionist, internationalist, pro-working-class demonstration from being held. RCY locals around the country will carry on propaganda and actions in defense of the persecuted Israeli militants.

As the youth section of the Spartacist League, the main thrust of our work is to contribute to the crystallization of a proletarian vanguard in the Middle East as part of an international Spartacist tendency. Defense of the Israeli left from bourgeois repression is an important component of this work.

NEW YORK, N.Y., 8 March, 1973—

Similar RCY-initiated united-front demonstrations in defense of the persecuted Israeli militants have also been held in Chicago, Buffalo and the Bay Area. In Boston an SL/RCY contingent of about 60 participated in an anti-Zionist demonstration at Brandeis University on the day of Golda Meir's speech there, carrying banners calling for the unity of Jewish and Arab workers in the Middle East, for a united socialist states of the Middle East and for the rebirth of the Fourth International. The "democratic-centralist" IS, who refused to come to the demonstration in New York City, did, however, send representatives to the Chicago and Bay Area protests. Similarly, while PL-dominated SDS ignored the New York united-front demonstration against Israeli state repression of the left, SDS sent 5 or 6 representatives to the Buffalo demonstration. A few of these were members of Progressive Labor, but they "came as SDS members." ■

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# "Lame Duck in Turbulent Waters"

# CP's "LEFT TURN"

To many members of the Communist Party/Young Workers Liberation League, it must have come as a shock to hear about Gus Hall's speech in December to the Communist Party Central Committee, where he said:

"We do not have fully a class bent in our Party. We do not have fully a working-class mentality in our Party, and in our leadership. That we are a *working-class* Party does not come through, very often."

—Lame Duck in *Turbulent Waters*, CP pamphlet, p. 58

This, of course, poses the critical question of the roots of departure from the working-class line which Hall, General Secretary of the CP, purported to take up in this speech. Distributed as a pamphlet entitled *Lame Duck in Turbulent Waters*, the speech concerns itself with how to rectify the errors of the last "thirty years."

## The Left Turn and "Political Independence"

The principal changes Hall calls for in this left turn are more "political independence," building the party and its public face, and the junking of the "three-legged-stool strategy." [The legs of the stool are the liberal wing of the Democratic Party, the "independents" and the Communist Party, but "in practice the only operational electoral leg was the movement around the liberal Democratic Party candidates" (*Lame Duck...*, p. 38).] The program of the CP—except for a reference to its "packaging," which Hall infers should have been more like the Declaration of Independence—comes under no criticism. Program is the embodiment of the principles, tactics and strategy of the revolutionary party. To accuse a party of deviations as serious as Hall now sees in the CP and not to seek their basis in the party's program is to attempt to perpetrate a fraud on the membership.

"Political independence" is always dealt with by Hall in a very abstract way. For the CP, everyone from Lindsay and McGovern (see *Our Nation's Crisis and How to Fight It*, CP pamphlet, pp. 71-72) to Black Democrats and the Gary Convention (dominated by right-wing nationalist Imamu Baraka) represent "political independence." Such "independence" is reminiscent of the SWP's "independent" anti-war movement which dwindled to nothing during the elections, the great bulk of its supporters going off to campaign for bourgeois liberals like McGovern.

For communists, political independence can have only one meaning—*working-class* political independence, independence both organizationally and politically from the bourgeoisie and all other classes and their influences. While the working class must seek to win to its leadership sections of the petty bourgeoisie, it can never enter into a programmatic alliance with non-working-class elements without sacrificing its class independence from and hostility to the bourgeoisie. This independence cannot simply be asserted, but must be fought for actively through a struggle against the bourgeoisie and its allies; such a struggle can only be based on a program which expresses the historical interests of the proletariat.

For the CP, the key to this new-found "political independence" is the building of a "third party," i.e., a party outside the Democratic and Republican parties. The old "three-legged-stool strategy," which is now the root of all evil according to Hall, was reaffirmed less than four months earlier by the CP:

"Let me say further that my report in no way changes our three-pronged

approach in the electoral scene."

—Hall, *Make This Election Count*, September 1972, p. 39

But all of a sudden:

"Our electoral policy has for some 25 years been expressed in the phrase 'the three legs of a stool' or 'the three prongs of a fork'... In the course of this election, I have come to the conclusion that it is a wrong concept, a wrong basis for our Party's electoral policy."

—Lame Duck..., December 1972, p. 37

One might say that the CP has been a little slow in learning—twenty-five years—but no one can accuse it of being sentimental about old theories. This "wrong" theory so "confused" the CP leadership about which side of the class line McGovern was on that "... members of this body [the Central Committee]... did not vote for the Communist ticket" (*Lame Duck...*, p. 34). It "... led a Communist editor to write 'If you did not lose the last spark of human feeling, it is clear you must vote for McGovern' (*Lame Duck...*, p. 37) and caused the editors of *Political Affairs* to write a "one-sided, misleading editorial" (*Make This Election Count*, p. 25).

## Lenin on "Two-Class Parties"

As to the nature of this "third party," Hall is crystal clear: "The Farmer-Labor Party was an independent political working class-based party" (*Lame Duck...*, p. 53). Naturally Hall does not mention that the Farmer-Labor Party was, according to the majority faction of the Comintern in 1924, a "two-class party" based on a program of petty-bourgeois agrarian populism and ran as its candidate radical-bourgeois LaFollette, who subsequently demanded that the Communists be purged from the Farmer-Labor Party.

The Bolshevik Party was born in the struggle against Russian populists, the Narodniks. Countless warnings from Lenin against the "two-class party" can be cited, for example:

"The alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry must in no case be interpreted to mean a fusion of different classes or parties of the proletariat and the peasantry. Not only fusion, but even any sort of lasting concord would be fatal for the socialist party of the working class and weaken the revolutionary democratic struggle." [our emphasis]

—Lenin, *Works* (Russian Edition), Vol. II, part I, p. 79

This was written in 1908—long before the tasks of the democratic revolution were carried out. To now prescribe this formula for the most advanced capitalist country in the world is simply incredible!

The theory of the "anti-monopoly coalition" or the "people's front" comes out untouched by Hall's self-criticism. In fact, it has gained new importance. No longer satisfied with being a pressure group within the Democratic Party, Hall announces that the CP will be more like its European brother, the French CP, which has an election pact with the Socialist Party specifically outlawing the overthrow of the bourgeois state (see *Workers Vanguard* No. 17, March 1973)—or perhaps it will be more like its Chilean counterpart which aids the "Popular Unity" government of Allende in restoring land seized by the peasantry to the landlords, and factories occupied by the workers to the capitalists, while Allende tries to balance between the revolutionary desires of the masses and the counter-revolutionary needs of the bourgeoisie by filling his ministerial posts with generals whose armies are equipped and trained by the U.S. (see

*Workers Vanguard* No. 14, December 1972).

This "independence" and movement toward a "real anti-monopoly government" requires that the CP build its base. The bourgeoisie is not interested in handing out ministerial portfolios to a party that has no influence, that cannot deliver. This entails a more public profile for the party:

"The role of a Communist Party cannot be 'occasional,' 'conditional,' or 'incidental' or 'non-essential' at any time. The role of the Party is not a some-future-day item. The independent role of the Party is primary and essential at all times, in all movements and struggles.

"How this role of the Party is fought for is a tactical matter, but it must not be permitted to become the excuse to push the Party aside, not even for one day." [our emphasis]

—Lame Duck..., pp. 42-43

This "tactical independence" of the party is in no way a break with party line/mass line concepts (i.e., "when one speaks as a communist the party line is presented and when one speaks as a member of a "mass movement" the mass line is given). This leads not to the party's struggle for political leadership based on its program, but to the subordination of the program of the party to that of the "mass movement." Tailism cannot be wished away—it is embodied in the CP's approach to mass work and in its program.

## YWLL Pressures the CP for Greater Union Militancy

This same dilemma has manifested itself in other areas of the party's work, particularly in the trade unions. There has been a great deal of dissatisfaction in the YWLL with the low level and lack of militancy of CP trade-union work. Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy (TUAD) is widely viewed as the right wing of the party: "Some trade unionists interpreted it [the united front] to mean it is all right for them to unite with the reformists and in the process become reformists" (*Lame Duck...*, p. 36). This is an insoluble dilemma for the CP since its program is one of simple trade-union reformism—"bread-and-butter" demands and demands for union democracy (with no political demands as described by Lenin in *What Is To Be Done?*, i.e., demands that would fundamentally alter class and property relations in the direction of socialism). "Bread-and-butter" demands, no matter how militantly they are fought for, can develop in the workers only trade-union consciousness, which for Leninists is still bourgeois consciousness. As Hall correctly states: "... any time our work does not advance class or socialist consciousness, we should take a new look at it" (*Lame Duck...*, p. 44). As the contradictions within capitalist society grow, the bourgeoisie will demand that the reformist and social-democratic trade-union leaders pick up fewer and fewer "crumbs from the table of imperialism." If these leaders can no longer hold the workers back, the bourgeoisie will look toward the fascists to get things in order. Only a union leadership conscious of its role as being part of an active revolutionary struggle can prevent this.

In this context, to concentrate the struggle simply "against the Meany bureaucracy" and to wage it on the basis of a trade-union-reformist program is to end up in a bloc with up-and-coming bureaucrats who drape their class collaboration in "left" rhetoric. (Walter Reuther, who helped purge the United Auto Workers of the "reds,"

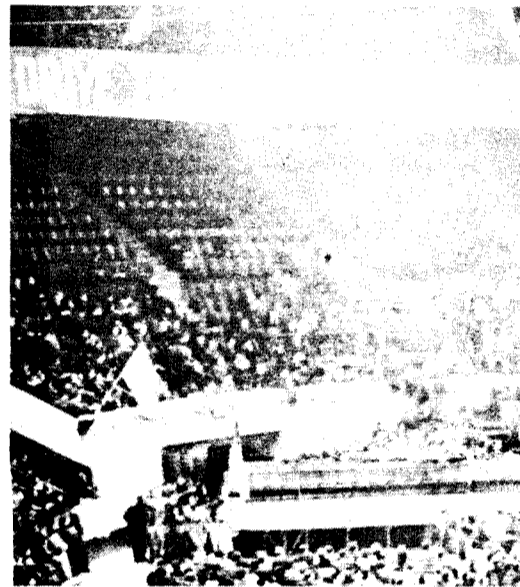
was once a radical-talking trade-union militant and a member of the Socialist Party.)

In practice the CP has shown where it stands:

"We work in our own narrow little circles of lower levels of trade union leadership with a few closer contacts and using only the forms of trade union activity that reflected a period devoid of rank and file upsurge."

—Danny Rubin, *For a Party of Mass Actions*, May 1971, CP pamphlet, p. 12

In spite of Rubin's criticism the CP has continued its support of the "left wing" of the trade-union bureaucracy. In the United Auto Workers it supports the United National Caucus (UNC), a collection of aspiring bureaucrats



Browder at CP anti-Trotskyist rally in 1930

which did *not* bother to raise most of its program at the last UAW convention and is mainly concerned with suing the union in the capitalist courts over retiree-voting (see *Workers Vanguard* No. 16, February 1973). The CP also supports Arnold Miller in the United Mine Workers who used the federal government to get elected (see *WV* No. 17, March 1973) and the Morrissey opposition in the National Maritime Union which would like to do the same. The CP's purported opposition to government intervention in the working-class movement is thus rendered meaningless—CP/YWLLers should learn the lesson of the CP's support in the 1940's for the use of the anti-communist, thought-control Smith Act against the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, which was later used against the CP. To support government intervention into the labor movement for any reason is to give the capitalists a club which they will use later to smash all working-class organizations.

## Class Line Drawn Except...

While Hall says he has learned to draw the class line where McGovern is concerned, he falters on the question of more left-talking and black bourgeois politicians:

"... we must not do what the Trotskyites [Hall is referring to the ex-Trotskyist SWP] do in elections and have been doing for some time. They have a policy of picking election campaigns such as those of Stokes, Abzug and others, but especially campaigns where there are Black candidates, and running Trotskyite candidates against them—against Black, liberal, working-class candidates.... There is no question that such a policy is irresponsible. The concentration against Black candidates is a reflection of their racism. Of course, that is not our policy.

"In such elections we must work with

people, but we must do so from a position of independence."

—Lame Duck..., p. 48

Although the CP sometimes correctly criticizes the SWP for embracing black nationalism (as well as practically every other petty-bourgeois ideology under the sun), in practice the policies of both the CP and the SWP subordinate the class struggle to the political leadership of the black petty bourgeoisie.

While the CP starts from the correct observation that blacks are not a nation (*For a Party of Mass Actions*, p. 6), it says at the same time that there are "special national demands." While it is true that all classes of blacks are racially oppressed, the denial of basic democratic rights to blacks has its material basis in the development of capitalist society—the reserve labor pool, competition among workers for a shrinking pool of jobs facilitating capitalist campaigns to drive down wages of all workers and so on. The elimination of racial oppression therefore requires the abolition of capitalism. While in certain cases, e.g., the defense of blacks against racist attacks by right-wingers or by the state (like the attacks on Angela Davis and Ruchell Magee), temporary blocs in defense of

oppression—unemployment, job discrimination, discrimination in education and so on. The former approach leads the CP away from Marxism into treating the fight against racial oppression as a moral duty of whites:

"...any weakness in the struggle against white chauvinism and racism become direct obstacles to the struggle against the weaknesses in the Black liberation movement.

"White Communists above all must see this relationship. They must see that it is a two-sided struggle with the main emphasis on the main question, which is the struggle against racism and white chauvinism." [our emphasis]

—Lame Duck..., p. 62

The fight against concrete manifestations of racial oppression such as discrimination in hiring and union membership must be linked to transitional demands such as a shorter work week with no loss in pay to end unemployment, a sliding scale of wages and hours, and organization of the unorganized—demands which fight lumpenization and help build a strong class consciousness that cuts across race lines, laying the basis for a united class struggle against capitalism.

ty, but wants to make a bid for its own power base in the working class to give it more leverage in bargaining with the bourgeoisie. The dream of an American popular front—the "anti-monopoly government"—looms enticingly over the horizon for the CP.

### World Economy and World Revolution

The shifts in the world economic situation have led to the present detente between the U.S. and the USSR, and the U.S. and China. The U.S. is no longer the unchallenged leader of world capitalism and increasing competition among capitalist countries has pushed the scramble for new markets towards the "socialist" camp. Behind this are the laws of capitalist development—the tendency toward inter-imperialist rivalries, not the "ever-increasing victories of socialism."

The USSR, Eastern Europe and China are all faced with the same reality, in confirmation of Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution, the need to expand the revolution internationally. Contrary to Stalin's theory, they have been unable to retreat into nationally-isolated socialist development. The much higher rate of productivity in

capitalist restoration. The only answer is—while maintaining a stand of unconditional defense of the workers states against imperialist attack and internal counter-revolution—to put forward a program of political revolution, to save the workers states from their respective bureaucracies and to extend the socialist revolution world-wide.

### Stalin, Browder, Foster, Hall and Their "Differences"

The purpose of Hall's speech is very clear. It provides no keys to understanding Stalinist theory and practice. It is the amateur roadshow version of the Twentieth Party Congress—Stalinist hack turned de-Stalinizer. Hall cynically uses the bug-a-boo of "Browderism" to evoke images of the return to "Fosterism." Hall has been around since 1927; he knows he was Browder's man when Browder was Stalin's man, and he was Foster's man when Foster was Stalin's man. He knows that at bottom the policies of Stalin, Browder, Foster and his own are class-collaborationist, the inevitable reflection of the needs of the Soviet bureaucracy—anti-Marxist, anti-internationalist and reformist.

Just a comparison of the following statements by Foster and Browder reveals that their fundamental similarities overshadow their differences. On proletarian internationalism:

"They [demands of the Communist program] are based exclusively upon American needs and conditions. Communists...have always been keenly American in their proposals and struggles."

—Foster, *American Trade Unionism*, p. 370

On fighting for workers interests:

"In the matter of working conditions, the trade unions need to show real flexibility. Some unions, especially in the A. F. of L., may have to modify certain of their working rules to facilitate increased production."

—*American Trade Unionism*, p. 296

Are the above statements in support of labor-management-government cooperation and filled with social chauvinism any different from Browder's?:

"The need of the hour is a stronger and more united trade union movement that can rally all the people behind President Roosevelt, strengthen the U.N. and guarantee victory by the speedy opening of a second front in Europe... There should be only one wing in the CIO—the win-the-war wing!"

—Browder, *Production for Victory*

"Every class, every group, every individual, every political party in America will have to re-adjust itself to this great issue embodied in the policy given to us by Roosevelt, Stalin, Churchill. Everyone must begin to draw the conclusion from it and adjust himself to the new world that is created by it."

—Browder, speech at Bridgeport, Connecticut, January 1946

And that's exactly what Browder did: He carried the policies of dissolving the Comintern, the "anti-fascist united front," and class collaboration to their logical extension, the dissolution of the CP in 1945—politics has its own logic!

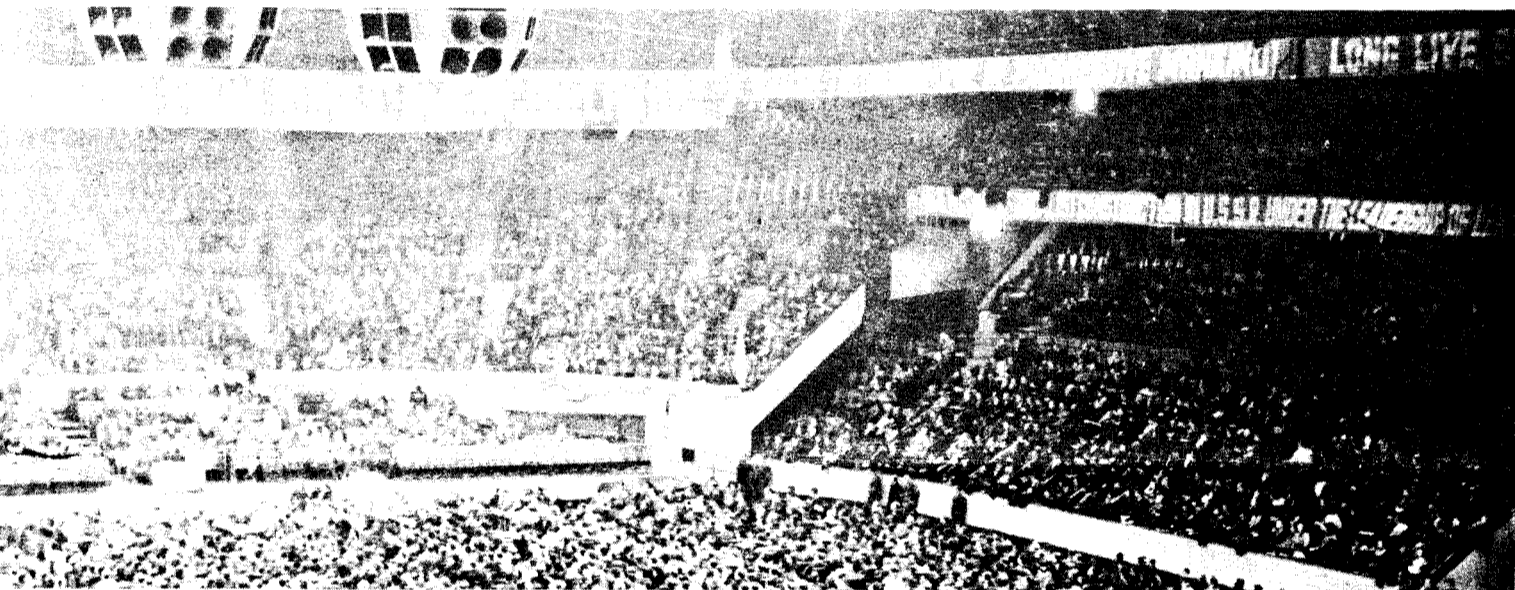
When Browder was deposed, the CP accused him of advocating "peaceful co-existence and collaboration" between capitalism and socialism (see Duclos, in Daniels, *A Documentary History of Communism*, Vol. II). "Peaceful co-existence," however, became the official CP line with Khrushchev's Report to the Supreme Soviet in 1960! Browder's crime was carrying the line too far, too soon.

Interestingly, it was the CP under Browder which helped to build the CIO, while Foster presided over the ouster of the "reds" from the unions, often helping the process along—e.g., at the 1946 CIO convention he favored a statement condemning Communist interference in the CIO.

### Trotskyism and the Transitional Program

There is only one road open to those who wish to break from the history of the last 48 years of the Com-

continued on page 6



in 1930's. Browder is gone but CP's anti-Trotskyism and class collaborationism remain.

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democratic rights with non-working-class black and white forces may be proper, only black and white workers can consistently fight for an end to racial oppression—since the working class is the only consistently revolutionary class in capitalist society. And even when making temporary blocs for bourgeois democracy with bourgeois elements, communists must always expose the fraudulent nature of bourgeois democracy, the inconsistent role of liberals, and warn workers not to rely on these elements who will inevitably defend their own class interests and betray the workers.

To endorse black Democrats like Shirley Chisholm, Ron Dellums, the Black Congressional Caucus and the Gary convention is no different from supporting McGovern. The interests of black and white workers are fundamentally opposed to the interests of the capitalist class. To say that these black politicians, these agents of capital, represent "in fact... political independence," is to build illusions about the possibility of ending racial discrimination under capitalism. It is to present blacks with a utopian-reformist solution fundamentally the same as that of the petty-bourgeois black nationalists whose desires are to be *bourgeois* or the privileged hirelings of the bourgeoisie.

### For a Materialist Approach to Racial Oppression

The CP's non-materialist approach to racial discrimination leads to designating racist ideas rather than racial oppression as the focus of its work. The difference is more than semantic; the former is an idealist conception locating the roots of racism in the heads of whites, while the latter is based upon an understanding of the material roots of racism and projects a fight against concrete manifestations of racial op-

### "Socialism in One Country" and Class Collaboration

The CP's current left turn does not represent any fundamental break with the past. It takes place firmly within the Stalinist framework of "socialism in one country" and class collaborationism, and within this framework no qualitative left turn is possible. "Socialism in one country" is the reactionary-utopian theory used by Stalin to justify the subordination of the world revolution to the interests of the Soviet bureaucracy. It was explicitly rejected by Lenin and the entire Bolshevik leadership prior to Lenin's death:

"But we have not finished building even the foundations of socialist economy and the hostile powers of moribund capitalism can still deprive us of that. We must clearly appreciate this and frankly admit it; for there is nothing more dangerous than illusions... And there is absolutely nothing terrible... in admitting this bitter truth; for we have always urged and reiterated the elementary truth of Marxism—that the joint efforts of the workers of several advanced countries are needed for the victory of socialism."

—Lenin, "Notes of a Publicist," February 1922, in *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 206

The Soviet bureaucracy has found it can do business with Nixon, as witnessed by the recent agreements in Indochina and the U.S.-Soviet grain deals. As Hall puts it, McGovern was left "holding the cold-war bag"—threatening to cut off trade with the Soviet Union to "aid Soviet Jewry" and then coming out against financial aid to Hanoi. Therefore, the CP no longer necessarily sees a role for itself as a pressure group within the Democratic Par-

capitalist countries has imposed demands on the deformed workers states for technological advancements in production (particularly upon the USSR which because of its greater technological advancement is most dependent on a world market dominated by capitalist property relations). In spite of the unbridled optimism expressed by Khrushchev—that the Soviet economy would surpass capitalism in productivity through "peaceful coexistence"—the Soviet economy is weak, as witnessed by the need to purchase an incredible one-third of the U.S. grain crop despite the fact that 25% of the Russian population (as compared to 4% of the U.S.) is involved in agriculture. As Trotsky correctly predicted, in spite of the immediate gains resulting from the establishment of working-class property forms, the bureaucracies are a decisive roadblock to socialist construction, sabotaging world revolution and thereby allowing the bourgeoisie to demand a greater and greater price for technical assistance.

This is exactly what the USSR and China are seeking—capitalist credits and investments to develop their vast untapped resources. Accordingly, American capitalism is making them pay through the nose. As part of the latest deal, the bureaucracies of Moscow, Peking, Hanoi and the NLF leadership have agreed to a highly unstable situation in Vietnam in which the root cause of the civil war remains—capitalism in South Vietnam. This is a situation which will only be resolved by the communists seizing power and expropriating the bourgeoisie (in accordance with the theory of permanent revolution) or through a reactionary blood bath of the kind that destroyed the Indonesian Communist Party in 1965.

By these policies the bureaucracies weaken the material basis for their existence and further the possibility of

Continued from page 5

## CP's "LEFT TURN"

unist Party. There is only one program that can resolve the contradictions of Stalinist theory. This is the road of revolutionary Marxism—Trotskyism—and fundamental to it, the Transitional Program. Where the Stalinist program cannot provide a bridge between the reform demand of the minimum program and the maximum demand of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Transitional Program links the felt needs of the working class with the only road to their realization, the socialist revolution. Transitional demands—such as for a shorter work week with no loss in pay to end unemployment, nationalization of industry under workers control, for a workers party and a workers government—lead workers, in struggle, to the strategic goal of the independent mobilization of the working class for the seizure of state power.

Where the CP offers some nebulous multi-class "third party" which subordinates the proletariat to petty-bourgeois illusions of electoral reform, Trotskyists call for ousting the trade union bureaucrats, breaking with the two capitalist parties and struggling for a workers party based on the trade unions. In contrast to the CP's trade-union reformism (building caucuses around programs to reform capitalism and the unions, and constructing blocs with aspiring bureaucrats like the UNC) Trotskyists call for the building of militant caucuses based on the Transitional Program, through which communist politics can assert themselves in a struggle to throw out the reformist and bureaucratic leaders of the unions, replacing them with communist leadership.

In contrast to the social patriotism of the Communist Parties around the world and the national interests of the bureaucracies of the deformed workers states, Trotskyists counterpose the call for the rebirth of the Fourth International, world party of the socialist revolution.

### The Usurpers of the Trotskyist Banner

The struggle to build the vanguard party in this country and worldwide is made more difficult by the usurpers

of Trotsky's name, most notably the wretched, reformist Socialist Workers Party, whose politics of classless, petty-bourgeois radicalism and social pacifism have much in common with the CPUSA but nothing in common with revolutionary Trotskyism except an occasional literary tip of the hat to formal orthodoxy. Also muddying the waters are groups like the Workers League who, in the name of Trotskyism, call upon arch-reactionary trade-union bureaucrat Meany to build a labor party; engage in Stalinist-like gangsterism; betray an ultra-left sectarianism on questions of defense of the left; and ignore, distort or attack the class fight

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against the special oppression of minorities and women. Certain social-democratic formations, in particular the National Caucus of Labor Committees and the International Socialists, pick eclectically at Trotsky's writings, tacking bits and pieces of it onto the same tired reformist ideas of the Second International, proven wrong many times over.

The Spartacist League/Revolutionary Communist Youth alone stands firmly on the basis of the resolutions and decisions of the first four Congresses of the Communist International—the Leninist Congresses—and the 1938 Transitional Program of Trotsky. The only road to the left for YWLLers is the road to revolutionary Marxism—Trotskyism—embodied in the principles and program of the SL/RCY. ■

### Parade Committee and stated:

"The war in Vietnam is not necessary for national security. The U.S. is the richest, most powerful, most heavily armed nation in the world. A continuation of the conflict cannot enhance the honor [!] of the American people [!]. Rather, a large part of the world view it as damaging to our [!] reputation as a people."

This statement was signed not only by such career "socialists" as Stanley Aronowitz and assorted Communist Party trade-union fellow travelers, but Workers League National Chairman Tim Wohlforth, Socialist Workers Party current National Secretary Jack Barnes and Progressive Labor's Rick Rhoades!

When Vance Hartke first spoke at the Hunter College Playhouse in July 1971, his appearance was co-sponsored by the SWP's National Peace Action Coalition and the CP's People's Coalition for Peace and Justice. At that time, a clear class line was drawn between those who stood with Hartke for an imperialist peace in Vietnam and those who stood with the Spartacist League for the expulsion of capitalist politicians from the anti-war movement. On one side stood the imperialist Hartke and the "socialist" groups which defended him with their apologetics and their fists: most prominently the SWP and the Workers League. On the other side were those who intransigently opposed capitalism's war and insisted that a real peace could be won only through the struggle for proletarian state power in the U.S. as well as in Vietnam: the Spartacist League and, in a more confused way, PL. In typical fashion, most of the U.S. left tried to sit on the fence.

PL had undergone an evolution since its Fifth Avenue Peace Parade days and temporarily stood on the proletarian side of the class line in the anti-war movement. But PL's inability to extend the class line further than the Hunter College Playhouse stage, to see the class difference between Hartke and Reuther, cops and the SWP, Nixon and Ho, between the class enemy and its agents in the workers movement, all resulted in PL's subsequent return to the fold of the class enemy in NPAC and in "Grassroots for McGovern."

### IS Can't See the Class Line

The inability of the International Socialists to "see the class line" was demonstrated by their professed "neutrality" at the Hunter College anti-war conference. Further, the IS' position that the war in Vietnam represents merely a struggle for national self-determination enables them to ignore the class line in Vietnam. If the struggle of the Vietnamese toilers is for "self-determination" then once U.S. imperialism has withdrawn, it should make no difference to the IS whether the new leader is Madame Binh or Thieu.

"Bureaucratic collectivism" states that the rise of Stalinism completely wiped out the gains of the Russian Revolution, and that a new class society, equally as exploitative as capitalism, has arisen. This theory has been extended to the other countries socially resembling the Soviet Union: North Korea, China, Cuba, Eastern Europe, and North Vietnam. By this theory, if the Vietnamese Stalinists actually took power, what would emerge would be a state as reactionary as the current one led by Thieu. For, as Max Shachtman (originator of the "bureaucratic collectivist" theory) had insisted, the "class" division in an industrialized society like the Soviet Union must lead to "Soviet Imperialism": if Latin America is subjected to U.S. imperialism, then Eastern Europe is equally subject to Soviet "imperialism." Thus, the struggle between the ARVN and the NLF would be simply the struggle between the competing lackies of competing imperialist powers; neither side is thus worthy of support.

Such are the conclusions that the IS should logically develop from its theory. The IS instead has capitulated to "movement" third worldism which holds that the NLF can do no wrong.

Therefore, the IS has called for an NLF military victory yet seeks to deprive the Vietnamese Communists of political power.

While the IS does not ignore the dual-power struggle in South Vietnam, it does ignore the fact that in order to win such a military victory it is necessary for the Vietnamese Stalinists to take state power. And to take such state power, they must carry out, *even against their will*, the social revolution (however deformed).

### WL: Stalinophobia and Opportunism

The Workers League of Tim Wohlforth (U.S. counterpart of Gerry Healy's Socialist Labor League in Britain) has demonstrated time and again its inability to take a clear line on the war. Instead, the WL has shown the most egregious opportunism.

Wohlforth was quick to demonstrate his support to the SWP and the CP when he supplied WL members to aid the SWP goons in evicting members of the SL, Revolutionary Marxist Caucus and PL/SDS from the July 1971 anti-war conference. When Steelworker Union President I.W. Abel endorsed the most anti-communist and pro-imperialist member of the Democratic Party for President, Henry Jackson, the WL's *Bulletin* sang his accolades on its front page.

The WL, and its British sovereigns, the SLL, while foaming at the mouth over the betrayals of Moscow and the "capitulation to Stalinism" of all U.S. groups, engage in uncritical enthusiasm for the Vietnamese Stalinists. The February 1968 *Fourth International* ("theoretical" organ of the SLL's International Committee) stated:

"It [Vietnam] demonstrates the transcendental power and resilience of a *protracted people's war* [original emphasis] led and organized by a *party based on the working class and poor peasantry and inspired by the example of the October Revolution* [our emphasis].

"No other movement, no other kind of war could have survived twenty years of bitter and bloody struggle against an enemy whose firepower and logistics was vastly superior to that of the Vietnamese. In this sense there is no comparison between the Cuban rebellion of 1959 and the titanic struggle going on in Vietnam. Vietnam is the *revolution in permanence*...." [our emphasis]

In their enthusiasm for "protracted people's war" the WL-SLL "forget" several things, from the fact that the (popular-front based) "people's war" provided the theoretical justification for the betrayals that led to twenty years of war, to the fact that it was the Vietnamese Trotskyists, not the SLL, who published the world's first daily Trotskyist newspaper and who were liquidated by Ho Chi Minh, the leader of that same Stalinist party which the SLL-WL lauds as "inspired by the example of the October Revolution!"

### SWP: Flip-Flop and Flop Again

The once-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party could have educated and organized an entire generation of youth as to the nature of the Vietnamese conflict and the duty of U.S. revolutionaries. Instead it chose to barter its revolutionary past for organizational gains.

The decisive moment for the SWP  
*continued on next page*

Continued from page 2

## ... Indochina!

national independence to go forward we can and must guide and restrict [!] within the South the solving of the contradiction between imperialism and the colonies of our country."

The Spartacist League/Revolutionary Communist Youth stands for the unconditional defense of the gains of the social revolutions which have taken place in the deformed workers states. Insofar as the bureaucracies in these states, motivated by their own self-interest, and in their half-hearted, partial and deformed way, are willing to defend these gains, we will fight beside them. Thus we stand for the unconditional military victory of the DRV-NLF.

A social revolution is going on in South Vietnam. South Vietnamese capitalism has collapsed. The withdrawal of American troops deprives the South Vietnamese bourgeoisie, such as it is, of its last two sources of private accumulation: prostitution and the heroin trade. Saigon generals can continue to fatten their Swiss bank accounts by selling the sophisticated military hardware the U.S. left behind (and which they do not know how to use anyway) to the NLF. But the prospect for this kind of lucrative business, as the KMT generals discovered in 1949, is very short-term!

The sole social base of the Thieu regime is American fire power. Without massive U.S. bombing of the South, the 4 million refugees will flee the "strategic hamlets" and provide the NLF with the social base and new recruits of which the nine-point program deprived them.

This is not to say the recent settlement is not a betrayal. Indeed, it is but part of a *strategy of betrayal*. It abandons 100,000 political prisoners, most of whom are NLF cadre or supporters, to the fate of tiger cages, Phoenix Programs and prison islands. It leaves the Thieu regime, police, army and prisons intact. It permits the U.S. to maintain Vietnam ringed with bases while it agrees to do what American military power couldn't accomplish: It cuts off troop movements between North and South Vietnam. After decades of heroic struggle, the Vietnamese working masses have been betrayed into a truce which is at best a dangerous gamble.

### History Catches U.S. Opportunists

One of the earliest U.S. peace movement statements ("Stop the War Now") was issued by the Fifth Avenue Peace  
*continued on next column*

## YOUTH, CLASS AND PARTY

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## ... INDOCHINA

came in 1965 when it dropped its own slogans when out-voted and marched under the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade's slogan of "Stop the War Now." Even when the SWP had gained hegemony in the anti-war movement, it refused to put forward the principled slogan adopted at its conventions of "Immediate and Unconditional Withdrawal of All U.S. Forces." For popular consumption they dished up the demand to "Bring Our Boys Home Now!" [For revolutionaries "our boys" (and "our girls" as well) are the DRV soldiers who serve as SAM crews and the NLF cadre who ambush "Search and Destroy" missions.]

Once having gained hegemony in the National Peace Action Coalition, the SWP was not content to aim the anti-war activities (in however deformed a manner) against the bourgeoisie as a class but instead sought to maneuver with the various wings of U.S. imperialism. SWP/NPAC's greatest success with this strategy occurred on 4 July 1971 when they got U.S. Senator Vance Hartke to speak at the NPAC Conference as an official sponsor. No wing of the bourgeoisie simply decides to join actions led by ostensible communists—a *quid pro quo* is always organized.

It was graphically demonstrated when members of PL/SDS and the SL/RMC protested Hartke's presence and were attacked and forcibly evicted by NPAC marshalls composed of SWP/YSA members and supporters. Thus Hartke lent his name and support to NPAC, and the SWP/YSA demonstrated its ability to "cleanse" NPAC of "troublemakers" who insisted on drawing a class line.

The SWP/YSA leadership had originally gained the adoption of its anti-war slogans through two actions: All dissidents were purged from the party in the 1963-65 period and the theory of "democratic and transitional demands" was put forth which argued that the anti-war slogans were principled ones since the bourgeoisie could not meet them.

Having abandoned historical materialism for impressionism, the SWP soon demonstrated (against its will) both the evils of the latter theory and the fact that they weren't even very good impressionists. If the bourgeoisie *couldn't* accept the slogans put forward, then Hartke's acceptance could only demonstrate that he represented no wing of the U.S. ruling class but rather an "objectively anti-capitalist" sector of a "two-class" Democratic Party. Thus, the SWP's earlier theories were quietly (but never officially) set aside in mid-1971.

The official recantation came at the 1972 YSA Convention when it was decided that Nixon was really going to end the war and the semi-annual peace crawls would no longer be planned. Such were the impressionistic flip-flops of the SWP.

The biggest SWP/YSA flop came immediately after the YSA Convention when Nixon suddenly stepped up the bombing of North Vietnam and it was forced to once again "forget" its new line and hurriedly call new demonstrations. While past generations of Trotskyists were educated to the Stalinist zig-zags and betrayals in China, future generations will examine not only the Stalinist Chinese policy but the equally horrendous Vietnamese policy of the ex-Trotskyist SWP.

### Two Duties for U.S. Revolutionaries

For the U.S. and its puppet allies in South Vietnam, the war is an imperialist colonial one—for the DRV-NLF its character is both civil and revolutionary. This dual character places before any tendency claiming to be socialist the duties of both *revolutionary defeatism* and *revolutionary defensism*.

The duty of revolutionary defeatism is the duty to link the struggle against the war to one's "own" government and ruling class. The imperialist war must be turned into a civil class war for the proletarian dictatorship. The vehicle

for such a struggle is the creation of an international scale of revolutionary vanguard parties of the type which the SL/RCY is constructing. Workers must be mobilized on the basis of the transitional program which links the historic tasks of the class with its objective needs. The struggle is waged also against alien ideologies within the working-class movement and their organizational embodiment in the "Sign Now"—"Peace Now"—"Cease Fire Now"—"Anti-Communist Imperialist Labor Party Now" varieties of both the ostensibly revolutionary groups in the U.S. and the trade-union bureaucracy. Only the SL/RCY has consistently fought for a *revolutionary-defeatist class-struggle position* against the Vietnam war under the banner of turning the anti-war movement into an anti-capitalist movement—"Labor Political Strikes Against Imperialist War!"

Revolutionaries have the further obligation to call for *revolutionary defensism* toward North Vietnam and the NLF/DRV-held territory. The general tendency on the U.S. left has been to adapt to Stalinism or, conversely, to view the war as a civil war only, where two (generally equally bad) sides are competing.

For these fake-Marxist tendencies "revolutionary defensism" has meant either wrapping oneself in an NLF flag while looking sanctimoniously at any who dare criticize, or pretending that there is no revolution.

Once again, only the SL/RCY has carried out a consistently revolutionary defensist position. While calling for the *unconditional military* defense of the Stalinist-led DRV-NLF we have not allowed petty-bourgeois radical public opinion to stand in the way of our *political* attacks on that leadership. We have consistently pointed out the contradictory nature of Stalinism as a parasite which saps the strength of social revolution but which is forced to defend the gains of the social revolution when its own existence is in danger.

Furthermore, we have always made a rigid distinction between the specific political party of the South Vietnamese Stalinists (the People's Revolutionary Party) and the popular-frontist NLF. Equally, we have pointed out the dual-front nature of the Provisional Revolutionary Government as composed of both NLF and non-NLF bourgeois forces.

We have consistently pointed out the dual-power situation existing in South Vietnam and have called upon the PRP to take power in its own name. We alone have called for a Communist Indochina—a demand which exposes those left groups in the U.S. adapting to petty-bourgeois public opinion and which exposes the Stalinist betrayals of the interests of the Vietnamese toiling masses.

DOWN WITH THE ROBBERS' PEACE!  
—ALL INDOCHINA MUST GO COMMUNIST!

### RCY Local Directory

ATLANTA: RCY, c/o Spartacist, P.O. Box 7686, Atlanta, Ga. 30309.

BERKELEY: RCY, c/o SL, Box 852, Main P.O., Berkeley, Ca. 94701.

BOSTON: RCY, P.O. Box 137, Somerville, Mass. 02144, or call (617) 876-6382.

BUFFALO: RCY, Box 6, Norton Union, S.U.N.Y., Buffalo, New York 14214.

CHICAGO: RCY, c/o SL, Box 6471, Main P.O., Chicago, Ill. 60680, or call (312) 643-4394.

CLEVELAND: Cleveland WV Committee, Box 2492, Cleveland, Ohio 44112.

DETROIT: RCY, c/o SL, Box 663A, General P.O., Detroit, Mich. 48232.

LOS ANGELES: RCY, Box 66403, Mar Vista Station, Los Angeles, Ca. 90066.

MILWAUKEE: RCY, c/o SL, Box 5144, Harbor Sta., Milwaukee, Wisc. 53204.

NEW ORLEANS: RCY, c/o SL, Box 51634, Main P.O., New Orleans, La., 70151.

NEW YORK: RCY, Box 454, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003, or call (212) 925-2426.

SAN DIEGO: RCY, P.O. Box 22052, University City Station, San Diego, Ca. 92122.

SAN FRANCISCO: See Berkeley.

## PL Can't See the Class Line

[The RCY, to this date, has received no response from PL to the letters printed below.]

RCY  
Box 137  
Somerville, Mass. 02144  
January 11, 1973

Al Furst, Northeastern

Dear Comrade,

Our comrades have reported several incidents at Northeastern in which you and other supporters of SDS and Progressive Labor were involved. The incidents seriously reflect on the communist and working class morality of the individuals and groups involved. They are:

Last week, several RCY members attended a meeting of Northeastern SDS in which they raised criticisms of PL and SDS. As if unable or afraid to answer our criticisms politically, members of PL and SDS responded to the RCYers by asking them if they were Northeastern students or "outsiders." Then, on Friday, January 5, you reportedly demanded to see the Northeastern ID of an RCY member. When the RCYer replied that he was not a Northeastern student, you said that you could call the cops and have him thrown off campus, and that you were thinking of doing so. An SDS supporter who was present told the RCYer that since PL and SDS did not consider the RCY to be part of the workers movement, it would be principled to set the cops on us.

This past Tuesday, January 9, RCYers were distributing literature when several SDSers, including at least one member of PL, arrived. On seeing our comrades, they walked a short distance away, appeared to confer, and then one of them left their group. He returned five minutes later with a campus cop who he led up to an SL/RCYer. The cop then told our comrade that he would have to leave the campus if he didn't have a Northeastern I.D. Neither you nor any other member of PL or SDS present objected to this exclusion or intervened in any way, except to make sarcastic comments to the SL/RCYers.

In view of these facts, we demand an immediate unambiguous public or written apology from you regarding your role in these incidents. If this incident was the result of a hasty and erroneous judgment, and if we receive such an apology, then we will consider this particular incident closed. If we do not receive your apology, we can only conclude that the use of the repressive apparatus of the bourgeois state against other tendencies of the working class movement represents a consistent national policy of Progressive Labor, and we will be obliged publically to bring this incident to the attention of the working class movement. To do this would be unfortunate, not only for yourself, SDS and PL, but also because such incidents tend to discredit the working class movement in general. However, it would be unprincipled of us to let this incident pass in silence.

With Bolshevik greetings,

Steve Grosby  
for the RCY

15 January 1973

Progressive Labor  
Boston

Dear Comrades:

We enclose a copy of the letter to Al Furst at the PL forum at Northeastern last Thursday, January 11. The letter should be self-explanatory.

Comrade Furst has, however, not answered. Since he is known as a long-time PL member/supporter, it would

appear that PL itself bears the political responsibility for his actions.

We therefore reiterate to PL the demand made of Comrade Furst:

"...an immediate unambiguous public or written apology from you regarding your role in these incidents. If this incident was the result of a hasty and erroneous judgment, and if we receive such an apology, then we will consider this particular incident closed. If we do not receive your apology, we can only conclude that the use of the repressive apparatus of the bourgeois state against other tendencies of the working class movement represents a consistent national policy of Progressive Labor, and we will be obliged publically to bring this incident to the attention of the working class movement."

With Bolshevik greetings,

Steve Grosby  
for the RCY

### Documents of the Buffalo Marxist Collective

Includes: **50¢**  
BMC Programmatic Documents  
A Brief Political History of the BMC

Write:  
RCY, Box 454,  
Cooper Sta., New York, N.Y. 10003

## Continued from page 8 Communists vs. "Socialists/Feminists"

bourgeois order. For such demands, such as government or university grants for day-care centers, once won, must be protected from the "less progressive" government bureaucrats who "seek to remove the grant." The "stages" strategy ties in quite well with the various government programs to co-opt radicals, and many of the minor reforms won are due not to feminist struggles but instead to precisely those government co-option plans!

### Transitional Program Needed

Transitional demands represent the real intersection of the vanguard party and the living struggle of all the oppressed. They serve to bridge the gap between the subjective backwardness of the working class and its objective need and historical task—the socialist revolution.

Transitional demands would link all the oppressed in a common struggle: a struggle representing the interests of them all, rather than the short term individual interests of the female, black or trade-union sectors. Demands such as a "shorter work week with no loss in pay" ("30 for 40") or for "paid maternity and paternity leaves" are examples of such demands. For socialists, a firm commitment to the emancipation of women flows from the recognition that the fight against the special oppression of women—and the fight against the sexist ideology which seeks to justify that oppression—is an indispensable component of revolutionary class consciousness, as well as being a means to draw the masses of oppressed women actively into the fight for socialist revolution. Thus it is the duty of authentic socialists to pose and struggle for a transitional program, including the fight against women's oppression, not only among militant women but among all strata of the exploited and oppressed. ■

# Communists vs. "Socialist/Feminists"

## Buffalo Feminists Attack Communists

## Chicago Conference Pushes "New" Feminist Strategy

BUFFALO—The petty-bourgeois "radical" women's movement, nationally in its death throes, is attempting a few gasps of recovery at the S.U.N.Y. campus and elsewhere.

Feminist forces have managed to keep their movement alive at Buffalo through its institutionalization as an academic program at the University called the Women's Study College (WSC). Within the WSC's male-exclusionist walls, women can supposedly "relate to other women" without fear of "unsisterly" political struggle.

### "Apolitical" Feminists Attack Communists

Members of the RCY teach and attend the WSC, seeking in an open manner through discussion and debate to counterpose communism to feminism in order to win *subjectively* revolutionary women to *actual* revolutionary pro-working-class politics. Despite the presence of Communist Party members and supporters in the WSC, the RCYers have become *the* communist pole of attraction. Such an achievement was due to their hard work as members of the Buffalo Marxist Collective (before it fused with the RCY) and to one CPer's statement that CPers are "not communists in the WSC."

Given the WSC's politics, the chances that the RCY members would still be rehired for teaching and research for the Spring semester continued to decline. The WSC held an open meeting on 11 December 1972 to announce the decisions for funding for the next semester. Anticipating non-funding for the RCY teachers, twenty RCY members and sympathizers attended the meeting.

Numerous WSC members harassed the three male RCYers attending during the first half of the meeting, finally excluding them by a one-vote margin. All other "non-regular WSC participants" (i.e., "outside communists") were also excluded; a motion which "coincidentally" applied to most of the RCYers and their supporters. The WSC's "open" meeting was thus far from open.

With the men and "outside agitators" gone, it was announced that the RCY teacher had not been funded but had, in effect, been fired mid-year. The RCY members still present challenged the political firing and put up a principled struggle for the teacher to continue both her research on the Bolshevik work and program for women and to teach her Marxist course. The result of the fight was partially successful—the Marxist course was refunded, but the research grant was denied on the grounds that "what is vital to a living college is courses, not theory."

While posing as an alternative to bourgeois education, the WSC remains part of the bourgeois university structure and therefore must reflect its ideology. The feminists in WSC, mourning the decline of the New-Left women's movement, attempt to mask their own theoretical bankruptcy by claiming that "Marxists have an unfair advantage in debates"—a theory and strategy for revolution—while feminists are "still working on theory and strategy." We know quite well that we have an advantage as Marxists, the advantage of a scientific method and conscious revolutionary theory dating to 1848!

### Hyde Park Conference Attempts to Bolster Feminist "Theory"

The New Leftists who claim to "have no theory" have a very real bourgeois

theory and reformist strategy. Seeking to shore up their threadbare theory some Buffalo feminists attended a Chicago Thanksgiving conference. The conference, sponsored by the Hyde Park chapter of the Chicago Women's Liberation Union, discussed its new theoretical work, *Socialist Feminism: A Strategy for the Women's Movement*.

Once again the strategy of organizing autonomous women's organizations around a lowest-common-denominator program was attempted. The "new" strategy—now called a "socialist vision"—sees a society of numerous contradictions, none of which are primary. Seeing the working class as simply another oppressed group, the feminists single-mindedly hold to organizing around their own sexual oppression:

"What we as socialist/feminists need are organizations which can work for our particular vision, our self-interest in a way that will guarantee the combined fight against sexism and capitalism.... We want better lives for ourselves now."

—*Socialist Feminism: A Strategy...*, p. 7

Tied to such an ideology of self-interest is their belief that one need not "develop a complete theory of the nature of our oppression to find the prime contradiction of our oppression (as if there is just one)." Thus on the one hand they refuse to debate, on the grounds that they have "not yet developed a complete theory," and on the other hand deny the need to develop one!

Marxists present their complete theory of the material basis of trans-class oppression (e.g., racial, national and sexual oppression) as one based in class society.

As Engels pointed out in *The Origins*

*of the Family, Private Property and the State*, class society needs the family to reproduce free labor power for the ruling class and to inculcate bourgeois ideology, including male chauvinism. Based on class society and the family, sexist ideology serves both to maintain women as a cheap labor pool and to divide the working class along sexual lines.

Instead of fighting to overcome divisions in the working-class, the feminists continue to point out that "even Jackie Onassis is oppressed." All women are to some extent oppressed as women by male supremacist ideology. Ms. Onassis is hardly much bothered by the real material oppression which besets her working-class "sisters"—e.g., domestic drudgery, poor-paying jobs, lack of child-care facilities, inadequate medical care, the welfare system, and so much more. She is linked to the men of her class in sharing in the exploitation of the working people—men and women alike. Thus, Ms. Onassis has fundamentally far more in common with her husband than with her maid. Feminist ideology—as well as pure nonsense such as "we find women are just nicer to work with than men" (*Socialist Feminism...*, p. 24)—allows the "socialist/feminists" to defend both their petty-bourgeois concepts and their federative strategy for the end of sexual and other oppression.

### The Leninist Vanguard Party

The "socialist/feminists" announce the need for a political party, but place it first on a classless basis and reserve its actual construction for the indefinite future:

"When we are truly strong enough to be able to develop program from our independent sectors—in women's, gay, black, medical, educational, along geographical and work lines, overlapping and also leaving spaces—then we will especially need an integrating force, a political party."

—*Socialist Feminism...*, p. 28

They continue in the classical petty-bourgeois notion that a group can stand above both the proletariat and the capi-

talists, organizing independently of both class camps.

The Leninist vanguard party does not arise magically out of a coming together of various special-interest groups and a "let's scratch each other's back" philosophy. Indeed, such conceptions are *directly antithetical* to the development of class consciousness and of the class-for-itself. Instead of seeking to end the racial, sexual and national divisions which capitalism creates, such a strategy seeks to deepen them.

### Old Skeleton Dressed in "New" Clothing—Once Again!

The issue of reform vs. revolution has once again been put forth as the Hyde Park women denounce "maximalist demands" or "demanding something that can't be done under capitalism" (*Socialist Feminism...*, p.11). In rejecting such "maximalist" demands they are forced to accept a program of structurally reforming capitalism. Such a reform strategy (despite their other talk of someday moving from reform to revolution) comes out quite logically as they attack the reformist SWP/WONAAC *from the right*. While the SWP/WONAAC theoretically sees its reformist demands as best benefited by mass actions pressuring the system as a whole, the Hyde Parkers feel that demands "must be directed toward some individual in the institution from whom a response is demanded and who actually has the power to do something." Despairing of the revolutionary role of the proletariat, they eschew struggles that point the way to socialism and are impatient to see the fruit of their labor now. Thus they seek to wage struggles which will "win"—win something, anything. Key to this strategy is the "stages theory of feminism" (which the SWP/WONAAC actually shares), which seeks to bring women first to fighting for a reform issue exclusively for women, and then if successful, hopes to win them to socialism.

Such strategies in the past, when they have actually "won" some minor reform, have seen women directed, not to socialism, but safely back into the

*continued on page 7*

## RCY Fights Ban at LSUNO

Revolutionary Communist Youth members at Louisiana State University at New Orleans (LSUNO) have been fighting the Administration's attempt to repress communist activity on campus. This work to beat back the attempted suppression of the RCY at LSUNO follows close on the heels of the successful fight for legal campus status waged by the RCY chapter at the City College of San Francisco. On 26 January, LSUNO students Jim Lewark and Kathy Warren of the RCY were evicted from the campus by Administration officials for selling RCY literature. The Administration later obtained a court order barring further sales by the RCY. This attack by the LSUNO Administration comes shortly after the vicious massacre of blacks in Baton Rouge. The Administration is aware that the RCY was the first organization in New Orleans to respond with protests of these murders.

While the American Civil Liberties Union is representing the RCY's rights in a court case, more importantly, the RCY has been mobilizing campus support in opposition to the Administration's attempts to limit the student's rights and calling upon all students to defend the RCY. It has been appealing especially to left-wing organizations to show elementary class solidarity by coming to the defense of the RCY, pointing out that the Administration's attack is a class attack, that the Administration is acting in its capacity as agents of the bourgeoisie in attempting to eliminate communists from the campus and if successful in its attack on

the RCY, will proceed to move against other left groups.

### Panthers, Others Aid RCY

Statements of support for the RCY's defense have been issued by the campus newspaper *Driftwood*, the President and five other officers of the Student Government Association, the campus organizations of the NAACP and VVAW, and the New Orleans Black Panthers. The VVAW and the Panthers have been active participants in defense work until the Panthers were instructed by their National Office in California (i.e., the Newton wing) to not speak at defense rallies or take an aggressive role in defense work—short of attending defense functions. The campus Young Democrats also issued a statement in defense of the RCY's right to distribute its literature while stating their political opposition to communist ideas. The case has received considerable publicity in the New Orleans press, radio and television.

### "Red" M-L (Maoist-Liberal) Collective

A small campus Maoist grouping, the Red Collective (known on campus as the Student Liberal Federation), motivated by its desire not to unfavorably influence its fusion negotiations with the American Communist Workers Movement (Marxist-Leninist) and the Communist League, initially attempted to sabotage the RCY defense by setting up a rival defense committee which excluded the RCY. The combined effect



RCY members Warren and Lewark

of RCY propaganda and left and liberal pressure defeated this effort—the RC-SLF was forced to allow the RCY to participate in the RC-SLF's defense committee. It quickly lost control over the committee, left it and later returned, agreeing to abide by new defense-committee guidelines which unite students around defense of the RCY, opposition to the Administration's repressive actions against freedom of political expression (including political faculty firings) and opposition to the freshman flunk-out quota. All groups within the committee are free to publish under their own name whatever political propaganda they want and to raise it in rallies and meetings.

While these Maoists continue to hide behind the banner of the SLF, the Trotskyists in the RCY will continue to struggle for their right to carry on communist propaganda and agitation on campus. ■