

Young Spartacus

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War Danger Looms In Near East

PLO Calls For Palestinian Mini-State



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At the recent Rabat conference of sheiks, generals and palace-coup "Presidents," the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) was recognized as the "sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people on any liberated Palestinian territory." Shortly thereafter, PLO chiefs, notably chairman Yasir Arafat, made their debut at the United Nations to join in the debate on the "Palestine Question."

This international recognition is the fruit of the PLO's reconciliation to a new attempt at a partition "solution" for the Palestinian question. In the past, the PLO had opposed any "government in exile" status, declaring in its "Program for Palestinian Political Action":

"Firm opposition to the establishment of a Palestinian state on any part of the *Palestinian Homeland* on the basis that any attempt to establish such a state falls within the plans to liquidate the Palestinian question." (emphasis ours)
—*Free Palestine*, April 1971

But the PLO has now indicated its willingness to accept just such a mini-state—which it euphemistically terms an "independent national authority"—to be comprised of the territories of the West Bank of the Jordan river, the Gaza strip and perhaps El Hamma (in the Golan Heights). Thus, the reactionary Arab rulers are "generously" offering to the PLO the very lands which the Arab League states stole from the Palestinian people in the 1948 period. Moreover, the Arab bourgeoisies can hardly "return" these lands, since they lost them to Israel in the 1967 war. These Arab "progressives" are interested in a PLO mini-state only as a place to dump the unwanted Palestinian people—the 900,000 living in Jordan, the 200,000 in Syria and the 300,000 in Lebanon.

For the trappings of power and the promise of a mini-state, the petty-



PLO's Yasir Arafat (right) may now settle for a mini-state, a "solution" little better than wretched refugee camps in which "progressive" Arab regimes have dumped Palestinians (above). Israeli troops suppress pro-PLO demonstrations on West Bank (left).

bourgeois nationalist PLO will be forced into a position where it will have to buckle under to the pressures and dictates of the reactionary Arab and Zionist states and the imperialist countries. Following an important meeting with Arafat in Beirut, French Foreign Minister Sauvagnargne sagaciously observed:

"The best way to distract people from violence and despair is to induce them to shoulder the responsibility on the international level, that is to make them act in conformity with international realities."

—quoted in *New York Times*, 13 November 1974

We do not consider the proposed mini-state to be any solution to the national oppression suffered by the Palestinian people. Such a state based on a tiny plot of relatively less-fertile and productive land could only become a client state of the reactionary Arab regimes. While strenuously advising

against the mini-state "solution," we would support the right of the Palestinians to set up their own state on the West Bank-Gaza strip as a very deformed application of their right to self-determination.

The recognition of the PLO occurs at a time of sharply mounting war tensions in the Near East. Israel and Egypt have already mobilized and placed their troops on the alert; and the Rabat conference called for a joint military command of Syria, Jordan, Egypt and the PLO. Arafat has predicted war in six months at the most (quoted in *Time*, 11 November). Over and above the festering Arab-Israeli conflict, the Western imperialist powers have compounded the war danger by threatening direct military intervention to control the oil reserves of the Arab states.

In a fifth Arab-Israeli war which is a repeat performance of 1967 and 1973, we would call for revolutionary defeatism on both sides. We do not support

Palestinian forces that are merely an arm of one or more of the Arab states. We could give military support to (i.e., desire the military victory of) an independent Palestinian force fighting for Palestinian self-determination, so long as this is not subsumed in a larger, reactionary Arab-Israeli conflict. If there should be an imperialist attack to wrest control of Arab oil, however, we would give military support to the struggle of these Arab states against imperialism.

The genuine exercise of the right of the Palestinians to self-determination must involve the territory which presently constitutes Jordan and Israel. While the Zionists "self-determined" themselves by denying that same right to the Palestinians, expelling them from their homeland, Marxists do not simply call for a reversal of the terms of oppression. Both the Palestinian Arabs and the Hebrew-speaking people have the right to self-determination, producing thus counterposed national claims. This is not simply a border problem. Under capitalism, one more partition of Palestine, with its massive, forced population transfers, can only bring untold misery to the working masses, both Arab and Hebrew. One has only to look to Cyprus to see the results of this bourgeois "solution."

The competing national claims of the Palestinians and the Hebrew nation, therefore, can be equitably and democratically resolved only within the framework of a bi-national Palestine workers state, part of a socialist federation of the Near East, born out of the class struggle of Arab and Jew against their ruling classes. ■

**Why Revolutionists Call
For Labor-Black Defense,
Oppose Troops into Boston
...page 6**

EDITORIAL NOTES

The Truth About Ma'alot...

Speaking at the UN on November 13, the Israeli delegate protested the appearance of representatives of the PLO, stating, "The murderers of athletes in the Olympic Games in Munich, the butchers of children in Ma'alot, the assassins of diplomats in Khartoum do not belong in the international community."

The Spartacus Youth League distinguishes between individual terror directed against the oppressor state and its representatives (a method which we criticize because of its ineffectiveness) and random terror, which is wholly indefensible. We have condemned the killing of Israeli athletes at Munich and school children at Ma'alot, just as we vigorously condemn the far more massive killings caused by Israeli shellings of Palestinian refugee camps and U.S. terror bombing in Vietnam.

But just who are the murderers of Ma'alot? Press reports and statements from witnesses of the May 15 massacre made it quite clear that *at least the vast majority of the 24 students that died were killed by the murderous assault of the Israeli army*, personally commanded on the spot by none other than Moshe Dayan. Furthermore, it was reported that Dayan from the beginning urged that the school, in which three Palestinian terrorists were situated along with 85 school children, be stormed.

Subsequently a commission of the Israeli Knesset (parliament) made a study of the incident which made even more clear Dayan's responsibility for the tragic killings. According to a report in *Le Monde* (July 3) the commission concluded that "during the whole of this long day the commandos' conditions for the liberation of their hostages were not transmitted to the government" although they had been "given in writing, early in the morning, to General Dayan, who, however, chose to ignore them."

The next day Israeli jets bombed several Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon, killing more than 50 innocent civilians in a deliberate act of senseless mass terror.

Without in any way defending the actions of the Palestinian commandos in taking the students hostage, we point out the inescapable fact: *Moshe Dayan is the Butcher of Ma'alot*. The prominent Israeli liberal publicist Uri Avneri has demanded "Dayan must be brought to justice for murder." We completely agree, but point out that this can only come about through a victorious socialist revolution, product of the common struggle of Arab and Hebrew workers, that sweeps Dayan and all the butchers of the Palestinian people from power.

...and Beit Shean

As pro-PLO demonstrations are sweeping the West Bank, the Zionists have seized upon the now well-publicized incident in the Israeli border town of Beit Shean in order to divert attention from the brutal Israeli military repression. According to front-page reports in the U.S. bourgeois press, three members of the Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PDFLP) on November 19 invaded Beit Shean on a terror raid, burst into an apartment building occupied primarily by North African settlers, murdered three and then battled Israeli troops for three hours until they were finally killed.

After the troop assault, a savagely frenzied mob of Israelis rushed into the building, hurled the bodies of the three Arabs and by mistake one Israeli victim out the window, and then mutilated them. Dousing the corpses with gasoline and setting them ablaze, the mob danced and chanted, "Burn Arafat! Burn Arafat!"

However, United Press International and other dispatches from the area cited in the Communist Party's *Daily World* of November 21, provide a very different account. The three PDFLP guerrillas had crossed the border with a hand loudspeaker and leaflets in Hebrew, the content of which has never been revealed by the press. They were spotted and attacked *outside* the town by the Israeli troops, retreating into the apartment building under heavy fire. The guerrillas apparently then killed the three occupants, whether in self-defense or terrorist murder it is unclear.

Despite the fact that the guerrillas had a loudspeaker, the Israeli troops made no attempt to communicate with them, but simply opened their barrage of devastating gunfire. Nineteen occupants were injured and one killed as they jumped from the windows of the building to escape this murderous barrage. Israeli General Rafael Eytan later told UPI that "our operation was based on the principle that there can be no negotiations with terrorists; you can only exterminate them."

Student Strike, Sit-in At Brooklyn College

NEW YORK—The Brooklyn College (BC) campus of the City College of New York was recently the scene of an unexpected eruption of a 1960's-style student-power struggle. While sparked by an apolitical, bureaucratic-departmental squabble between the administration and the Puerto Rican Studies department (PRS), the student protest centered on the issue of the democratic rights of students and teachers.

Last spring a Search Committee was selected and commissioned by the administration to appoint a new chairman for the PRS department. By majority vote, this Committee, hand-picked by the administration, elected María Sánchez, a teacher already in the PRS department, to fill the position. While not a socialist or even radical activist, Sánchez enjoys a great deal of popularity among BC's large Puerto Rican student population and in particular the Puerto Rican Alliance.

When the Search Committee's decision was presented to the administration, however, BC President John Kneller simply vetoed the appointment and selected another applicant, Dr. Elba Lugo De Luis, who at the time was teaching at the College of the Sacred Heart in Puerto Rico. Kneller justified his overruling on the basis that Sánchez did not hold a Ph.D degree as required by the Board of Higher Education, although admitting that in fact this requirement could easily be waived.

Students Oppose Administration

The PRS department was formed five years ago after a militant student struggle and has maintained its relative autonomy and academic radicalism. Regarding the administration's high-handed veto as an attempt to curtail the department's independence, a group of students called the Committee for Student Rights, largely led by the Puerto Rican Alliance, occupied Kneller's office on October 17, demanding that Sánchez' appointment be recognized. The students vacated the office when informed that Kneller was not on campus, but would meet with them in several days.

At this scheduled meeting, Kneller was accompanied by campus security guards and city policemen, and he refused the students' request that the cops be removed. When Kneller flatly informed the Committee for Student Rights that his decision was final, the group of demonstrators left, marched to

as the Italian-American Student Union, the Jewish Student Union and the right-wing, Zionist Jewish Defense League. The JDL, however, later withdrew its support, claiming that "the Puerto Rican students have made the strike a racial issue, calling in outside support, referring to Jewish students as fascists and Nazis, and changing the issue into a socialist one" (*The Kingsman*, November 1). What hypocrisy! These Zionist hooligans are pledged to the "racial issue" of Zionism, touting the "outside support" of Israel and often spewing the most poisonous racial epithets.

The Vagaries of Nationalism

While the issue of the strike was hardly "a socialist one," the political mood motivating the demonstrations was clearly Puerto Rican nationalism. Tailing the student-power sentiments of the students, the Puerto Rican nationalist organizations were drawn into absurd contradictions. The Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), which is influential on the campus, holds the position that Puerto Ricans residing in this country are nevertheless part of the Puerto Rican nation and thus have as their main task the liberation of Puerto Rico. This false conception led straight to the demand raised by the PSP and the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization, and opportunistically parroted by the tailist YSA and Communist Party, for "Self-Determination for the Puerto Rican Studies Department"! It turns out that the nationalists mean by this simply student-faculty control of the presently non-exclusionist PRS department. Another demand, "Self-Determination for Students," was, however, never quite explained!

Moreover, the nationalists turned themselves inside out trying to provide a nationalist rationale for supporting Sánchez over Elba Lugo. The PSP "explained" that the administration's selection of the Puerto Rican Elba Lugo as opposed to the Puerto Rican Sánchez had to be opposed as a "racist policy"...and left it at that (*Claridad*, October 27). Other nationalists on campus declared that the *New Yorker* Sánchez is desirable over the Puerto Rican Elba Lugo, because "she is more experienced in dealing with the problems of Puerto Ricans who live in New York" (*The Kingsman*, October 25). And this is from those who consider



SYL contingent in picket during Brooklyn College student strike.

the Registrar's office and began a sit-in in support of Sánchez. Over the next few days the sit-in rapidly swelled to about 400 students.

Two days later, the Committee for Student Rights called a rally in support of Sánchez, which drew over 600 students and faculty. The rally was addressed by representatives of the Puerto Rican Alliance and the vicarious nationalists of the Young Socialist Alliance, who diligently kept their "Trotskyism" concealed. Interestingly, Sánchez herself, who had been standing aloof throughout the furor, did not even attend the rally.

Faced with a mass sit-in, Kneller obtained a State Supreme Court injunction ordering the evacuation of the occupied building, which the demonstrating students ignored. But on the morning of October 24, a battalion of some 400 city cops and deputy sheriffs swarmed onto the campus, invaded the building and arrested 41 students and 3 faculty. In response to the sweeping arrests, Student Government and numerous other campus organizations called for a one-day student strike in solidarity with the "Brooklyn 44" and to support "Puerto Rican control over the PRS department, and student-faculty control over all decisions at Brooklyn College."

On the day of the strike, over 1,000 students turned out for the noon rally. The strike was supported not only by the Puerto Rican student groups and the campus left, but also by such organizations

Puerto Ricans in this country to be a part of the Puerto Rican nation!

The Spartacus Youth League participated in the student strike and distributed a leaflet, "Drop the Charges Against the Brooklyn College 44." The SYL solidarized with the victimized students and faculty, who were given 60-day, suspended sentences. The leaflet declared our defense of the PRS department from the undemocratic measures of the administration and counterposed student-teacher-worker control of the university to the meaningless slogan, "Self-Determination for the Puerto Rican Studies Department."

While pointing out that we seek to mobilize students in support of larger social struggles and combat campus parochialism and student powerism, the SYL made it clear that all forms of class bias and undemocratic practices, even those centering on intra-bureaucratic and departmental fights over promotion, must be opposed. The leaflet called for an end to flunk-outs and the degree system and demanded open admissions with state stipend to open educational facilities to all who want to learn. While enthusing over the protests in their fake-interventionist press, the Workers League and its phantom Young Socialists were nowhere to be seen on the day of the strike.

Although the BC demonstrations were relatively short-lived, the SYL actively participated and distinguished ourselves as the Trotskyists on campus. ■

Free the Houston 12!

HOUSTON—On 9 October 1973 the Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF) held a small demonstration in Houston opposing U.S. imperialism's involvement in the October War in the Middle East; 30 unarmed protesters marched in a peaceful and orderly picket line outside a Zionist War Bond dinner. Over 100 Houston cops with guns drawn, backed up by no less than 25 patrol cars, 3 paddy wagons, police dogs and a helicopter, suddenly launched a brutal, unprovoked attack on the demonstration. After viciously beating the demonstrators, the cops arrested 12. After taking them into custody, the cops continued to beat the arrested militants, smashing the nose of one.

A grand jury brought down charges of "assault on a police officer" for all 12 and, in addition, indicted the five most seriously beaten on felony charges of "assault with intent to murder a police officer." On the basis that the older, white, male professionals comprising the jury reflected neither the general population of Harris County nor the young, mostly Chicano defendants, the defense secured the quashing of the indictments. The District Attorney, however, hastily convened a second grand jury which included a token black and a Chicano and managed to bring charges again. When the second round of indictments proved faulty, the state assembled yet a third grand jury to re-issue the charges. The five indicted for felonious assault are scheduled to stand trial on February 3 and face possible life imprisonment.

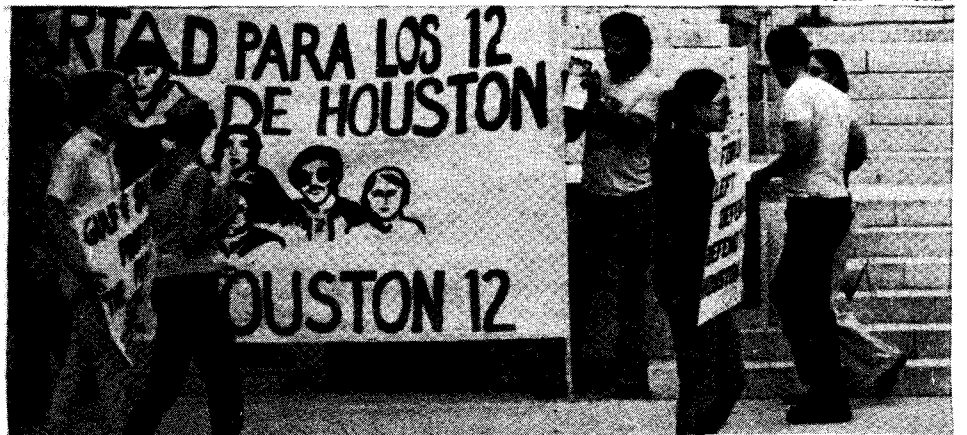
The ferocious cop assault, the dogged efforts for prosecution and the outrageous, extremely grave charges stand as a vicious case of capitalist state repression against supporters of a left political organization. A victory in this frame-up will surely embolden the capitalist state for continued harassment and attacks against the working-class movement. It is the duty of all militants in the labor and socialist movement, the obligation of all who profess proletarian solidarity, to join at once in the defense of the Houston 12!

The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League have argued that the best defense campaign for the Houston 12 is a broad united front bringing together all those who support the essential demand, "DROP THE CHARGES NOW!" Such a united-front defense campaign can enlist the support of trade unions, Chicano organizations and the ostensible left, liberals and civil-libertarian groups. While the defense committee should recognize the defendants' right to veto particular actions, the participants working in the united front must enjoy the right to present and argue for their political views.

The YAWF-dominated Houston 12 Defense Committee, however, remains politically and organizationally ambiguous. On the one hand, the Defense Committee has based its campaign on the broadly-

supportable demands. "Stop the Frame-Up!, Stop Police Brutality!, Defend the Houston 12!" and has not curtailed the rights of participating groups to leaflet, carry banners, sell literature and speak at defense events. On the other hand, YAWF insists that the 12 defendants should function as a steering committee and decide the main slogans for all Houston 12 activities. It has not been made clear if this steering committee would present its decisions to the Defense Committee as proposals or mandates. Without representation on a steering committee, no organization working in the defense campaign has any guarantee that its democratic rights will continue unrestricted. Furthermore, an autonomous and unrepresentative steering committee might add to the campaign particular demands or slogans that could undermine the broad basis for support.

SL/SYL supporters participating in defense rally in Houston.



The Houston 12 Defense Committee has indeed in the past arbitrarily altered the demands of the campaign. The Defense Committee called a march and rally for October 12 in Houston around the demands, "Indict Gulf, Shell and All the Oil Monopolies!, Expose [Mayor] Hofheinz' Phony Promises!, Free the Houston 12!" The SL/SYL worked to publicize the demonstration and participated with a contingent, along with the Raza Unida Party (RUP), the Congress of Afrikan Peoples (CAP) and the Internationalist Tendency (IT), formerly of the Socialist Workers Party.

The SL/SYL unfortunately was unable to endorse this demonstration, because the initial defense demands had been changed and now included the demand to "Indict Gulf, Shell and All the Oil Monopolies!" In our leaflet distributed at the rally, we pointed out that the demand to indict the oil companies narrows the basis for support and moreover fosters illusions in the "impartiality" of the bosses' courts and justice. The leaflet instead raised the slogan, "Expropriate the Oil

Industry, For a Workers' Government!" The SL speaker at the rally also criticized the Arab-nationalist position expressed by several of the participating groups. She stated that the self-determination of the Palestinians would not be aided or effected by the treacherous Arab ruling classes, who have consistently subverted and betrayed the Palestinian struggle for self-determination.

With the exception of RUP, CAP and the pitiful IT—which has opportunistically liquidated itself into the Defense Committee—the Houston left has responded to the defense campaign in a criminally disinterested or sectarian manner. The Socialist Workers Party cautiously dispatched two scouts to slink around the October 12 rally. These opportunists undoubtedly find their appetites for working beside the tempting CAP and RUP nationalists dulled by the political hazards of exposure by the

SL/SYL. Neither Prairie Fire (a Maoist bookstore collective), nor the October League, which has a supporter among the 12 defendants, has demonstrated any commitment to the defense work.

The Revolutionary Union favors a "united front" with the capitalist state, declaring that YAWF is "Trotskyite, therefore counterrevolutionary, and should be in jail." YAWF has unfortunately retaliated by excluding the self-excluded RU from the defense campaign. This unnecessary gesture of understandable hostility toward those who scab on working-class defense is nonetheless an impermissible violation of the principles of workers democracy and can only mar the campaign.

The SL/SYL has taken an energetic part in defending the Houston 12, in Houston and elsewhere. We have contributed funds, distributed literature and built defense actions. There will be support demonstrations on December 11, when the defense presents its trial motions in court. All out for the defense of these militants! Drop the Charges! Free the Houston 12!

Fight Tuition Hikes at Cornell!

ITHACA, N.Y., November 22—In response to the proposed 10 percent tuition hike at Cornell University, about 40 students attended a meeting on October 28 called by the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB) to plan protests. In addition to the RSB, supporters of the Spartacus Youth League, the Native American Association, the Young Peoples' Socialist League (YPSL) and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) participated. The group launched the Coalition to Fight Tuition Hikes around four demands: No Tuition Hikes, No Financial Aid Cuts, No Cutbacks in Programs, and Open the Books.

The last demand was introduced by the fake-Trotskyist YSA as a way to expose the university's fraudulent claims of penury. While supportable, this demand is misplaced, reflecting the YSA's youth-vanguardist appetites for impotent "student power." A slogan from the Trotskyist *Transitional Program*, this demand is designed not only to expose the capitalists' real assets, but also to pose the question of workers' control and expropriation of industry. But the only relationship that the reformist YSA and its parent Socialist Workers Party have to the working class is as "left" mouthpieces and envelope stuffers for sell-out piecards, like strike-breaker Olga Madar of the bureaucratic Coalition of Labor Union Women.

The SYL was represented on the Coalition steering committee and built for the next meeting. In addition, the SYL issued its own leaflet, which opposed the tuition hike-budget cuts and called for nationalization of the university, open admissions and free universal higher education for all with living stipend provided by the state. The leaflet pointed

out the limitations of campus-based struggles and argued that free quality education for all who wish to learn could only be achieved in the struggle by the working class and its allies for a workers government.

At the next meeting on November 7, the opportunist YSA, which has virtually no support on the campus, proposed to "broaden" the Coalition by adding another demand calling for the establishment of an Ethnic Studies Center. While the SYL does not programmatically advocate any particular academic division of labor, we would support a non-exclusionary ethnic studies department where there is demonstrated desire.

The SYL argued that the artificial addition of this demand, however, represented an attempt to transform the Coalition from a united front for action around the main issue of the tuition hike into some ongoing, lowest-common-denominator political group peddling a grab-bag of student-power and black-nationalist demands.

The SYL pointed out that the addition of demands could quickly narrow the potential base of the Coalition and thus undermine an effective struggle against the tuition hike-budget cuts. For example, the social-democratic YPSL is opposed to ethnic studies departments in principle—a disgusting adaptation to liberal racism—but is prepared to participate in a united front to fight budget cuts in all areas of the university. The YSA's proposal was defeated by a 2-to-1 margin.

At the November 13 rally, which attracted about 200 students, Cornell Provost David Knapp engaged Coalition speakers in a "dialogue" over the economic justification for the administration's decision. The SYL speaker used his time, however, to explain the significance of the administration's attack, which transferred the burdens of the capitalists' economic crisis onto the students.

After the Provost departed, about 100 of the

demonstrators decided to enter the administration building and hold a meeting. The Board of Trustees' room was locked, but when it was opened for another meeting, the group quickly occupied it and convened a meeting.

The YSA now once again trucked out its proposal that the Coalition support an Ethnic Studies Center and that the demand against cutbacks be modified specifically to mention "progressive" programs such as African and Women's Studies. The YSA spokesman argued that support for such programs is what the initial demands "really" meant. They used the repulsive racial insensitivity of the YPSL to insinuate that any opposition to adding the demand for the Ethnic Studies Center was racist. The YSA proposal consequently passed 31-9, with the SYL voting against. Following the vote, the YPSL "socialists" walked out. Many of the unaffiliated radicals, especially those playing a leading role, were disgusted by the slimy maneuvering of the YSA.

The role of the RSB has been to build the campaign of the Coalition, while infusing it with peppy, "fight-back" rhetoric. But the reformist RSB is unable to link campus-based struggles to the more general issues of the social crisis and to provide any program for the struggle against capitalism.

On November 20 the Coalition held another rally, attended by 100 students. Following brief speeches by Coalition leaders, including the SYL, about 75 students marched into the administration building and began a sit-in. The following day the sit-in demonstrators held an impromptu rally and then fanned out across campus to build support for the coalition.

It soon became clear that while many students passively supported the Coalition's demands, few supported the sit-in itself. Unable to mobilize additional support, the Coalition decided to terminate the sit-in late on November 21.

The SYL participated in the sit-in and will continue to build for the united-front actions planned by the Coalition in the coming weeks. ■

Marxism & the American Indian Question

By Gracinha Soares
and John Perkins

PART 1

Much of the literature attempting to treat the American Indian question from a radical or purportedly Marxist perspective has been the product of the New Left. For most New Left radicals, the oppression of U.S. imperialism is manifested primarily in its wars of genocide and conquest against more backward peoples and nations, Fanon's "wretched of the earth." Substituting militant moral outrage for rejected Marxist class analysis, the New Left could condemn capitalism primarily for its hideous racist violence, from Kit Carson to Lt. Calley.

The New Left greeted the contemporary Indian occupations of Alcatraz, Mt. Rushmore and Wounded Knee as a kind of "people's war," in which Indians were struggling to "control their own lives." While the Indian protest movement is a response to the brutal special oppression Indians suffer, the anti-authoritarian New Left seized upon and glorified the utopian vision of resurrecting tribal society with its romantic, anti-materialist traditional culture. Like the impotent antiwar stunts of the New Leftist May Day Tribe, the New Left's answer to the oppression of Indians was gestures of outraged moral protest.

Likewise, the analyses of the Indian question, both historically and programmatically, seldom went beyond impressionistic and visceral identification with the suffering and struggles of the Indian peoples. A Marxist analysis, however, must begin with an examination of Indian societies in their historical development and the sources of their conflict with expanding capitalist society in North America.

Tribal Society and Capitalism

While Marx expressed admiration for the egalitarian social values of many primitive societies based on pre-class communal property forms, he nonetheless castigated as fruitless and foolish utopianism all schemes or fantasies of returning to some happier, if more backward, golden age. Marx stressed that the driving force of historical progress is the development of the productive forces, the expansion of which at a certain point provides the material basis for overcoming scarcity and hence class divisions in society. Given the uneven development of capitalism, Marx and Engels recognized that it was historically inevitable that many backward pre-capitalist and feudal societies would be the victims of the ruthless but progressive expansion of ascending capitalism. Engels remarked that "history is about the most terrible of all goddesses, leading her triumphal chariot over mountains of corpses, not only in war, but also in 'peaceful' economic development" (*Ausgewählte Briefe*).

The discovery of the New World, which was motivated by the requirement of mercantile capitalism for gold to serve as the means of exchange in the expanding trade of 15th century Europe, laid the basis for the creation of a world market. Trading interests, who only dreamed of extracting fabulous wealth in gold, silver and precious stones, actually provided a terrific impetus to the development of modern large-scale industrial capitalism by opening up new markets where the more advanced European goods could replace traditional wares. Into this revolution in trade and production the American Indians were drawn, initially as uncomprehending victims, their tribes fragmented and

their communal holdings transformed into private property.

When the Spanish conquered the relatively densely populated Aztec and Inca empires, they captured a developed state. Out of this initial conquest grew the *encomienda* system of South America, in which South American Indians were bound as serfs to the land, and their labor exploited by the reigning Spaniards. Spanish Catholicism, which early recognized South American Indians as human, in possession of souls and consequently open to salvation, sanctioned miscegenation. The Spanish conquerors used inter-marriage as a means of social control by creating an intermediate layer in the population—the mixed-bloods, or *mestizos*—to insulate them from the vast Indian majority.

No comparable system was possible in North America, because the native inhabitants had not yet developed states, the conquest of which would give the Europeans access to a stable, compact labor force tied to a given territory. Attempts to enslave the mobile hunters, unaccustomed to sedentary agriculture, as field labor failed repeatedly. Lacking an indigenous supply of labor, the European settlers began to import from West Africa large numbers of black slaves, who became prize property on the southern plantation system. Indians, in turn, became dispensable, the victims of genocidal European expansion.

Marx speaks of the "original identity between...the tribal unit and the property in nature connected with it" (*Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations*). Such a "relation to the objective conditions of production as naturally existing" characterized the hunting, gathering and horticultural tribes of North America before European colonization. Indians, living in small, dispersed bands, required large tracts of land to secure a livelihood by hunting wild animals like deer and buffalo and harvesting the wild edible plants specific to the locale. Even when the introduction of agriculture allowed permanent settlements, like those of the Iroquois and Cherokee, the men continued to roam widely to hunt, while the women stayed at home to raise the crops.

Marx points out that a particular form of property—for Indians the communally-held expanses of land—"has its living reality in a specific mode of production" (*ibid.*). The tribal mode compromises what Marx calls production for use, the appropriation of nature for the maintenance and reproduction of the tribal community. The impact of burgeoning capitalism, where production is governed by the harsh laws of exchange, drastically altered the aboriginal mode of production and with it the very fabric of tribal life.

The tribal mode of production did not provide for the personal accumulation of capital through private ownership and the use of hired labor—historical mechanisms for revolutionizing the means of production. Private property was generally the product of the owner's personal labor, and the concept of private property in land was inconceivable to the Indians. In the instances where tribes produced an economic surplus, goods were redistributed in ceremonies like the Kwakiutls' *potlatch* (ritual burnings and gifts) or absorbed ritually in religious paraphernalia and conspicuous consumption by a priestly caste, like that which emerged within the Natchez tribe.

Incipient social stratification had indeed developed among surplus-producing tribes like the Kwakiutl, but the chiefs' prestige and authority depended upon balancing the seasonal fluctuations in local productivity by redistributing the surplus they commanded. With the deluge of goods through

the fur trade, however, the native economy literally exploded, as chiefs competed with each other in what one shocked anthropologist called a "megalomaniacal" destruction of property. Without the social relations and property forms necessary to capitalize the exchange value of commodities, the Kwakiutl watched fortunes burn in the *potlatch* fires.

Effects of Mercantile Invasion

The fur trade was the basis for the first encounter of many Indian tribes with Europeans. French, English, and Dutch traders roamed the northern forests, trading guns, ammunition, hatchets, knives, kettles, cloth and rum for the beaver pelts they then shipped to the hat-makers of Europe. The tribes, caught in the middle of the rivalry of European powers to con-

small-pox, measles, and typhoid spread quickly in the wake of traders, devastating entire villages. Loans advanced by traders put individual Indians deep in debt; Thomas Jefferson was "glad to see the good and influential among the Indians in debt, because we observe that when these debts get beyond what the individual can pay, they become willing to lop them off by a cession of lands" (quoted in William A. Williams, *The Contours of American History*). And finally, the workings of the fur trade kept the tribes pitted against one another—the divide-and-rule strategy applied in the service of European commerce.

Impossibility of a Pan-Indian State

Even when Indian tribes were able to unite, as in the Pontiac "conspiracy,"



Indian economy of domestic handicrafts was ruined by European influence.

control the fur trade, attached themselves to one side or another and came to depend upon manufactured goods superior to their tribal handicrafts.

In the tribal economy, the take of beavers was limited by what Indians could produce for their personal use. With the opening of the fur trade, however, the pelts took on an exchange value never imagined before, and the tribes trapped out their traditional grounds to secure European goods. This led to notable changes within the various tribes and in inter-tribal relations.

The Iroquois confederacy, for example, allied with the English pushing up the Hudson Valley to compete with the French in Canada, had exhausted their beaver supplies by the middle of the 17th century. When the tribes of the Huron confederacy refused to sell beaver pelts to the Iroquois, a bloody tribal trade war developed. The Iroquois consolidated their confederacy, which previously had been a largely ceremonial association, into an aggressive military-commercial alliance to wage war on the Huron. Warfare among the Indians traditionally involved sporadic clashes over hunting grounds or contests for recognition and ritual benefit. In 1649, however, huge Iroquois war expeditions invaded Huron territory and annihilated whole villages. The Iroquois victory, of course, greatly improved the English trade position on the Great Lakes and connecting waterways.

Playing the part of auxiliaries to the French and English in their battle for control of North America was disastrous for Indians in a number of ways. Traders used alcohol widely and cynically to defraud tribesmen, and alcoholism became a major social problem for Indians. Epidemic diseases like

it was in an attempt to restore, after the French-Indian War ended in 1760, the defeated French "father," who had always offered better terms of trade. A nativistic current, represented by the Delaware Prophet's exhortations to expel the whites, give up the trade goods, and return to the old ways, partially motivated the uprising. But the alterations in the tribal mode of production and the new needs created by trade were decisive. Unable to manage commerce himself, Pontiac offered the trading post at Detroit to the French in return for aid in the war. When the French ended their war in Europe against the English in 1763, the rebellion's fate was decided. Pontiac's hopes of French reinforcement died, and his tribal allies drifted away to make their own settlements with the English.

Pontiac, like Tecumseh and the other Indians who followed him preaching Indian unity against the white invasion, did not possess the material or cultural means to create above the tribes a state power capable of consolidating a pan-Indian territory. The limits of tribal productive capacities left the Indians dispersed and unable to compete militarily with vastly superior capitalist technology.

Indian wars, when they were not outright massacres, could do no more than briefly hold the white line of advance. By the mid-19th century over 100,000 Indians had been driven or "legally" relocated west of the Mississippi, resulting in increased tribal competition and warfare for the limited subsistence base of the grasslands. After the American Civil War, the victorious pro-Union capitalists, having defeated the retrograde slaveholders and intent on removing any further ob-

continued on next page

Miners' Strike Continues

NOVEMBER 24—As we go to press, the strike of the United Mine Workers (UMW) enters its third week with industry negotiators refusing to even consider the union's latest demands. UMW President Arnold Miller had sanctioned a two-week, stage-managed strike so the miners could "let off steam," but his plan to bring the miners back to work in less than three weeks ran up against the resistance of the union's 38-man elected bargaining council, which must approve the contract before it is submitted to the rank-and-file for ratification.

The recalcitrant council members, divided by pro-Boyle, pro-Miller intra-bureaucratic maneuvering, originally claimed that they wanted only "minor adjustments" in Miller's sell-out package deal. But under pressure from their constituencies in the mine fields, they have redefined their new demands as "major." In fact, their new "package" still does not cover losses from inflation; insures, even with the much-acclaimed cost-of-living clause, that the miners will continue to lose real wages over the next three years; and callously drops essential safety provisions, like the right to strike over local grievances.

While Ford and Kissinger will think twice before they escalate their superpower sabre-rattling over high oil prices into an actual military invasion of the Middle East, they will not hesitate to use the armed forces of the capitalist state to smash the miners' strike. As long as the possibility lasts of sweet-talking the miners into accepting a settlement, the government prefers to refrain from invoking a Taft-Hartley injunction or sending in federal troops, since in the past miners have been inflamed to greater intransigence by federal intervention. As a UMW slogan goes, "You can't mine coal with bayonets."

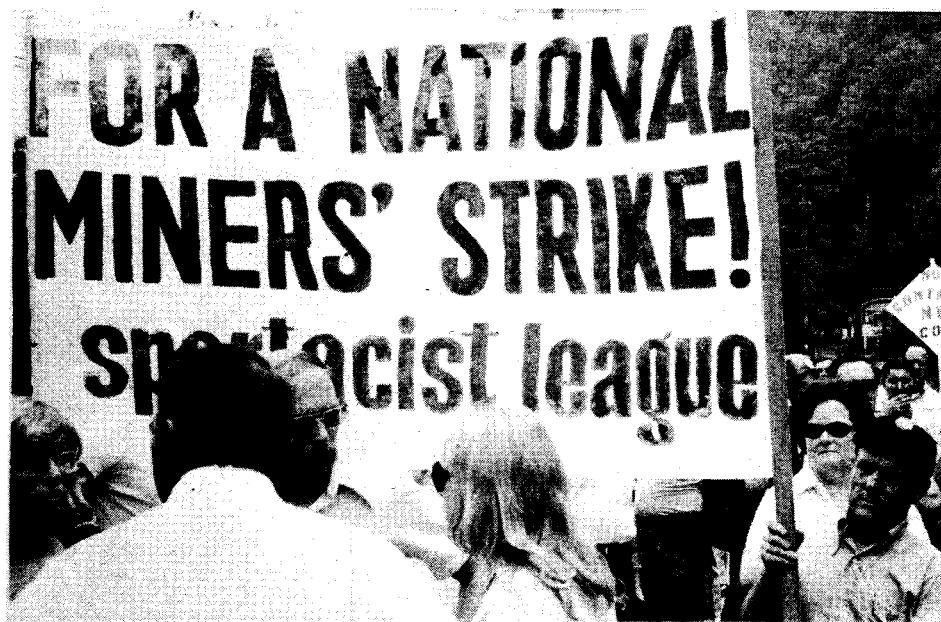
But now that it appears that Miller will be hard put to deliver the ratification vote of his membership, the

bosses' government may soon step in to smash the strike, which is a serious strain on their already shaky economy. As the dead-lock between the union and the coal companies hardened this weekend, the government ordered negotiations to resume with the "help" of a federal mediator. Plans were being laid months ago to use federal forces to transfer coal stockpiles from the well-supplied utility companies to steel plants. This move would insure steel profits at the expense of the consumer, a perfect ploy to mobilize public sentiment against the strike.

The government and bourgeois media will not have an easy time rallying already energy-sensitive public opinion against the miners. The energy conglomerates were exposed last year for their manipulations of the so-called "energy crisis"; in the third quarter of this year, the total profits of three of the largest coal producers increased an astronomical 3,275 percent over their totals for the same period of last year (*New York Times*, 12 November)! These profit-gorged coal giants, which are in many cases owned by the oil and steel monopolies, will be hard pressed to present themselves as the struggling, beleaguered servants of the public defending themselves from the "greedy" miners. Also, the public image of the coal miner's lot is one of grisly occupational hazards and a lifetime of back-breaking work.

With both inflation and unemployment soaring to depression-level heights, a militant fight and victory for the miners could be central in a struggle to turn back the bosses' wage-gouging assaults. If the government is so concerned about the public interest, then let them nationalize without compensation these profit-crazed energy conglomerates. Electricity and heat, and all public services from health to education, should be free!

Earlier this year, when miners went out on wildcat strikes in West



Miner carrying SL banner in August UMW memorial march, Harlan, Kentucky.

Virginia against the phony gasoline "shortage," the UMW did raise the demand for the nationalization of the industry. But the faker Miller (who secured his election victory over Tony Boyle with a little help from his friends in the Democratic Party and the supervision of the U.S. Labor Department, and now sits on Ford's Labor-Management Committee) is now eager to prove that he indeed is a "labor statesman" who can tame the seething discontent of the miners. Miller has done nothing to mobilize the ranks for a struggle. A militant nationwide UMW strike could not only knock the wind out of the energy giants' offensive and win big gains, but also be the muscle behind a drive to organize the remaining 30 percent of the industry, which includes the important strip-mining operations in the West.

Arnold Miller, who had all the liberals and fake lefts at his feet two years ago when elected to the union presidency, is now betraying the most important labor strike of the year by collaborating with the capitalists in

their drive to make the working people bear the ravages of the deepening economic downturn. Miller continues to assert that his first proposed settlement was "the best contract in the history of the labor movement" (*New York Times*, 24 November)! Only the construction of a class-struggle leadership in the UMW that will oust the pro-capitalist bureaucracy points the way forward for the miners.

Ford may well deploy federal troops to the mine fields or attempt to impose a federal injunction against the strike, or there may develop mass rank-and-file resistance to Miller's sell-out contract. The SYL recognizes that students can play an important auxiliary role in supporting the strike, countering the lies and propaganda of the capitalists with a variety of actions and expressions of support for the miners' struggle. The SYL has held forums, initiated support demonstrations or participated in united-front actions in New York, Boston, Buffalo, Cleveland, Madison, Chicago, Detroit and Los Angeles.

stacles to their free enterprise, began the final mopping-up campaign against the Plains tribes.

For Indians like the Cherokee, one of the "Five Civilized Tribes" that successfully adopted elements of European culture, each step taken toward civilization led inevitably in the direction of private property and the differentiation of tribal society into social classes. During the late 18th century, the Cherokees developed a written language, schools, and a republican form of government. They built up a flourishing economy, adding orchards of fruit trees, livestock herds and plantations worked by Negro slaves to an already stable agricultural base. But the pressure of white settlers in Georgia led to the tribe's forced relocation in Oklahoma under Andrew Jackson's Indian Removal Act of 1830, a legal pretense for one of the most vicious assaults on American Indians.

Once in Oklahoma, the Cherokee re-established their nation and rebuilt their economy. Although land was still held in common, the Cherokee government permitted enclosure of the tribal domain, whereby individuals established property boundaries, leased out pasture and exploited mineral resources for personal gain. The hiring of fellow tribesmen to work the enclosed land as wage labor began to appear. Just as the enclosure of the commons in England established the pre-conditions of class society by separating the peasantry from the means of production and transforming the land into private property, the Cherokee enclosures resulted in a few wealthy families monopolizing large tracts of land. Eager whites married into the

tribe to grab shares of the Indian land.

This process converged neatly with plans of the U.S. government. By the 1880's most of the good public land had been sold and settled under the Homestead Act, leaving land-hungry farmers and speculators without cheap acreage. The Dawes Severalty Act of 1887 broke up, with only a few exceptions, what remained of the communal holdings through a land-allotment system that gave small parcels of land to individual Indians and threw the rest onto the open market. This same Dawes devised a similar system, which included dissolution of the Cherokee republic, to be finalized by 1906 in Oklahoma.

For the Cherokee, land allotment codified legally the tendency toward private property of enclosure. Tribal leaders, for example, rejected an agreement that provided for the retention of mineral rights by the tribe and insisted that minerals be allotted with the land. By the time the swindles and fraud that accompanied allotment had ended, a few Cherokees, primarily mixed-bloods or whites of Indian descent like the ancestors of W.W. Keeler, present chairman of the board of Phillips Petroleum, emerged to take their place among the bourgeoisie. The vast majority of the tribe—the full-bloods who had once been prosperous self-sufficient farmers—were reduced to rural poverty in the Oklahoma hill country or proletarianized in nearby cities.

Destruction of Tribal Family System

It is noteworthy that the destruction

of the Cherokees' tribal institutions required not only the replacement of communal property and tribal democracy with the capitalist forms of private property and a centralized state apparatus, but also a change in the traditional kinship system. In order to break up the kinship ties of tribal organization and atomize the extended family, it was necessary to replace the matriarchal family with patrilineal descent and the nuclear family.

The tribes of the Iroquois confederacy were linked together through clans that claimed common descent and blood relationship through the female line. In the Iroquois matriarchate, property remained within the clan, and thus the relationship between mother and daughter was far more important than that between husband and wife. Because the men were essentially nomadic, spending long periods away from the household on hunting, trade and war expeditions, marital fidelity had no particular social value and easy separation and serial marriages were the norm. The continuity of tribal life rested on the successive generations of women, the clan mothers who appointed the hereditary chiefs, managed the longhouses and watched over the corn fields.

The American War of Independence shattered the Iroquois confederacy as a political entity when the victorious Americans broke up the traditional land tenure based on the clans through a series of treaties that created reserves for the separate tribes. The economic transformation from a male-hunting and female-horticulture pattern undermined the viability of the matriarchal clans as the social foundation of the tribes. With assistance from

Quaker missionaries, the Seneca tribe of the confederacy adopted European technology like the plough, fenced their fields and dispersed the traditional village in favor of scattered farmhouses.

The social gospel of Handsome Lake, the Seneca prophet, reflected these changes and provided religious sanctions for the transition from the ancient matrilineal household to the nuclear family. In order to stabilize the nuclear family as the basic productive unit and validate the role of men in farming, traditionally considered effeminate, Handsome Lake revised the Seneca scheme of domestic morality by elevating the husband to the head of the family and emphasizing the virtue of marital fidelity. The erosion of traditional kinship ties was completed when the Seneca deposed the hereditary chiefs in 1848 to set up a republic on the Allegany and Cattaraugus reservations.

The Seneca threw out the old order in the name of democratic principles, like the separation of church and state and universal manhood suffrage, the same as declared in the great bourgeois-democratic upheavals that swept Europe that year. A Seneca orator declared, "The thrilling tidings come over the great salt waters that millions of human beings are becoming free" (quoted in Edmund Wilson, *Apologies to the Iroquois*). This great emancipation of course did not materialize on the upper New York state reservations. The uneven development of the democratic revolution left the Senecas' best hopes unfulfilled and the tribe in the perpetually underdeveloped state of rural poverty.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

SWP/YSA Defends Liberals' Call for Troops Into Boston

Not Federal Troops, But Labor-Black Defense!

The sewer-socialists of the Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA) have felt compelled to sacrifice two pages of customary hack journalism in the *Militant* (November 1) in order to defend their slogan calling for federal troops to "protect" blacks from racist terror in the Boston busing crisis. One article is a bland, pedagogic reply to a critical letter from a reader; the second comprises edited excerpts of SWP/YSA-honcho Peter Camejo's demagogic response to the "sectarians" of the Spartacist League, and less significantly the Workers League, at an October 11 Militant Labor Forum in Boston (for role of the WL, see article on opposite page). These articles upholding the liberal pro-troop policy reveal once again, yet with forced clarity, the SWP/YSA's revisionism on the most central conception of Marxism: the nature of the capitalist state.

The essential assumption underlying all the derivative and superfluous arguments regurgitated in these articles is that *it is possible to control the armed forces of the capitalist state through mass pressure*. This is nothing new for the SWP/YSA. For years these petty-bourgeois reformists have been tailing black nationalists and pushing the demand for "community control of the police." But in Boston today, the SWP/YSA is fawning before the more popular misleaders of the NAACP and the Black Caucus of the Massachusetts State Legislature, to whom the *Militant* so respectfully refers to as "the leaders of the Black community," who are demanding federal troops.

But reformist theory serves diverse appetites. If militant mass pressure can effectively "control" the racist, murderous cops, then certainly b-r-o-a-d popular pressure can force the more "professional" federal troops to act in the interests of the oppressed. Hoping that the sought-for liberals are listening, the *Militant* thus declares:

"In Boston today the demand that the government send in its troops to desegregate the schools can be used as the rallying point for the involvement of the broadest possible layers of the Black community and its allies in struggle.... In fact, the civil rights movement of the 1950's and early 1960's was built around mass actions demanding that the government enforce its laws. When the mass pressure became great enough, as at Little Rock and later at Selma, Ala., the federal government was forced to intervene. In these cases the government did not attack the Black community; it was trying to placate the mass sentiment mobilized on behalf of that community.... A mass movement demanding that troops be called up to enforce desegregation of the Boston schools would put the government on the defensive. It would make it more difficult for the government to use these troops against Blacks instead of the white racists.... whether or not any law will be used against the oppressed is determined by the relation of forces in the actual struggle." [emphasis ours]

Offering themselves to the NAACP and Black Caucus liberals as respectable "Marxist" spokesmen and "movement"-builders who venerate the liberal-pacifist "civil rights movement of the 1950's and early 1960's" and who recognize "the leaders of the Black community," the SWP/YSA does not limit its prostitution of Marxism to supporting uncritically the liberal policy of reliance on the government.

No, indeed. Brother Camejo has taken the task of denouncing the slogan of labor-black defense, which has always been an anathema to the liberals:

"Instead of federal troops, the sectarians propose that there be trade-union defense guards.... The call for trade-union defense guards isn't realistic right now. There are no trade unions that even have defense guards, much less any that have offered them to defend the Black students.... But you pull this slogan of trade-union defense guards totally out of the blue. It's not a serious proposal. It has nothing to do with meeting the needs of the Black community today.... The Black community lives in the real world, and it demands real, meaningful solutions, not unrealistic slogans."

And to dispel any possible lingering wariness the liberals might have about its sincerity in formerly enthusing over "armed black self-defense," the *Militant* bluntly proclaims: "The demand to bring in federal troops puts the responsibility right where it lies: in Washington."

What Are the Federal Troops?

For Marxists the state is "an organization of the exploiting class at each period for the maintenance of its external conditions of production," that is, of exploitation; it is, again, in the words of Marx and Engels, "a public force organized for social enslavement," "a machine for the oppression of one class by another," and "an engine of class despotism." This "public force," in the final analysis, reduces itself to special bodies of armed men—the police, special security forces and the military—which are backed up by the bureaucracy, judicature and prisons.

Capitalism organically requires this "special repressive force"—the cops and army—separate from and standing above the broad masses in order to perform the repressive functions necessary for the continuation of capitalist society, to enforce bourgeois "law and order" through force or under the threat of force. When the workers and oppressed revolt or otherwise challenge the rule of the capitalist class, the fundamental nature of the police and army is revealed with brutal, swift and deadly force. Thus, those duties of public service which the police and federal troops may perform—directing traffic, assisting invalids, intervening in natural disasters and the like—are clearly auxiliary functions which, unlike the repressive functions, could even be executed by revocable agents of the people.

From the time of the Paris Commune on, Marx and Engels waged a continual struggle to instill in the workers movement the crucial understanding that the police, army and state bureaucracy could not be controlled or taken over and made to work in the interests of the exploited, but had to be smashed. Marx and Engels thus declared that the "working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery, and wield it for its own purposes" but must "set aside all the old repressive machinery previously used against itself." This is the fundamental thesis in the Marxist theory of the state and the historic dividing line between revolutionary socialism and reformism of all varieties.

If the proletariat in power cannot "control" capitalism's police and army,



After waiting through one month of racist terror for liberal "leaders" to announce their "realistic" demands, SWP/YSA "followers" chime in (above). Troops invade and ransack black homes, searching for arms, as during Newark ghetto uprising, 1967 (below).

then even more utopian is the illusion that it can do so when it is not in power. Deceived by Allende's assurances that the military was under its control, the Chilean workers and peasants paid with their blood for the reformism of their misleaders. The little Kautskys of the SWP/YSA have already declared their revisionism on the question of the state and merely await their moment in history.

Communists have never turned to the bourgeoisie demanding that it use its repressive forces to protect the struggles of those whom it oppresses. Unlike reformists and the "labor lieutenants of capital," revolutionists have never demanded that the cops or federal troops intervene to "protect" the strikes of workers, even when the strikes concern the enforcement of some bourgeois legislation beneficial to the working class. The role of the federal troops, not to mention the cops, in labor struggles is too well known. It was the Stalinists who demanded troops in the Little Steel struggle of 1937. The Steel Workers Organizing Committee told the workers that they should "welcome" the troops, whom they said would "protect" the strikers and "keep the mills closed." The troops instead slaughtered 18 and wounded scores more, and the Little Steel strike was defeated.

Lenin never would have considered calling upon the troops of the Czar to protect the Jews, Armenians and other oppressed nationalities from the vicious pogroms of the Black Hundred gangs. Referring to "the lynching of Negroes" in the U.S., Lenin denounced as "belly-crawling and boot-licking before the capitalists" Kautsky's prattle about the capitalist state "protect-

ing the minority":

"...the ruling party in a bourgeois democracy extends the protection of the minority only to another bourgeois party, while on all serious, profound and fundamental issues the proletariat gets martial law or pogroms, instead of the 'protection of the minority.' The more highly developed a democracy is, the more imminent are pogroms or civil war in connection with any profound political divergence which is dangerous to the bourgeoisie." [original emphasis]

—Collected Works, Vol. 28, p. 245

Contrary to the treacherous illusions spewed by the SWP/YSA, a mass mobilization of blacks in struggle, which constitutes a "profound political divergence which is dangerous to the bourgeoisie," will bring the bosses' troops not into the control of the masses, but down on their heads! When Camejo and his ilk conspicuously and repeatedly point to instances where the cops or troops (always in the interests of bourgeois "law and order") occasionally save individual lives, it is precisely to divert attention from the role of the bourgeois armed forces in those "serious, profound and fundamental" struggles against the racist capitalist order.

Trotsky likewise denounced contemptuously those reformist misleaders who called upon the capitalist state to use its troops to protect workers and Jews from the terror of the fascist gangs:

"To turn to the state, that is, to capital, with the demand to disarm the fascists means to sow the worst democratic illusions, to lull the vigilance of the proletariat, to demoralize its will...."

continued on page 8

From the Augean Stables: Workers League "Answers" SWP On Troops

The Workers League/Young Socialists, a totally cynical and demoralized band of opportunists who declaim to be "Trotskyist," over the past period has been dramatically disintegrating as each of its successively-more-frenzied schemes to make it into the political big-time have crumbled in predictable failure (for coverage, see *Workers Vanguard*, 27 September and 8 November 1974). Its ridiculous "mass"-press, the *Bulletin*, ever more desperately strains to maintain the fiction of the Workers League's political relevance or involvement in social struggles. Thus, when the Socialist Workers Party's *Militant* mentioned "a small sectarian group, the Workers League" in its brief introduction to Peter Camejo's defense of the demand for federal troops into Boston, the Workers League reveled at the free advertising, which it hoped would somehow convey the impression that the ultra-reformist SWP/YSA was troubled by the non-influence of the Workers League, and brought forth a full-page "Answer to the SWP" in the *Bulletin* (29 October).

There is a reason why the *Militant* "neglects" to mention the fact that the Spartacist League/SYL were also the targets of Camejo's polemical fire at his October 11 Boston Militant Forum on busing. The Workers League's unrestrained opportunism parading as a "left" alternative to the SWP/YSA has enabled these reformists to use the Workers League as a convenient political punching bag and a foil for all criticisms from their left. Unable to deal with the principled Trotskyist politics of the SL/SYL, the SWP/YSA on many occasions has responded by beating the Workers League straw man and then setting it up as a scarecrow for all uncertain or dissident members and sympathizers. Attempting to efface the SL/SYL by ignoring us, the revisionist leaders of the SWP/YSA thereby "prove" that the self-proclaimed "Trotskyism" of the Workers League is "ultra-leftism" or opportunism.

In every arena in Boston, the SWP/YSA has been forced to fight not the Workers League, but the energetic and principled campaign of the SL/SYL for labor-black defense. The impact of the SL/SYL in the "Ad Hoc Committee to Defend Human Rights" at the University of Massachusetts and Boston University and our prominent intervention in the pro-busing mass march and rally of October 13 have infuriated the SWP/YSA. By cowardly backing out of a scheduled forum on busing sponsored by the Black Students at Yale Univer-

sity, in which representatives of both the SWP/YSA and the SYL were requested to participate, the SWP/YSA has demonstrated its incapacity to defend its politics from the criticism of the SL/SYL in open debate. Thus, the *Militant* dredges up the bogey of the Workers League.

Taking this cue, the Workers League boasts that it indeed is "conducting a campaign in opposition to the sending of any troops into Boston." Now, the influence of the Workers League in Boston is non-existent; in fact, their few hangers-on in Boston have only very recently rejoined the organization, having earlier been burned out and driven out by the now-deposed, tin-pot tyrant ex-leader Tim Wohlforth. The so-called "campaign" of these cynics amounted to little more than go-it-alone isolated petitioning in favor of trade-union defense guards. Fearful of encountering other political tendencies, the Workers League was nowhere to be found in the pro-busing meetings and mass demonstration. In fact, the Workers League deliberately called one meeting—to which not one person came!—to conflict with the already-scheduled meeting of the "Ad Hoc Committee to Defend Human Rights" (which they denounce as a "popular front"), so that they would not have to intervene and actually fight for their politics. This "campaign," as represented by the *Bulletin*, is a fraud.

The Workers League and the Troops...

But the self-serving misrepresentations of the *Bulletin's* "answer" do not end here. The article comes out quite strongly and categorically against the intervention of federal troops. The *Bulletin* cites the position of Marx, Engels and Lenin on the nature of the police and army and rails that the slogan of the SWP/YSA "represents a complete rejection of basic Marxist principles and a reactionary turn against the most burning interests of the working class." By this demand for troops, continues the *Bulletin*, the SWP/YSA "places itself in the camp of the capitalists." It all sounds so principled.

But, as the SWP/YSA leadership is so well aware, this has not always been the position of the Workers League! When these political bandits were still in the SWP, their "Reorganized Minority Tendency" grovelled before the party tops and muted their criticisms of the majority's profound revisionism.

In a document titled "The SWP and the Negro Struggle," Fred Mazelis, who has just floated to the top of the Workers League swamp to replace the big-toad Wohlforth, presented the position of the "Reorganized Minority Tendency" on the slogan for federal troops. The document completely equivocates on the question, as follows:

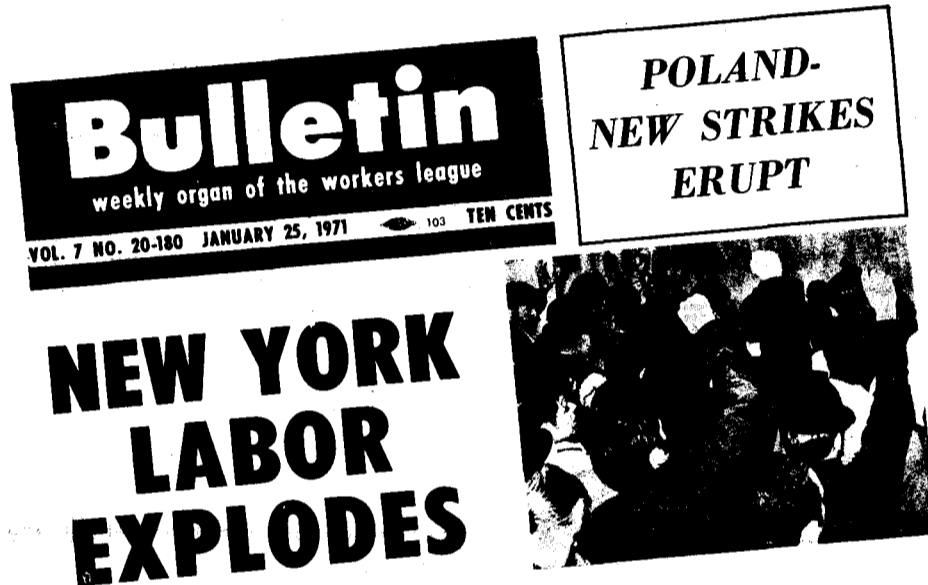
"In relation to the slogan of federal troops to the South, we must take a very cautious attitude. The troops slogan is not admissible in all circumstances simply because it can be used to embarrass or expose the government. Such a slogan can be used when it is a matter of protecting some school children in a desegregation case from racist mobs... Thus the troops slogan is transitional in some instances, raising the level of consciousness of the movement, and not transitional in other instances, such as Birmingham." [emphasis ours]

—SWP Discussion Bulletin, Vol. 24, No. 23, June 1963

Of course, the SWP majority, like the federal government, always justified the use of troops precisely on the basis that "it is a matter of protecting" black people from racists. The opportunists of the "Reorganized Minority Tendency" indeed took "a very cautious

cops. During the 1971 cop wildcat "strike" in New York City, the *Bulletin* (25 January 1971) enthusiastically editorialized, "the police strike continues despite every threat, pressure and the Taylor Law" and "the working class is moving forward." The article on the "strike" in the same issue was unambiguously headlined, "New York Labor Begins Showdown," and presented the "militant policemen" as the vanguard of all city labor: "this action supported by transit and housing authority police has triggered a whole fight on the part of the city labor movement against the attacks on wages, jobs, and working conditions." The only possible conclusion which can be drawn from all this is that the cops are workers, and their "strikes" should be supported like any other labor struggle. The conclusion which certainly cannot be drawn from the *Bulletin* is that the cops are the enemies of the working and oppressed people.

The Workers League indulged in another pro-cop opportunist spasm one year later. In an article titled "Youth Demonstrate To Protest Freeze of Police Hiring," the *Bulletin* (31 January 1972) sympathetically reported the plight of youth who were trying to be-



Workers League cheered "militant" cops in 1971 New York police strike. *Bulletin* ran front page photo of cops with caption: "Dissident rank and file policemen raise clenched fist militant salute in protest against PBA sell-out!"

attitude" toward the SWP majority's demand for troops. At that time there was no polemical thunder about the "complete rejection of basic Marxist principles and a reactionary turn against the most burning interests of the working class." These "cautious" opportunists instead formulated a happy "transition" to "the camp of the capitalists!"

The Workers League was even more "cautious" during the 1965 Selma civil-rights struggle, which was the next time the question of federal intervention with troops was sharply posed. The demand for troops to "protect" the civil rights marchers seemed to be too popular for the Workers League to oppose. Thus, the *Bulletin* managed to comment repeatedly on the Selma events without once squeaking out any position on the question of federal troops.

... and the Cops

This equivocation and evasion on the slogan for the use of federal troops turned out to be but a prelude for outright betrayal on the question of the

come cops. The *Bulletin* explained that they were being denied "the high pay, benefits and job security in the department." Apparently, the Workers League's solution to youth unemployment in part is more and better-paid killer cops!

Since the Workers League obviously considers the cops to be part of the labor movement, they quite consistently welcome these scum into the trade unions. At the 1972 AFSCME Convention, supporters of the Workers League opposed a resolution put forward by the Militant Caucus calling for the expulsion from the union of all cops and prison guards, some of whom were actually involved in the massacre at Attica! One Workers League supporter even approached some of the cop delegates to denounce personally the anti-cop resolution. This "brotherhood" with the butchers of Attica reveals the cynical hypocrisy of the Workers League's "solidarity" with the Attica Brothers.

Unlike the Workers League, we do not consider the cops, who terrorize and wantonly murder blacks and workers, to be in any way or at any time a part of the workers movement. We follow Trotsky, who declared: "The worker who becomes a policeman in the service of the capitalist state, is a bourgeois cop, not a worker" (*What Next?*).

All the cheap posturing, fraudulent claims, polemical grimacing and quotation mongering dumped into the *Bulletin's* "answer" cannot cover up the checkered and seamy political past of this sinking crew of shameless opportunists. In their honesty, come-on and political merchandise the Workers League resembles a used-car salesman going bankrupt. ■

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...Labor-Black Defense

Continued from page 6

The Social Democrats, even the most left ones, that is, those who are ready to repeat general phrases of revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, carefully avoid the question of arming the workers, or openly declare this task 'chimerical,' adventurous, 'romantic,' etc."

—Writings of Leon Trotsky, 1933-34, p. 321-22

In the *Transitional Program*, Trotsky emphasized the extreme importance of propagandizing and whenever possible organizing workers-defense guards—the embryo of a future workers militia—so that the workers would learn in the course of the class struggle the power and methods of working-class defense:

"In connection with every strike and street demonstration, it is imperative to propagate the necessity of creating workers' groups for self-defense.... It is necessary to advance the slogan of a workers militia as the one serious guarantee for the inviolability of workers' organizations, meetings and press." [emphasis in original]

The slogan of workers-defense guards, as the "one serious guarantee" for the protection of the struggles of the oppressed, comes not "totally out of the blue," Brother Camejo, but straight out of the Trotskyist *Transitional Program*. Neither this demand, nor any demand of the *Transitional Program*, is for the SWP/YSA "realistic," "serious" or "meaningful" simply because its program is reformism, not Trotskyism. For the "unbounded opportunism" of the reformists, Lenin noted, "that struggle is desirable which is possible, and the struggle which is possible is that which is going on at the given moment."

Principle and Tactics

Revolutionary Marxists regard the capitalist army and workers-defense guards/workers militia as counterposed class formations. When it is a question of defending the struggles of the oppressed, the call for federal troops and the call for a workers' defense force are counterposed slogans which are separated by a principled position on the nature of the capitalist state. The call for a labor-black defense in Boston today is a statement of no confidence in the bosses' army. "To turn to the state, that is, to capital," and demand that federal troops protect black people against the racists who are being openly encouraged by the government "means to sow the worst democratic illusions, to lull the vigilance of the proletariat, to demoralize its will."

While communists are opposed in principle to a policy of reliance upon the "special repressive force" of capitalism, our attitude toward an entire range of specific actions or situations involving the cops or troops often has a tactical dimension. Thus, Trotsky, who so vehemently denounced turning to the state for protection from the fascists, pointed out that in certain instances the workers, independently organized and mobilized, could and should engage, for example, in episodic military blocs with government troops against the fascists:

"An irreconcilable attitude against bourgeois militarism does not signify at all that the proletariat in all cases enters into a struggle against its own 'national' army. At least the workers would not interfere with soldiers who are extinguishing a fire or rescuing drowning people during a flood; on the contrary, they would help side by side with the soldiers and fraternize with them. And the question is not exhausted merely by cases of elemental calamities. If the French fascists should make an attempt today at a *coup d'état* and the Daladier government found itself forced to move troops against the fascists, the revolutionary workers, while maintaining their complete political independence, would fight against the fas-

cists alongside of these troops." [original emphasis]

—Writings of Leon Trotsky, 1938-39, p. 5

But, to dissolve principles into tactics is one of the hoary methods of revisionists to cover a reformist policy. Thus, Camejo cites incidents in which a Boston cop saved a black man from a racist mob and federal troops "protected" civil rights activists in the South in order to disprove the "sectarian" and "schematic formulas" that "everything they ever do is against the interests of the workers." Revisionists obviously do not intervene against police or troops when they are in fact saving someone from assault or murder and when the balance of forces is overwhelmingly against us. This is clearly a matter of tactics. Camejo cites such instances to demonstrate that if the cops or troops without mass pressure can protect the oppressed, then they can certainly do so reliably under "terrific pressure." What for communists are the exigencies and prerogatives of bourgeois "law and order" are for the SWP/YSA traitors the justification for preaching reliance on the armed fist of capital and for opposing labor-black defense.

Troops and Blacks: The Record

In order to front for the liberals and defend their treacherous pro-troop policy, Messrs. Camejo and Co. repeatedly recall the intervention of troops in the civil rights movement as a great "victory." The use of troops in race riots and civil-rights actions can be seen as a "victory" only for those whose fundamental perspective is liberal reformism. Troops have always been used to contain or snuff out militant action or revolt by the oppressed black masses. The capitalists deploy their troops precisely at those times when the insurgent black masses threaten to, or actually do, break out of the passive, impotent protests imposed by their petty-bourgeois misleaders. The liberals' demand for troops and the government's decision to send them in fact spring from basically similar motivations: the desire to curb independent mobilization by blacks and to reimpose "nonviolence" (which means no change). For communists, federal troops can only be seen as a massive obstacle in the class-struggle road to black liberation. What does the history of federal intervention with troops into race riots and the Southern civil rights movement reveal?

Detroit, 1943: During the infamous Detroit race riot, the Roosevelt government stood by and did absolutely nothing when day after day blacks were being beaten and butchered in the streets by crazed mobs of racists. It was only when blacks began to retaliate by stoning white cars and destroying white property in Paradise Valley, and when black soldiers stationed 140 miles away at Fort Custer attempted to seize arms and march to Detroit to protect their families, that Roosevelt ordered federal troops into Detroit. The federal troops arrested the black soldiers and clamped martial law upon Detroit. This is how federal troops "protected" Detroit's blacks!

But the policy of the then-Trotskyist SWP was a far cry from what fills the pages of the *Militant* today. Under the headline, "Labor Must Crush the Anti-Negro Terror," the Statement of the National Committee of the SWP courageously declared:

"What must be done to stop this lynch violence? Certainly no trust or reliance can be placed in the federal authorities, the army, state or municipal police, the good-will of the capitalist rulers, the action of Congress or the President. They have shown that they will not take the steps needed to protect Negro lives and rights.

"The chief responsibility for defending the Negro people rests today upon the trade unions.... The labor leaders must do more than deplore these attacks upon the Negro people. They must do more than order their members to stay off the streets and appeal for grand-jury investigations. They must summon their membership to take determined and organized action against the instigators and organizers of these lynch mobs.

"The members of each local should be mobilized for action. Flying squadrons of union militants should stand ready to protect the rights of their Negro fellow-workers menaced by the mobs."

—*Militant*, 3 July 1943

These words ring out from the SWP's revolutionary past as a mighty denunciation of the sniveling social democrats who lead this party today. A Trotskyist policy places "no trust or reliance" in "the federal authorities, the army," but rather declares that "the chief responsibility for defending the Negro people rests today upon the trade unions." None of this "ultra-left sectarianism" for Camejo and Co.: No, "The demand to bring in federal troops puts the responsibility right where it lies: in Washington." A Trotskyist policy challenges the cowardly inaction of the labor skates and calls for "squadrons of union militants." None of these wild "unrealistic slogans" that have "nothing to do with meeting the needs of the Black community today" for Camejo's SWP/YSA.

The policy of the SWP toward the Detroit riot was nonetheless flawed, not on the principled question of no confidence in the federal troops, but on a tactical orientation to the black soldiers. The same Statement of the National Committee asserted:

"The Negro people have both the right and the duty to protect themselves against lawless attacks of the lynch mobs. They have the right to demand that, in the event of any future attacks, Negro troops alone be used and Negroes be deputized to defend them."

The SWP here was seeking to intersect the outrage of the black soldiers toward the racist terror and the deep solidarity of Detroit's embattled blacks with the heroic uprising at Fort Custer. The SWP in effect was saying: we have no confidence in and do not call for federal troops; but, should the government send them, then let it be these troops. While having absolutely nothing in common with Camejo and Co.'s call for federal troops and denunciation of labor-black defense, this formulation definitely weakened the SWP's otherwise clarion call for workers defense.

Little Rock, 1957: When following a desegregation order the black students attempting to attend Little Rock High School were daily subjected to racist harassment, President Eisenhower simply ignored all calls for federal intervention. But when a race riot in the High School sparked a massive black upheaval, in which blacks poured out of their homes with arms to defend their community, enraged groups of black youth battled and dispersed white racist mobs and blacks attacked the police, only then did Eisenhower respond to the panicky local racist authorities and rush troops into Little Rock. The reality of the situation was, as headlined in one of the bourgeois newspapers, "IKE MOVES AS NEGROES HIT BACK" (*Amsterdam News*, 28 September 1957). These troops restored "law and order" and prevented the total rout of the retreating racists! Martin Luther King applauded the invasion because the troops enforced "nonviolence" among the blacks.

Furthermore, while these troops were "protecting" blacks from their violent impulses and permitting the racists to regroup, Eisenhower proceeded to strengthen the racists: the "Northern" Federal Judge in Little Rock was dumped and replaced by a southern racist, as demanded by racist Governor Faubus; the scheduled desegregation of Texas public schools was delayed by a federal court order; the resignation of Attorney General Brownell, who had incurred the wrath of the southern racists, was secured

by Eisenhower; and the Civil Rights Commission was stacked with Dixiecrats. And Camejo tells us that the use of federal troops in Little Rock "broke the back of the racist movement!"

The SWP by the mid-1950's had much of its revolutionary capacity sapped by the long, seemingly unending years of isolation in the McCarthy era and was gravitating toward opportunist adaptation to the liberal leadership of the growing civil rights movement. While still upholding a revolutionary perspective, the SWP too eagerly and too uncritically embraced the liberal-dominated protest movement, which was demanding federal intervention to carry out the 1954 Supreme Court decision. Thus, the SWP summed up its attitude on civil rights and the black struggle:

"What should be done? What should we be fighting for today? I can tell you in two words: federal intervention. Federal intervention with troops if necessary."

—*Militant*, 17 October 1955

The SWP accordingly supported the use of federal troops in Little Rock and wrote the demand for troops, "where tactical considerations warrant," into its 1957 resolution, "The Class Struggle Road to Negro Equality." Although supported by the majority, the troop slogan produced considerable unease and some minority opposition in the party.

Birmingham, 1963: Once again, the federal government did nothing during the months-long terror campaign of bombings directed against blacks and civil rights workers. After a church bombing that took the lives of four black children, Birmingham's blacks, who had already fought rampaging state troopers and deputized racists in the streets, refused any longer to cower "nonviolently" and began to establish armed street patrols and observation posts in the ghetto for self-defense. Roy Wilkins of the NAACP caught the situation when he declared: "If there is an incident there, I shudder to think what will happen because they will not—the great rank and file will not—accede to the fine discipline of King" (quoted in *New York Times*, 19 May 1963). It was the sight of enraged blacks in armed patrols and apprehension over the prospects of a failure of the nonviolent movement that provoked Kennedy to deploy troops to Alabama (reported in *New York Times*, 14 May 1963). The good Rev. M. L. King, who had promised the city's white businessmen that the blacks would refrain from mass demonstrations, welcomed Kennedy's intervention.

The SWP, now in full flight from revolutionary Marxism, adopted a centrist position of calling upon Kennedy "to deputize these Negro self-defense guards and send federal troops to oc-

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24 ISSUES

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WORKERS VANGUARD

copy Alabama" (*Militant*, 23 September 1963). The role of federal troops, from the Detroit race riot of 1943 to the Detroit ghetto uprising of 1967, is to suppress and disarm the black people. Martial law means the rule of the military and the military only. The very suggestion that the capitalists' army might occupy Alabama in order to hold down the racists while deputizing armed

This declaration is an open repudiation of Marxism. According to the SWP/YSA, the same troops—at that time the Marines and elite Special Forces!—who "are trampling upon the rights and lives of the Vietnamese" in far-away Asia can change their class character and "protect the constitutional rights of Negroes" if brought home and put under mass pressure.

hardened reformists who have repudiated the independent mobilization of workers and the oppressed for self-defense, who have abandoned the class-struggle perspective for securing democratic rights, who have cast aside any program for linking the civil rights struggle with militant labor strikes against Jim Crow, sharecroppers' struggles and unionizing drives, only these traitors can call for a military occupation and martial law by the army of capitalism.

fealist policy of the black liberals, who shook their heads in despair and wrung their hands in moral agony during the weeks of racist terror, but who abruptly demanded federal troops only after blacks began lashing out in retaliation and only after the residents of Columbia Point took matters into their own hands and organized a self-defense force. These liberals demanded police "protection" for Columbia Point; so the cops swept down on Columbia Point, occupied and vandalized the housing projects, beat and arrested blacks. Cop intervention ended the independent black-defense effort, and kept the blacks "nonviolent." What the cops did to Columbia Point is just what federal troops would do to all black neighborhoods in Boston.

In the course of its panegyric for the liberals' strategy, the *Militant* feigns approval of the black-defense initiative:

"The development of such Black self-defense organizations may recur, and this would be a positive development. But meanwhile the problem of school desegregation in Boston and the need for federal troops remains."

If blacks, at literally the risk of their lives, can manage to organize self-defense groups while under police or military occupation, then the *Militant* perhaps can permit a detached nod of approval for such a "positive" development. But is the SWP/YSA actually calling for these groups? Absolutely not! The SWP/YSA "meanwhile" is concerned only with trying to climb into the lap of the liberals.

It is unclear if and when Ford will decide to move troops into Boston. The bourgeoisie has indicated its opposition to busing, and Ford may well believe that letting the Boston situation deteriorate will produce an anti-busing backlash among both whites and blacks. Furthermore, the Republicans had the November elections to worry about, and Ford certainly did not wish to add a military occupation of South Boston and a repression of the ghettos to the albatross of Watergate and the economy.

However, the racist mobilizations still continue, and the need for a protesting offensive grows ever more urgent. The liberal-SWP/YSA-CP stance of helpless reliance upon federal troops is a strategy for defeat. Mountains of letters to Congress and frequent passive-protest demonstrations will not change the class character of the bosses' cops and army. The SWP/YSA proposes to lead the oppressed into sure repression and a possible bloodbath in order to "expose" the Ford government.

The black masses and their allies must rely on their own organizations and power. They must force their leaderships to take action at once and begin to organize a labor-black defense force. Only such a mobilization of the workers and oppressed can insure the implementation of the busing plan, protect black people and rout the racists. The democratic rights and lives of black people in Boston must not be entrusted to the class enemy! ■

Spartacist and the Troops

From its inception as a political tendency born in principled struggle against the revisionism of the SWP/YSA, the Spartacist League has consistently opposed calling for federal troops to intervene in the civil rights movement, ghetto rebellions and militant black struggles. While still in the SWP/YSA, the Revolutionary Tendency (precursor of the Spartacist League) indicated its opposition to the party's slogans, "Federal Troops to the South!" and "Kennedy—Deputize and Arm Birmingham Negroes!," in its basic minority resolution on the black question, "For Black Trotskyism" (*SWP Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. 24, No. 30, July 1963). The supporters of the Revolutionary Tendency in the YSA similarly came out "for organized self-defense movements" and "against federal military intervention, which always supports the status quo" in their document, "The Negro Struggle and the Crisis of Leadership" (*YSA Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. 7, No. 5, August 1963).

Following our unprincipled expulsion from the SWP/YSA, the SL continued to call for organized self-defense and a class-struggle perspective for the black civil rights movement, at a time when the "official" civil rights leaderships and their "left" toadies were preaching pacifism and reliance on the government. The SL document "Black and Red" raised the slogan, "For a Workers United Front Against Federal Intervention," and declared:

"The demand for organized self-defense must be counterposed to Federal intervention which preserves Southern 'law and order' and the racist status quo."

—*Spartacist*, May-June 1967

During the past months of mounting crisis in Boston, the SL and SYL have been the only outspoken and activist advocates of a labor-black defense force to insure the implementation and extension of the busing program and to protect the lives and democratic rights of black people. We have continually pointed out that such a defense force is both an urgent necessity and a realizable possibility. We have directed calls to Boston's pro-busing labor, black, community and socialist organizations to use their influence and resources to mobilize at once black people and their allies. The pent-up anger and readiness to act on the part of Boston's blacks are obvious; what is lacking is a militant leadership.

We have exposed the do-nothing, de-



Birmingham blacks on the offensive against racist terror. Federal troops restored racist status quo.

blacks is a clear indication of the extent of the SWP's revisionism on the fundamental question of the nature of the capitalist state.

Selma, 1965: The fight in Selma for black-voter registration provoked a fierce racist onslaught. After weeks of racist violence, including attacks by state troopers on a demonstration and an attempted march to Montgomery, King and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee demanded that President Johnson send the army into Selma.

The now-reformist SWP/YSA, uncritically enthusing over the liberal civil rights leaders, hurled aside even the pretense of a revolutionary perspective and revealed its undisguised liberalism:

"Instead of sending troops to Vietnam where they are trampling upon the rights and lives of the Vietnamese, troops should be sent to Selma and other parts of the South to protect the constitutional rights of Negroes."

—*Militant*, 22 March 1965

-Corrections-

In our last issue, the article, "SYL Demonstrates in Defense of the Attica Brothers," states that the march and rally in Buffalo were "in solidarity with the Attica Brothers Legal Defense"; the sentence should have read: "in solidarity with the Attica Brothers, called by the Attica Brothers Legal Defense."

The article in the same issue titled "Workers Strike at U. of Chicago—SYL Builds Support, Fake Lefts Scab" indicated the refusal of a Workers League supporter to declare whether she was scabbing on the strike. In fact, she was working during the strike. Also, the SWP/YSA supporter who crossed the picket lines to deliver copies of the *International Socialist Review* was actually from off campus, and not a "campus supporter." Finally, UC Trustee Cyrus Eaton is a steel mogul, not a "publishing tycoon."

SYL RADIO PROGRAM:

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CHICAGO

At the time the SWP/YSA followed out its call for federal troops to its logical conclusion and advocated—yes, this was their position—a permanent military occupation of the South! The *Militant* (29 March 1965) with headline emphasis demanded, "U.S. Troops Should Be Kept in Alabama." Only

When the marchers finally reached Montgomery for the planned rally, the troops were precipitously withdrawn, leaving the marchers to make their return journey home defenseless. One of the marchers, Mrs. Viola Liuzzo, was murdered while shuttling marchers from Montgomery to Selma. The carload of racists who shot Liuzzo included Ku Klux Klansmen and...an F.B.I. agent, Gary Rowe! This is how the armed forces of the capitalist state "protect" the lives of those who struggle for the most elementary democratic rights. And the SWP/YSA wanted to unleash the brutalized, specially-trained killers of the Special Forces to "protect the constitutional rights of Negroes"! Furthermore, after the troops were withdrawn, a reign of terror was opened against blacks in Alabama and other parts of the South. Brother Camejo refers to the results of the troop policy as a "terrific blow to racism in the South."

But how did Uncle Sam's troops "protect" the Selma-to-Montgomery freedom march? One night, as the marchers slept surrounded by the troops, a brick was thrown into the camp. According to all evidence and opinion, the brick could only have been thrown by one of the soldiers. Simply by luck was no one killed.

Defend Anti-Junta Demonstrators!

On October 17 almost 100 demonstrators protesting a Boston University-sponsored conference of the Center for Latin American Development Studies (CLADS), a pro-Chilean junta imperialist think-tank, were viciously attacked by campus and city cops. Several were beaten and 7 were arrested, 4 charged with assault with a deadly weapon and 3 with disorderly conduct.

With the trials set for December 6, the administration has taken a belligerent stance, smearing the demonstrators as "outside agitators" who "came prepared for a confrontation" and praising the cops for their alleged "great deal of restraint" (*Daily Free Press*, 18 November). The campus newspapers have carried anti-communist editorials placing the blame for the attacks on the left, singling out the Spartacus Youth

League and the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB), which allegedly manage to "control and 'co-opt' politics at BU" and "manipulate" students and the Student Union (*Daily Free Press*, 23 October; *The News*, 25 October).

In fact, the SYL was the first group on the BU campus to call for a demonstration against the CLADS conference and actively participated in the three days of protests, although not "armed with rocks and eggs" as asserted by the press (*The News*, 24 October).

The RSB, several of whose supporters are among the defendants, has rejected our proposal to form a united-front defense committee around the demand, "Drop the Charges!" Instead, the RSB has formed its own "Committee to End CLADS Secrecy and Defend the Seven," which injects into

the defense the political line of the RSB on Chile. This committee has not seriously pursued a defense campaign, limiting itself to petitioning, bake sales and "revolutionary" skits. The Young Socialist Alliance, which completely abstained from the militant demonstrations, has hopped into this "Committee" as "defenders of civil rights."

The SYL cannot endorse this front-group, stage-show "Committee" that would connect us with the RSB's reformist line on Chile. The SYL has contributed money to the defense, issued leaflets, spoken in classes and circulated a petition (which the RSB refused to sign!) calling for "immediate dropping of all charges against the demonstrators." The SYL chapter at BU is planning a forum and a rally to build support for the defense before the trial.

Maoist Fusion Fizzles...

Continued from page 12

the official Hsinhua News Agency release praising the butcher Shah of Iran, which prompted even the slavish right-Maoist *Guardian*, usually sympathetic to the OL, to charge them with "flunkeyism" (*Guardian*, 28 August 1974). The OL scolded the RU for venturing some criticism of the "anti-imperialist" bourgeoisie in the Third World, because "it is not the RU's job nor that of any U.S. group to call for this overthrow" of these regimes. The OL opposes the slogan, "No Arms to the Shah," and contends that opposition to President Echeverria of Mexico objectively aids imperialism. Reminding the RU that "China is deeply indebted to" Iran and Pakistan, the RU's criticism "is a direct attack on the international United Front Against Imperialism." With smirking sarcasm, the OL concludes, "RU seems to be having trouble defending China's stand" (*The Call*, October 1974).

The most concrete difference between the RU and OL that has emerged from the recent factional fusillades is on the question of trade-union strategy. The OL's "mass line" trade-union work consists of unabashed support for the "progressives" in the union bureaucracy. The OL chided the RU for giving Arnold Miller, the Labor Department's man in the United Mine Workers union, only critical support, when such a "progressive" as he clearly deserves full, unconditional support. The OL's craven loyalty to bureaucratic fakers and sell-outs kept them in the rotten Brotherhood Caucus at Fremont GM and at the feet of Chavez even longer than the opportunist RU.

Under criticism from the RU, the OL continues firmly to uphold this strategy:

"To unite with the progressive section of the labor leadership against the reactionaries has always been the Marxist-Leninist approach and this is exactly the course we have taken in the past in such struggles as the defense of the United Farm Workers in their struggle against the scabs of the Teamsters' leadership and in the struggle of the United Mine Workers Union leadership, where the more progressive and democratic sections headed by Arnold Miller waged a struggle for leadership against the reactionary Boyle leadership."

—*The Call*, September 1974

The RU, in response to the demoralization and casualties suffered in its unsuccessful bureaucratic maneuvering and toadying, has now warned that the "triple O's"—"opportunists out of office"—can be "treacherous betrayers." Thus, the RU denounces the OL for opportunist maneuvering and office-seeking like the "CP revisionists." The RU has now come out with a strategy called "jamming the unions," by which is meant everything from leading adventurist, abortive wildcat strikes (following the dictum, "Fight, Fail, Fight Again") to pulling together syndicalist, programless caucuses to push "fight-back" militancy. "Jamming the unions" is a response to the fact that, after repeated overtures and betrayals, it is the RU which is the "opportunists out of office." The RU has learned that they *first* need a base in the rank and file, and *then* they can "jam" the bureaucrats, "forcing certain trade union officials to unite with the rank and file" (*Revolution*, August 1974).

The respective interventions of the OL and the RU at the recent United Steel Workers convention in Atlantic City capture well the difference which has emerged between OL's perspective of developing a base by riding the coattails of the "progressive" bureaucrats and RU's "jamming the unions." The OL went all out to build support for the District 31 Right to Strike Committee, which is supporting the out-bureaucrat Ed Sadlowski, the USW's up-and-coming Arnold Miller.

The OL has been uncritically supporting Sadlowski for some time, calling for "full support" (*The Call*, August 1973).

The RU created their own "Committee to Smash the No Strike Deal," whose supporters marched outside the convention chanting such slogans as "Abel, Abel, Slick as Oil, You'll Get Yours Like Tony Boyle." With prideful seriousness, the RU recounts how the "Committee to Smash the No Strike Deal" "jammed the union":

"All during the demonstration, people had carried with them an effigy of



RU "jamming the unions": decapitation of Abel effigy outside Steelworkers' convention.

Abel, and when the moment was right, people tore it to shreds and took off its head. One of the demonstrators made a brief speech in which he said, 'Abel's head isn't the only head that's going to roll,' and tossed the effigy's head into a group of about 50 pro-Abel delegates who were standing around heckling the demonstrators. Following the decapitation of the effigy, the demonstrators left, chanting "The People United [!] Will Never Be Defeated!"

—*Revolution*, October 1974

This truly bizarre ritual of catharsis—which simply adopts the Nixon effigy-torching, effigy-hanging, effigy-drowning Throw-the-Bum-Out antics of the Attica Brigade—is the RU's alternative to fighting the bureaucrats, "triple O" or otherwise. The call to "jam the unions" is not an ultra-left turn. Rather, it is a retreat from political struggle and an implicit acceptance of reformism in the working class. Lacking a class-struggle program and perspective of defeating the bureaucracy, the RU can only push economism, which is, as Lenin asserted, simply militant reformism.

RU and Black Nationalism: Impaled on the Spearheads

The National Liaison Committee (NLC) was a lash-up of the RU, BWC, Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization (ex-Young Lords) and (for a time) the I Wor Kuen, a collective of Asian-American Maoists. All of the partners in this bloc shared the conception that the main task was to build an "Anti-Imperialist United Front" based on the "five spearheads" (blacks, other Third World peoples, youth, women and workers). The NLC was to be the framework for a period of "joint practice" leading to theoretical clarification. At some point in the distant future, the spearheads could be forged into a party, or, as expressed in Mao-talk, the five fingers would be made into a fist.

In the NLC the RU was able to win the BWC to their American-exceptionalist line (developed in *Red Papers* 5) that blacks constituted a "nation of a newtype"—proletarianized and dispersed throughout the imperialist mother country. The RU still emphasized that blacks were a nation, that they have the right to self-determination including secession, that nationalism of the oppressed was revolutionary and that each nationality had

the right to its own autonomous communist organization (i.e., Bundism). The black-nationalist BWC, which saw itself as the representative of the black worker in the black community, accepted *National Liberation and Proletarian Revolution in the U.S.* (the title of *RP* 5) in exactly that order: first national liberation, then proletarian revolution.

The RU, the largest single component of the NLC, was desperately craving a black and Latin cadre and from the outset sought to bulldoze over political differences in order to hasten an early organizational merger. Thus, at one point the RU proposed an arch-Stalinist maneuver of establishing the NLC as a centralist body, hammering out the basis for unity within it, and then presenting the *fait accompli*

THE WORKER

The BWC's nationalist conception of black workers as an advanced sector of the proletariat to be consolidated prior to the formation of a "multinational" party was clearly incompatible with RU's "party building" and workerism which adapted to racism and backwardness in the working class.

Liquidationism "of a New Type"

As the NLC fell apart, the RU decided that the road to building the new party did not lie in already-frustrated tailing of black nationalism, which had generally become quiescent as any kind of mass political movement, but rather led straight to the "advanced worker." Thus, the RU was forced to come to terms with its Third-Worldist baggage. In its polemics with the BWC, the RU has further developed its analysis of the "nation of a new type," stripping it of its nationalist accoutrements and applying it to liquidate the "national" question insofar as it relates to the struggle against special oppression and white racism.

The theoretical underpinnings for RU's turn on the black question is contained in "National Bulletin 13," as follows:

"The heart of our analysis is that on the one hand Black people are an oppressed nation of a new type—overwhelmingly workers, dispersed throughout the U.S., but concentrated in urban industrial areas, with real, but deformed class structure. But on the other hand, Black workers, making up the majority of Black people, are part of the single U.S. working class.... suffering caste-like oppression within the class." [original emphasis]

—*Red Papers* 6

to the ranks of the respective organizations.

Once the RU declared that agreement on the analysis of the black question constituted the basis for at least "building a party," the NLC began to come apart. Apprehensive that they would be swamped by the larger RU and that merger in a "multinational" organization would undermine their black work, the BWC pulled back and adopted a temporizing attitude. The BWC was concerned that the RU's workerism was leading to an accommodation to white racism in the working class. In *Red Papers* 5 the RU had already indicated the profile and level of consciousness which it considered befitting an "advanced worker":

"To us, the advanced worker is one who has the respect of fellow workers, to whom they come when they are in trouble and need to discuss their problems, whom they rally around when they face a collective problem, and who provides leadership in struggle. And this is true even if the individual professes some anti-communism.

For the RU, the "advanced worker" is simply any militant, who may or may not display backwardness or white racism.

When the RU finally made a concrete tactical proposal for party-building, the NLC ruptured. The RU proposed that the NLC send "flying squadrons" on a national tour to search out and recruit independent Maoist collectives which, if left to their own guilelessness, would be lined up by the then-aggressive OL or the serious, cadre-conscious CL. The BWC and Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization balked and threw up a nationalist opposition. A BWC document explains:

"The BWC and PRRWO put forward the line that said that 'collectives' of this type would be mainly white and petty bourgeois and that we should concentrate our attention in the industrial proletariat. In addition we maintained we should strengthen the role and work of the BWC and PRRWO in the revolutionary national movements and as Communist organizations as a first step towards party building. The RU disagreed with this view saying that the time was now to form the party before other 'opportunist elements' (meaning the CL and OL) formed the party first."

—"Criticism of 'National Bulletin 13' and the Right Line in the RU," reprinted in *Red Papers* 6

According to the RU, blacks are a nation insofar as they suffer "national" oppression. The fact that Leninist criteria of nationhood—territoriality and the objective basis for a common economic life—are lacking has never perturbed these revisionists. By this formulation, the RU does not foreclose on its option to tail black nationalist consciousness and struggles when dictated by its opportunist appetites. However, for the RU, insofar as blacks dispersed throughout the U.S. are

continued on next page

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workers—which the RU declares to be "overwhelmingly" the case—they do not suffer "national," but rather "caste-like oppression." Furthermore the RU maintains that "it is primarily in the class struggle that oppressed nationalities workers will develop class consciousness" (original emphasis).

By this analysis, the RU reads the struggle against "national" oppression out of the class struggle and class struggle is read out of the struggle against "national" oppression. The RU does not have to risk alienating "advanced" white workers by fighting against the special oppression of blacks at the workplace, because blacks suffer only "caste-like" and not "national" oppression at the point of production. Likewise, the RU does not have to risk alienating the petty-bourgeois nationalists by raising class-struggle demands in the ghetto-based "national" struggles, because blacks can only come to class consciousness "primarily in the class struggle" at the point of production. Therefore, the "heart" of RU's analysis is the liquidation of any class-struggle opposition to the special oppression of blacks.

In order not to fight the special oppression of blacks, the RU is compelled to deny the material basis for that oppression. The RU begins by asserting the objective existence of a tremendous material basis for black-white unity:

"The common exploitation and oppression that white and Third World workers face, especially in the large industrial plants, forms the material basis for building their unity in struggle against monopoly capitalism." [original emphasis]

Confusing the social (i.e., objectively unifying) nature of modern production with the exploitation of capitalism (i.e., the basis for competition among workers), the RU considers social divisions to be merely the insidious work of the bourgeoisie, which must try to undermine this so-called basis for unity:

"In fact, the U.S. bourgeoisie, recognizing the strong material basis for unity, works overtime to foster, further and maintain discrimination and other forms of national oppression, to promote white national chauvinism... and the petty privileges of white workers... The bourgeoisie tries to further these divisions and antagonisms by granting the petty privileges to the workers of the oppressor nation—white workers. That is it gives them an advantage in competition, and conversely, forces Black, and other Third World workers, into some disadvantages."

For the RU, the brutal special oppression of blacks in this racist society is passed off—almost unbelievably—as no more than "some disadvantages" which blacks face as a result of the few "petty privileges" which whites enjoy. But even the "petty privileges" of whites "are nothing compared to the exploitation and oppression that the masses of white workers suffer." So, both the "disadvantages" of blacks and the "petty privileges" of whites pale in significance before the tremendous, "overwhelming" basis for unity at the point of production: "the basis of unity of workers of different nationalities, including the workers of the oppressor

nation and the workers of the oppressed nationalities, is and can only be class and not nationality" (original emphasis).

In order to present racial oppression as simply the product of the evil, Machiavellian machinations and propaganda of the bourgeoisie, the RU is consequently forced to obliterate the marginal employment, unemployment and lumpenization, which in fact comprise the material basis for black oppression as well as white racism. Blacks are not a "proletarianized nation" or a "caste of the working class," but rather a race-color caste in society integrated into but forcibly segregated at the bottom of the political economy, constituting a disproportionate share of the reserve army of the unemployed. Blacks thus suffer special, trans-class oppression. The RU attempts to obliterate exactly the concentration of blacks in the industrial reserve army in order to protect their needed premise that blacks are "overwhelmingly workers":

"The total number of 'Negro and Other Races' which are 'not in the labor force' is only [!] about 5.5 million, considerably [!] less than the 9 million employed Black (and 'other') people... Even if these official figures are understated, it is obvious that the so-called 'lumpenproletariat' does not constitute anything close to a majority of the Third World people."

—Red Papers 5

Black unemployment is considered insignificant until it affects the majority of the black population!

The conclusion which the RU draws from this "analysis" is precisely that the struggle against the special oppression of blacks is divisive and therefore must not be waged:

"Given these material conditions, what are our tasks as communists? We must 'divide one into two' on the question of white workers. On the one hand, their privileges as members of the oppressor nation; on the other hand, their common exploitation and oppression, their common interests with the workers of the oppressed nationalities. We must build on the overwhelmingly principal aspect—their common exploitation and oppression and common interests—to overcome the non-principal aspect, their oppressor nation privileges." [emphasis ours]

—Red Papers 6

The RU has followed out this line of capitulation to the "non-principal" racism of the "advanced worker" both in the factories and in ghetto-based struggles.

At the point of production, the RU has dropped its former, nationalist slogan, "Black Workers Take the Lead," thereby incurring the criticism of the BWC. The RU has abandoned this slogan, however, only because it has served to set them off from the great mass of backward white workers:

"There have been examples of white comrades saying that, in order to build unity with Black workers in a plant, they have to 'distinguish themselves from the white workers'... When questions come up in the plant, around national oppression, for example, and the Black workers move to fight back, the stand of communists, especially white communists, must not be to take a sectarian stance ('left' inform error) of 'distinguishing'—isolating—them-

selves from the white workers..."

—Red Papers 6

The RU will "jam" the unions just as long as that does not provoke the backward white workers. Leninists fight special oppression on the basis of a class-struggle program and, while never tailing nationalist sentiments or spontaneous militancy of black workers, must in fact "distinguish" themselves from racist white workers in the course of struggling for that program.

The RU has also reversed itself on the question of preferential hiring for blacks. The RU has now adopted the formally-correct demand for plant-wide seniority, equal hiring and firing, but as a concession to the racist white workers. This demand of the RU is, however, not connected to any program for jobs (after all, the percentage of unemployed is still less than the employed!). In fact, the RU considers that it is not even necessary to struggle for equal access to jobs, because:

"Long before this group [the black unemployed] (and especially the real lumpenproletariat—those who have given up on working and live by other, usually criminal, means) could ever become a majority, capitalism will be overthrown, and the previously 'permanently unemployed' will be productively employed, building socialist society under the leadership of the working class and, especially, the industrial proletariat, the most concentrated, most socialized, most powerful class in history."

—Red Papers 5

Communists must demand jobs for all and a sliding scale of wages and hours to overcome unemployment at the capitalists' expense. We call for union-hiring halls, hiring on a first-come-first-served basis and union-backed hiring drives of minorities. The Stalinist reformists of the RU, on the contrary preach harmless "jamming" for the unions today and relegate the solution of massive black unemployment to the socialist society of the future.

The RU has likewise "divided one into two" in the Boston busing crisis. Recognizing that busing inflamed the white racists, the RU opposes busing as divisive. In its analysis of the Boston situation (*Revolution*, October 1974), the RU points to the overwhelming "basis for unity between Black and white parents in their resistance to the busing plan" and argues that the imperialists are "the ones who are inciting whites against Blacks." For the RU, the reaction of the whites of course has nothing to do with their racist fears of the ghetto, with its lumps and crime, invading all-white South Boston. Oh, no. It simply is a matter of "some [!] white parents" being "influenced by the racist arguments of Hicks and other bourgeois politicians who were trying to promote disunity and discord between workers of different nationalities"! It is necessary to "stand with the people in defeating the ruling class' attempt to divide them." Boston was apparently a haven of racial harmony and brotherhood before the evil busing "scheme" of the bourgeoisie!

Since the struggle against the special oppression of blacks inflames the white racists, the RU calls for "the right to community control": white schools for whites only, and blacks back to the ghetto rat-holes! Workerist populism, uniting with the "advanced workers," means lining up with the most vicious racism and liquidating any fight against the special oppression of blacks. On the contrary, communists must support busing and call for its extension to middle- and upper-class suburbs—even though it is a partial, bourgeois measure—as an application of the basic democratic right of blacks to equality in education and a minimal step toward breaking down ghettoization.

The Maoists United Will Never be Repeated?

While in their polemical broadsides the Maoist antagonists manage often devastating point-scoring, the breakup of the Maoist-merger attempt represents no break with Stalinism and no leftward motion even within the Stalinist framework. The OL, strengthened

by some modest local fusions recently, doggedly continues to bid for the Chinese franchise and to try to displace the Communist Party in the trade union bureaucracy. The BWC fled the National Liaison Committee and looked to the Black-Belt cartographers of the Communist League for theoretical protection from the attacks of the RU. Since being discarded by the sect-like CL, the BWC has stumbled along in total confusion, publishing articles in its press only to self-criticize and repudiate them in the very next issue. The BWC is completely bogged down attempting to deal with the black question within a national framework.

Masquerading as a hard, "left" proletarian stand, the RU has taken a turn to the right. Although the RU has been charged with being "Progressive Labor Party Reborn," RU's turn on the black question is only superficially similar to PL's. In the period of its left motion, PL was forced to confront and break with nationalism, albeit in a crude and contradictory fashion. The RU has "confronted" black nationalism only in order to evade any struggle against the special oppression of black people. The RU is impelled not by a desire for a class solution to black oppression, but by the pressures of accommodation to backwardness in the working class.

The black question is central to any strategy for proletarian revolution and thus to the forging of the vanguard party of the working class. On the black question, the Maoists have never broken from and transcended their nationalist framework, which can only offer obscurantism, empiricism and reformism. Those Maoists who sincerely are committed to making the proletarian revolution in this country must reject counterrevolutionary Stalinism and turn to the program and practice of the Spartacist League / Spartacus Youth League. ■

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Young Spartacus

Maoist Fusion Fizzles

The recent, thorough fragmenting of the American Maoist movement, evidenced by the presently ongoing welter of acrid polemics and maneuvering among the various tendencies, is the result of the definitive failure of the long-rumored "imminent fusion" of the Revolutionary Union (RU) and October League (OL), combined with the break up of RU's two-year courtship of the Black Workers Congress (BWC). At bottom, the shamble of the Maoist merger confirms again the inability of New Left Maoism to develop a consistent strategy for proletarian revolution in an advanced capitalist country.

"One Divides Into Two"...3,4,5

Until fairly recently, the RU and BWC were peacefully coexisting in their pre-party National Liaison Committee on the "principles" of anti-Trotskyism, "anti-revisionism" and poly-vanguardism. Now the RU has come out for "building the party NOW" and is hurling charges of "Bundism" and even

"summing up" and "self-criticism." "Building the United Front Against Imperialism" was not only a strategy for Stalinist class collaboration, but also the framework for rotten blocs, unprincipled maneuvering and tailing among the various Maoist groups.

Nonetheless, there is a larger political logic and social pressure activating the Maoist feuding. Both the RU and OL developed out of a common hostility to the crude pro-working-class line of Progressive Labor in SDS and recruited their followers mainly on the appeal of vicarious Third-World nationalism. Maoism provided the New Left Third Worldists with militant rhetoric and a simple ideological rationale for substituting various petty-bourgeois peoples-in-motion for the proletariat in carrying out social revolution.

With the decline of the New Left radical student movement and the tragic demise of the Black Panther Party as an ostensibly revolutionary organization, many New Left Maoists turned to

velop in a straight line or as quickly as we would like. Revolution, it turns out, will not be made in a day... Have all of us made many mistakes, some of them pretty serious? We certainly have. Have we been plagued by a tremendous amount of sectarianism in our ranks that has made unity a hard thing to achieve? We certainly have. Have we also been plagued by opportunism of all stripes that has succeeded somewhat in confusing some people and also made unity hard to achieve? Yes, we have."

—*Revolution*, May 1974

Pious breast-beating "self-criticism" is an integral part of American Maoism precisely because Maoism, as a Stalinist ideology of peasant revolution, cannot furnish a strategy for the struggle of the industrial proletariat and consequently dooms the Maoist workerists to endless blind practice and blunders.

Furthermore, the Chinese bureaucracy in its nationalist insularity has not cared to enlighten their faithful, but bewildered, followers as to the

the invective, "social imperialists," has very little potency in the labor movement.

The single most important cause of the factional warfare in the Maoist movement has been the attempt on the part of the RU to resolve these demoralizing contradictions inherent in New Left Maoist workerism by retreating from any struggle against the labor bureaucracy and by liquidating the black "national" question. This recent turn has brought the RU into open conflict with both the right-opportunist OL and the community-oriented BWC.

RU and OL Fall Out

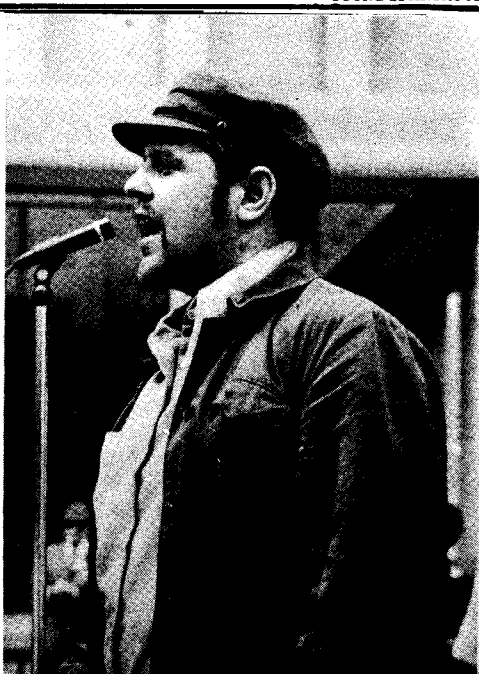
Prior to the recent opening of hostilities, the significant political differences between the RU and OL were largely unformed. While holding differing theoretical appraisals of the "national" character of black people, both organizations recognized the right of blacks to self-determination and converged in tailing petty-bourgeois black nationalism in practice. It seemed to many Maoists that only the personal ambitions and cliquism of the leaderships kept the OL and RU apart. At one of the joint RU-OL forums sponsored by the pro-unity, "independent" *Guardian* in 1972, the two organizations were called upon to explain what was the obstacle to their fusion. OL leader Mike Klonsky delivered a long-winded, double-talking lecture on the method of dialectical materialism; RU leader Don Wright followed by admitting, "I don't know."

Yet, from their origins the RU and OL have been differentiated not so much by clearly formulated programmatic disagreements as by differing political thrusts. As early as the joint Avakian-Klonsky anti-Progressive Labor bloc in SDS, there were definite nuances in their opposition. Klonsky played more upon petty-bourgeois race and class guilt, calling for a Revolutionary Youth Movement based upon Third World-lumpen enthusiasm. Avakian, the leader of the Bay Area factory collectives which had formed the RU, was less shrill in his criticism of PL's workerism, privately criticized the Panthers' lumpen orientation and urged revolutionary youth to go to the proletariat. In the subsequent struggle with the lumpen-guerrilla forces in the RU led by Bruce Franklin, the RU consolidated around its point-of-production orientation.

Throughout the period before and after the well-attended *Guardian*-sponsored forums, the Maoist milieu buzzed with rumors of a coming RU-OL fusion. The outstanding differences between the two organizations were by no means clearly drawn, and both generally kept their bickering out of their public work and press. It is only as a result of RU's turn and corresponding polemical offensive that the gauntlets have been openly and finally flung down.

Despite its past erratic and short-lived left flurry, the OL generally occupies a niche in the right wing of the Maoist movement. The OL strives to be the most consistent, uncritical tailists of black and Third World nationalism and the most shamelessly forthright apologists for every twist and turn of the Peking bureaucracy. Most notably, the OL proudly reprinted in its press (*The Call*, September 1973)

continued on page 10



While Maoists Klonsky (left) and Avakian (right) feud over the application of Mao-Thought, the "Great Helmsman" remains silent.

black-careerist hustlerism at the BWC. In response, the BWC is accusing the RU of "white chauvinism" and "Progressive Labor Trotskyism." After bouncing into, and two months later right out of, the "Trotskyite" Communist League's Continuations Committee, the BWC now proclaims that it too is building its own "multinational" party... still called the Black Workers Congress. Turning on their former friendly debating partners, the RU now blasts the OL for nothing less than Communist Party "revisionism." Jumping into this polemical gutter brawl, the OL tirades against the "sectarian" RU, charging them with "a polemical style which is not fundamentally different from the Trotskyists such as the Spartacist League" (*The Call*, September 1974).

It is admittedly difficult to locate the substantive political issues behind the kaleidoscopic polemics conducted in the obscurantist double-talk of Mao-Thought. The amalgamation of Maoist forces in the past was possible primarily on the basis of congruent opportunist appetites and crude impressionism. In the attempt at a grand "Marxist-Leninist" merger, the ill-formulated theoretical and programmatic basis for unity always limped behind "concrete mass practice" as

the working class, which seemed at last to be stirring under the economic impact of the Vietnam war. But once in the factories, the Maoists were confronted with a politically backward and racially divided class still under the leadership of the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy. Despite mindless tailing of the present consciousness of the workers and excruciating attempts to apply the dictums of Mao-Thought, the Maoists slowly realized that the deepening crisis of American imperialism did not immediately insure waves of recruits and growth of influence. With working-class militancy effectively contained by the labor bureaucracy during the last several years, the Maoist panacea, "From the Masses, To the Masses," could only lead to inevitable impatience and demoralization.

Faced with this situation, the RU has been forced to confess:

"...it must be stated frankly that at this point in the development of our movement, there is a certain amount of pessimism and demoralization. This seems to stem primarily from the fact that many of us have learned through experience that it is easier to read Marxism-Leninism than it is to apply it to developing the revolutionary movement. Reality is more complicated than a book, class struggle does not de-

velop in a straight line or as quickly as we would like. Revolution, it turns out, will not be made in a day... Have all of us made many mistakes, some of them pretty serious? We certainly have. Have we been plagued by a tremendous amount of sectarianism in our ranks that has made unity a hard thing to achieve? We certainly have. Have we also been plagued by opportunism of all stripes that has succeeded somewhat in confusing some people and also made unity hard to achieve? Yes, we have."

The Maoists have thus become stalled in the rut of workerism, sometimes tailing spontaneous rank-and-file militancy, other times fawning before the "progressive" wing of the trade-union bureaucracy. When the Maoists burrow deeper to embrace the rank and file of the "Great American Proletariat," they are inevitably confronted with racial divisions, which their black nationalism, however, implicitly accepts. When the Maoists ineptly attempt to maneuver beneath bureaucratic forces in the labor movement, they get used by slick careerist fakers, or they bump into the more experienced Communist Party. The Maoists are often hard put to distinguish themselves from the CP, since