

Revolutionary Communist Youth NEWSLETTER

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Budget Cuts Hit Campuses— *Only Workers Can Smash Phase III!*

It should be apparent to radical students that the current education budget cuts and tuition increases, as well as cuts in other social services, are manifestations of a more general capitalist crisis. But a pervasive New-Left mentality continues to see the struggle against budget cuts as limited to the campus and students, in isolation from more general social struggles. The RCY has played an active role in the anti-budget cuts and anti-tuition struggles recently at the City University of New York (CUNY) and in the past at Laney College in Oakland, City College of San Francisco and other campuses. We have tried to present to student militants the more general political lessons of these struggles—the relationship between budget cuts, rising tuition costs and the capitalist crisis, i.e., that the cutbacks in education and social services are part of the attempt of U.S. capitalism to systema-

tically drive down the living standards of workers in order to bolster its competitive position internationally. We have pointed out the inherent impotence of "student-power" struggles and the need to fight the budget cuts in the context of the class struggle. A "program to fight the budget cuts" must be part of a working-class program to fight and overthrow capitalism.

The irony of capitalism is that the spoils of its seemingly triumphant successes turn into catastrophe. The U.S. emerged from World War II both militarily victorious and economically hegemonic among its former imperialist rivals. Thus the U.S. military became the policeman for the imperialist system just as the dollar became its world reserve currency. However, the former forced the U.S. to maintain a huge world-wide military establishment while the latter encouraged the export of U.S. capital. Combined, they created a chronic balance-of-payments

deficit which was further aggravated by the inflation generated by financing the Vietnam war through massive deficit spending. U.S. capitalism simply began to price itself out of the world market, losing its economic hegemony and declining to a position of first among equals within the context of the re-assertion of inter-imperialist rivalries. It responded by cutting its losses in Vietnam, devaluing the dollar, attempting to control the budget deficit through massive slashes in social services (but, of course, not in the military sector) and reduction in wages through inflation, union-busting and wage controls.

Campuses Part of Capitalist System

Tuition hikes and budget cuts cannot be defeated by struggles restricted to the campuses because the cause of cutbacks in education is off-campus.

The educational system is part of a capitalist system which, just as it seeks to monopolize social wealth for a tiny ruling class, also seeks to monopolize the fruits of social wealth: learning and culture. The ruling class tailors the educational system to serve bourgeois ends: the training of its government administrators and industrial managers and the general propagation of bourgeois ideology. The working class is to get just enough "education" so that the capitalists can extract profit from its labor power. As for the specially-oppressed black and Latin youth, for whom there are no jobs, public schools are simply daytime orphanages. In fact, some academic pimps for the government—with their Ph.D's in sociology and 20 years of formal education—have decided that the reason workers are "discontented" with their drudgery is that they are "over-educated".

Students do not have the social power to make even the limited reforms relating to the campus *stick*. The strength of the working class to fight capitalist attacks lies in its access to the means of producing wealth—its ability to withhold its labor power—and in the material basis for its class consciousness in its social organization of work. In the epoch of imperialism, thoroughgoing and long-lasting reforms are impossible: Only the working class has the power to squeeze even limited and temporary reforms from the capitalists, and the power to smash capitalism, to end racial, sexual and all other forms of social oppression.

An important step in the struggle to prepare and organize the working class for the proletarian revolution and for running a society free of social oppression is the immediate struggle against all forms of discrimination, including the elementary democratic demand to open up the limited but nonetheless valuable reservoirs of learning, science and culture to the oppressed and exploited.

The RCY actively supports the fight against the budget cuts; we support the demands for open admissions and no tuition. However, we point out that these demands by themselves do not go far enough. We seek to broaden the movement to include demands which pose the need to link up with the struggles of the working class in order to defeat capitalist attacks—demands which cut across the class bias inherent in bourgeois democratic rights.

The demand simply for "Open Admissions, No Tuition" is not only not a revolutionary demand, it is not even a genuinely democratic demand, for it would exclude all those who could not afford the time away from their jobs and their families to devote themselves to systematic education even if that education were free. Thus, it would exclude most workers and the unemployed with family responsibilities. The demand for "Open Admissions, No Tuition" must be linked with the

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RCY Photo

What Defense Policy for Revolutionaries?

The decline of U.S. economic hegemony and the resultant economic chaos has meant intensified capitalist attacks on the labor and radical movements. Facing an increasing inability to provide the minimal democratic and economic rights of working people and oppressed minorities, the American capitalist class has pursued a dual offensive: governmental legislation to curb the power of the trade-union movement and tie it more closely to the state machinery, combined with persecution of the left to forestall any resurgence of even the reformist social-protest movement of the 1960's. Central to the ruling-class policy is to forestall the growth of any organized left oppositions in the labor movement. While the radical students, women's liberationists and black nationalists who typified 1960's radicalism lacked the social strength to seriously threaten capitalist rule, the current growth of the left in the labor movement poses a much greater potential threat. The gross violation of democratic rights in the Watergate affair indicates the Nixon regime's contempt for the formalities

of bourgeois democracy, a contempt that will be violently amplified in dealing with an *actual* left threat. The strategy to defeat ruling-class attacks on the labor and radical movements must be based on an examination of the historic experience of the working-class movement.

The International Red Aid

In the early 1920's, the Communist International (CI) organized the International Red Aid as a broad defense organization of working-class militants. While the CI rejected bourgeois-democratic illusions and idealizations, it recognized the need to defend the democratic gains of the bourgeois revolutions and proletarian struggle as an integral part of the class struggle. Lenin summarized the communist perspective toward democratic struggles:

"It would be a fundamental mistake to suppose that the struggle for democracy can divert the proletariat from the socialist revolution, or obscure or overshadow it, etc. On the contrary, just as socialism cannot be victorious

unless it introduces complete democracy, so the proletariat will be unable to prepare for victory over the bourgeoisie unless it wages a many-sided, consistent and revolutionary struggle for democracy."

—*Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 133

The International Red Aid was also an application of the united-front policy of the CI under Lenin and Trotsky, which proposed joint action of workers' organizations over specific and concrete tasks. The united front was designed to unite the working class against capitalist attacks and in doing so create an arena in which the Communist parties, retaining full freedom to criticize other participants, could counterpose their program to the social-democratic misleadership in order to "set the base against the top." The slogan of the united front was "March Separately, Strike Together."

The International Labor Defense (ILD), the American affiliate of the International Red Aid, led the campaign to defend Sacco and Vanzetti, Tom Mooney, C.E. Ruthenberg, imprisoned Wobblies and numerous strike efforts.

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Lessons from History

"Resolution on the Youth"

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EDITORIAL NOTES

YSA, PL/SDS Revive Student Power

BOSTON—The annual Student Union elections at Boston University have recently been the stage for the further retreat of ostensible socialists into the swamp of liberal petty-bourgeois politics. Two slates deserve special attention—the "Action for a Change Collective" (where both Progressive Labor and SDS are running as candidates) and the "Young Socialist" ticket (a bloc which features candidates from the Young Socialist Alliance and the Student Mobilization Committee). Both slates work within a student-power framework using slogans such as "Vote to Control Your Own University" (YSA) and "Classroom Insurgency" (PL, SDS).

"Action for a Change" is a classic illustration of left-center-coalition methodology. In using this approach to broaden its base, PL/SDS waters down its program to the bourgeois politics of the "center." As the demands in the "Action for a Change" platform show, PL/SDS's political presence is virtually non-existent and the student powerism of the "center" (the Boston University Liberation Front) dominates.

An SDS leaflet publicizing the campaign states:

"We want to explore that nature [of the University] and to have whatever effect we can in altering it.... We will use the resources of the Union—financial aid, facilities, publicity, organizers, access to information, etc.—to initiate and or support programs or actions that will alleviate the problems created by the current policies of the university."

The "Action for a Change" (which is no action and no change) "strategy" seeks to (1) reform the Student Union with a "collective" leadership, (2) get cheaper textbooks and cheaper bus service and (3) provide more services for students.

The YSA, of course, has more seniority in campus reformism. A classic statement of student powerism is its demand for "Student/Faculty Control over All Aspects of the University." As an example of YSA's distance from working-class politics, it demands "No Tuition Hikes," rather than raising the demands "Free Higher Education with Stipend" and "Open Admissions"—demands which would most benefit minority, poor and working-class students. The YSA's demand is in fact backhanded support to tuition.

Communists on the campuses should approach student elections with only one goal in mind—using the elections as a platform to put forward the full program and strategy of revolutionary Marxism, seeking to break politicized students from their petty-bourgeois milieu and winning them to the Leninist vanguard as declassed professional revolutionists.

The approach of SDS and the YSA is a capitulation to illusory old New-Left concepts of an independent social role for students and has nothing in common with pro-working-class politics.

Defend Raoul Rizik!

BALTIMORE—The U.S. State Department has begun deportation proceedings against Raoul Rizik, a sympathizer of the Workers League/Young Socialists who has been active in the anti-war movement. According to the *Young Socialist* (April 1973, p. 3), if Rizik is sent back to his native Dominican Republic he "faces further political persecution and possibly jail, as an outspoken opponent of the U.S.-backed military dictatorship of Joaquin Balaguer."

It is the elementary duty of all left and working-class organizations to defend Rizik, recognizing that if the bourgeois state is successful in attacking

any militants, its hand is strengthened against all organizations of the working class and left (see "What Defense Policy for Revolutionaries?", this issue, p. 1).

The *Young Socialist* states that Rizik's defense "must be based on mobilizing the trade unions in support of his case." In failing to discuss the crucial need to win the broadest possible support for the defense—especially support from other left-wing organizations—the YS indicates that it will carry on the Rizik defense campaign in the same sectarian manner that the WL sought to defend Juan Farinas. During the Farinas campaign the WL actually excluded other left-wing tendencies (including physical expulsions of the Spartacist League) from public defense meetings, demonstrating its total failure to understand elementary working-class solidarity.

Contributions for Rizik's defense should be mailed to: The Raoul Rizik Defense Committee, 2202 Maryland Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland.

Lettuce Boycott: SDS Tail-Ends UFWOC Reformism

LOS ANGELES—At UCLA, Progressive Labor's SDS has revived its long-dead Worker-Student Alliance to spearhead a coalition to boycott lettuce. It has also done work around the boycott at New York's City College, Staten Island Community College and on campuses in Boston and other cities. Over the last year, SDS has settled into a campus-parochial, moralistic reformism, best exemplified in its anti-racist textbook campaigns (see RCYN No. 12). SDS's work in the lettuce boycott has presented no departure from this framework, consisting almost entirely of running petition campaigns to pressure the university Administration to buy only United Farmworker (UFW) lettuce. Along with its narrow campus approach, SDS has offered no criticisms of the boycott tactic or of the racist and class-collaborationist policies of the Chavez union leadership, but has given the bureaucracy unqualified support—hoping to get a piece of the considerable liberal sympathy Chavez has won the farmworkers. So much for worker-student alliances and "smash-racism" campaigns: they're okay for the campus but not for the working-class, where it really counts!

At the root of the lettuce boycott is the struggle of the farmworkers for union recognition, decent working conditions and better pay. The union leadership's choice of the consumer boycott tactic is a betrayal. To win the battle the UFW must organize a strike, which in the fields could cost the growers a full year's crop, and is thus a real threat. Further, the strikers must call not for "popular" support through consumer boycott action, but for working-class solidarity through a secondary boycott: the Teamsters and the rail unions must refuse to ship scab lettuce. Such a boycott by transport unions would put real muscle behind the UFW strike. But a secondary boycott, prohibited by the Taft-Hartley Act is, of course, anathema to the union bureaucracy.

It is a fact that many, perhaps most, of the Teamsters union ranks oppose the Teamster bureaucracy's policy of sweetheart contracting with the growers. A vigorous campaign by the UFW around the demand "Teamster Union Out of the Fields!" could trigger a powerful solidarity movement within the Teamsters union itself. Predictably, however, the response of the Chavez bureaucracy to the Teamster strike-breaking has been to sue the Teamsters in the bourgeois courts. This action is an attack on the independence of the unions from the state. Any government

interference in union affairs (no matter what "progressive" face it appears to take) opens the door for future state control and destruction of the organizations of the working class. Instead of seeking a common struggle with Teamster militants against the class treason of the Teamster bureaucracy, Chavez's reformism dooms the farmworkers to begging for favors from their exploiters' government.

The limitation of the struggle to a consumer boycott has clothed Chavez in bourgeois respectability, but has not bettered the situation of the farmworkers. Instead, Chavez has consciously tied the movement to the Democratic Party through the elimination of direct class action and culling bourgeois support in exchange for electoral assistance.

Chavez's Racism

At present, Chavez is calling for the elimination of, in *his* word, "wetbacks" from the fields, through deportations and strict border regulations. The illegal aliens from Mexico who now work in the U.S. Southwest's farms are easily intimidated by the growers, who can deport them at will; therefore, these unorganized Mexicans threaten the UFW bureaucracy. Chavez's gross white and nationalist chauvinism is merely an attempt to better the position of the union bureaucracy at the expense of Mexican nationals.

The UFW needs to organize Mexican as well as U.S. farmworkers into a real international union and to call for an end to border restrictions and no deportations. It is this proletarian internationalism that must be counterposed to Chavez's nationalism.

The policies of the Chavez leadership are class-collaborationist, national-chauvinist and racist. Against the Chavez betrayals, revolutionaries must point to the need for a UFW strike and secondary boycott. Against Chavez's alliance with the Democrats, the question of a workers party must be posed. While the consumer boycott of scab lettuce must be honored, it is crucial to point out that, by itself, it is a dead-end protest and a bureaucratic betrayal of the farmworkers' real needs and class interests.

SL/RCY Picket for Workers Democracy: WL Charges "Anti-Communism"

Recent issues of the Workers League's *Bulletin* (2 and 9 April) stated that the Spartacist League/Revolutionary Communist Youth picket line outside the Young Socialist meeting in Los Angeles was in essence "anti-communist" and an example of "middle-class frenzy" against the WL's youth group. What the *Bulletin* fails to mention is that the SL/RCY were protesting their exclusion from what was advertised as a public meeting and were demonstrating in support of the principles of workers democracy, long since forgotten by the WL. Unfortunately for the WL, the *Bulletin* editor does not have a good organizational eye for photographs that can back up its lies. Thus, the 9 April *Bulletin* carried a picture of the SL/RCY picket line with the following banners visible: "Smash Stalinist Exclusionism!" and "What Is the Workers League Afraid Of?"

The SL/RCY demonstration has not been without effect on the WL which, reversing a two-year policy of excluding the SL/RCY from WL public meetings, issued an invitation by implication some weeks ago to the SL/RCY to attend a New York City YS meeting on the budget cuts and a WL class on the International Committee. The SL/RCY was given considerable speaking time at these meetings. In addition, reversing a seven-year policy, the WL "challenged" the SL to a public debate (which the SL has been requesting for seven years!). The WL has been feeling the pressure of SL/RCY growth and was perhaps thinking of attempting a

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The *RCY Newsletter* is published by the Revolutionary Communist Youth, youth section of the Spartacist League. We seek to build a revolutionary socialist youth organization which can intervene in all social struggles armed with a working-class program, based on the politics of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky.

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NCLC FRENZY

As we go to press, the National Caucus of Labor Committees has initiated a policy of physical attacks against the Communist Party. We condemn the NCLC's gangsterism against a working-class tendency, noting that the CP has a long history of gangsterism against other left groups. The CP has responded by calling the cops on the NCLC, thereby crossing class lines in an action as impermissible for Marxists as gangsterism within the left. We condemn both groups' violations of workers democracy and the CP's use of the cops and courts against the NCLC. For a full statement of our position on recent incidents between the CP and NCLC, see the 27 April issue of *Workers Vanguard*. ■

CORRECTION

The April RCYN (p. 3) carried some inaccuracies concerning a Progressive Labor demonstration held on 19 February. The article reported that the PL demonstration called only for defense of the Israeli group, Revolutionary Communist Alliance, and not for defense of the Red Front or other Israeli groups signing a joint defense appeal. In fact, the Red Front is a split-off from the Revolutionary Communist Alliance and the two factions are often referred to as Revolutionary Communist Alliance (Struggle) and Revolutionary Communist Alliance (Red Front). Therefore, PL's calling only for the defense of the Revolutionary Communist Alliance meant, for them, defense of the Red Front (only), as PL, true to form, simply does not recognize the political existence of the other faction. Furthermore, the RCY article implied that the Red Front was participating in united-front defense work with other left-wing Israeli organizations. The 22 March 1973 issue of PL's newspaper *Challenge* (p. 1), however, carried the opposite information, namely, that the Red Front has been carrying on defense work in Israel in the ultra-sectarian tradition of PL, not in the Leninist traditions of the united front.

political confrontation, since the Stalinist tactics of gangsterism and exclusionism have neither answered questions about the SL/RCY in the WL/YS's ranks or had any ill effects upon the SL/RCY itself. We welcomed this opportunity to counter the WL in political debate, expecting that the opportunity would be transient. Indeed it was—just two weeks after posing the debate "challenge," and in the middle of negotiations with the SL over time and place, the WL withdrew its offer (see *WV* No. 19, 27 April, for details). It appears that political confrontation with the SL/RCY is a bit too much for the WL to handle.

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Budget Cuts Hit Campuses—

demand for "Free Universal Higher Education with Stipend" and demands that the universities supply free, quality child care. Likewise, the demands for restoring services cut or eliminated by Phase III—services which were insufficient to begin with—is an inadequate demand. Instead we must demand *quality* education, but quality education in this country is largely monopolized by the private, elite and exorbitantly expensive schools administered by the large corporations. Thus the demand for quality education must be linked to the democratic demand to nationalize the private universities under worker-teacher-student control and open them up to the working class and unemployed.

In our participation in the fight against the budget cuts, we have consistently sought, through our literature and banners, to convince students of the central role of the working class in the economic crisis, and to win students to aiding in the construction of a Leninist vanguard party which can lead the successful proletarian overthrow of capitalism. Other left organizations have either carried on simple reformist campus campaigns or have engaged in phony leftist agitation directed towards students or youth as a vanguard. What both of these "strategies" have in common is the spreading of illusions about the social power of students, or youth as a whole, and the failure to draw a genuine class line.

New Leftism Revived

Most of the left has responded to the budget cuts with a revival of New-Left and student-power politics in more fashionable dress. At CUNY, the Maoist Attica Brigade, in alliance with the CUNY Third World Coalition (TWC), a group dominated by black and Puerto Rican nationalist ideology, fought to limit the struggle against budget cuts to slogans against financial

aid cutbacks, against tuition at CUNY and for expanded open admissions, and they threatened violence against any organization which brought banners with communist slogans to a demonstration which they called (see "Stalinists, Nationalists Seek to Exclude Communists," this issue, p. 2).

The warmed-over New Leftism of the Attica Brigade slides nicely into the framework of Mao Tse-tung Thought with its stages theory of revolution, methodology of the "mass line" and strategy of the "anti-imperialist united front." Continuing the theories of Stalinism and Menshevism, the Maoists project an initial stage of the revolution that unites all "anti-imperialist forces" across class lines. Thus many Maoists supported bourgeois politician McGovern (either openly or backhandedly) in the elections because he was part of the "progressive" bloc of forces opposing the U.S. intervention into the Vietnam war.

The Maoists reject the Marxist theory of permanent revolution—that the working class is the only consistently revolutionary class in capitalist society, and that programmatic blocs with non-working-class forces only subordinate workers' class interests to the interests of alien classes. While Marxists do not call for the exclusion of petty-bourgeois or even bourgeois elements from a demonstration or united-front *action* around a democratic demand which these elements claim to support, we fight to demonstrate the necessity for the full Marxist program in the course of the struggle, pointing out that the "progressives" are unstable allies who in the end will betray and that isolated reformist struggles are a dead-end.

We are categorically opposed to entering ongoing coalitions with bourgeois elements around democratic demands (e.g., Women's National Abortion Action Coalition, led by the Social-

ist Workers Party). In such coalitions, the program is limited to demands acceptable to the bourgeois elements, strengthening the reformist illusion that pervasive social problems like the crisis in education, women's liberation, etc. can be solved under capitalism. The ongoing organization to fight the educational crisis or the oppression of women is the Leninist vanguard party and its disciplined sections, which embody the Marxist revolutionary program. Coalitions like the TWC or WONAAC push a reformist program which can only serve bourgeois interests. In the fight against budget cuts, the Maoists have been in the forefront of those pushing a liberal line ("mass line") and aggressively opposing class-struggle politics.

The political approach of the Young Socialist Alliance, youth group of the SWP, has been virtually indistinguishable from the Stalinists and liberals. At a meeting which the SWP/YSA co-sponsored to discuss strategies for fighting the budget cuts, they deliberately limited their demands to opposition to tuition at CUNY and for open admissions. They failed to breathe a word about socialism or raise any demands or slogans which might distinguish them from the liberals, no doubt so that they would not alienate the "masses"—like Congressman Herman Badillo, another co-sponsor of the meeting. Instead of pointing out the need for the working class to organize around a revolutionary program to fight against capitalist attacks, the SWP/YSA called for "a letter writing and petitioning campaign to city, state and federal politicians," thus relying on the good graces of liberal politicians while building illusions about the bourgeois state. In this they were only making explicit the bourgeois content implicit in the Attica Brigade's minimal demands.

WL/YA Youth Vanguardism

The only other organization besides the RCY which claimed to carry a proletarian line into the campaign

against the budget cuts was the Young Socialists, youth group of the Workers League. The YS revealed its hopeless disorientation by calling for a strike of students, teachers and staff leading to a general strike and urging students to pressure the Professional Staff Congress to call for the construction of a labor party to "fight for the rights of youth." To call upon students to take the lead in initiating a general strike hopelessly muddles the class line and spreads illusions about the social role of students and undifferentiated "youth." Moreover, the phony left posturing of calling on students to pressure teachers to build a labor party has a hollow ring when measured against the program which the WL carries into the trade unions. In its program for the auto industry, which it projects as the basis for caucuses in the UAW, the WL does not raise a *single political demand*—not even the call for a labor party (*Bulletin*, 12 February 1973, pp. 1 and 18)! When facing the pressures of the class struggle, the WL conveniently forgets the *Transitional Program* and limits itself to shop-floor issues, but in the student movement, where left-posturing is cheap, the WL brings its slogans out of the closet.

It is wrong and criminal to pretend that the fight against budget cuts can be won within the framework of that issue alone and involving only teachers and students. Revolutionaries must point out that *there is no* "program for the budget cuts" as such, but that a fight against these cuts can only be successful if linked to the struggles of the working class against capitalism—through a vanguard party. At the same time, we do not sit back and ignore these struggles—we support and initiate demonstrations against the cuts and for free higher education with stipend, seeking to use these times when students are aroused, and thus more open to political ideas, to win individual student militants to the working-class struggle against capital, based on the full program of revolutionary Marxism. ■

Stalinists, Nationalists Seek to Exclude Communists

The City College chapter of the Revolutionary Communist Youth has been involved in the fight against tuition at the City University of New York (CUNY) from the beginning, arguing for working-class politics and linking the question of budget cuts to the need for a socialist revolution (see "Only the Working Class Can Smash Phase III," this issue, p. 1). It has run up against repeated anti-communism, gangsterism, sectarianism and bureaucratism from other left groups at CUNY—in particular, the Communist Party-influenced, liberal United Community Centers (UCC), the Maoist Attica Brigade and the CUNY Third World Coalition (TWC), a group dominated by black and Puerto Rican nationalist ideology. The actions of these groups have limited the effectiveness of the anti-tuition demonstrations and have contributed to a revival of anti-communist New-Left student powerism.

At a meeting on 13 March at City College called by the UCC to gain support for a 15 March anti-tuition demonstration, the UCC informed the RCY that although it could participate in the demonstration under the slogans "Free Public Higher Education" and "No Tuition at CUNY and SUNY," it would not be allowed to raise other slogans relating to the attacks on education and social services. The RCY asserted its right to put forward communist politics and further pointed out that the largest

possible united action could only be secured on the basis of the Leninist criteria for the united front—all groups agreeing with the common slogans must have the right to participate and to raise their own programs and criticisms and sell or distribute their own literature.

The RCY pointed out that, despite phrases about "unity," the UCC's attempt to prevent other groups from raising additional slogans was sectarian and bureaucratic. The UCC pretends that this policy means that the demonstration would not be putting forward any full program, but in fact, a demonstration limited to the two demands of "Free Public Higher Education" and "No Tuition at CUNY and SUNY" implies a program all right—a reformist program.

Gangsterism and Use of Cops Against the Left

In addition to carrying the two main slogans, the RCY came to the 15 March demonstration with the following banners (all identified as RCY slogans): "Open Admissions with Stipend," "Nationalization of the Universities under Worker-Teacher-Student Control," "Only the Working Class Can Defeat Capitalist Attacks," "Fight for Socialism." Soon after the RCY joined the picket line, a woman later identified as the leader of the UCC ordered all

UCCers off the line, declaring that she would not have her "people marching in a demonstration with signs that say 'communist'" (as in "Revolutionary Communist Youth"). The UCC then formed a second picket line several yards away. The Attica Brigade, the Young Socialist Alliance and the two or three SDSers present went off to separate caucuses to decide what to do. Recoiling from the liberals but unable to unite with "Trotskyites," one Attica Brigade woman argued that their group should go home. Cooler Maoist heads prevailed, however, and, as an Attica Brigade spokeswoman stated to the RCY, the Brigade followed "Mao's mass line" over to the liberal demonstration. The YSA and the SDSers also capitulated to the UCC's wrecking job and joined the breakaway line.

The RCYers, finding themselves in a separate picket line with their supporters, refused to submit to this sideshow of sectarianism and marched over with their banners and entered the UCC-YSA-Attica Brigade-SDS line, thus reunifying the demonstration. Several UCCers attacked an RCYer, attempting to rip down her picket sign, but with the aid of comrades she held on to the banner and continued marching. The UCC, its gangsterist attacks having failed to prevent the RCY from supporting the demands of the demonstration and participating in it, turned to the police. At the UCC's request, cops removed the RCYers from the line and

set up barricades to create two separate picket lines.

Maoists, YSA Join with Cops and Liberals

Rather than joining with the RCY to demonstrate solidarity against police intervention, the Attica Brigade demonstrated the true nature of its "mass line"—uniting with the "masses" of liberals and cops. The Brigade, in line with its Stalinist methodology, justifies its gross betrayal of a class line under the slogan of "anti-Trotskyism." The YSA (youth group of the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party) joined the Stalinists in tailing after the liberals, preferring to "raise the question of democracy" on the UCC line rather than even sending a representative to march with the RCY in solidarity against the police, as the RCY requested and which Norman Oliver, SWP New York City mayoral candidate, had reluctantly agreed to do.

These Stalinist politics were continued at a citywide anti-tuition meeting on 25 March, held at Hunter College and attended by about 400 students. After it became clear to the UCC that it had lost control of the meeting, it simply walked out, demonstrating quite clearly that the fight against budget cuts was distinctly subordinate to its petty organizational desires. At this meeting the

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Lessons from History

Founding Conference of the 4th Inter

Trotsky was always keenly aware of what he called the problem of generations. He began the New Course (1923), his opening shot in the struggle against the bureaucratic degeneration of the Russian Revolution, with a discussion of the "question of the party generations," and in the most important document among the founding resolutions of the Fourth International (FI), The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International: The Transitional Program, Trotsky stated the problem of generations in the following way:

"When a program or organization wears out, the generation which carried it on its shoulders wears out with it. The movement is revitalized by the youth who are free of responsibility for the past... Only the fresh enthusiasm and aggressive spirit of the youth can guarantee the preliminary successes in the struggle; only these successes can return the best elements of the older generation to the road of revolution."

—p. 45, Pathfinder Press edition

Trotsky had not forgotten the lesson of the collapse of the Second International and the building of the Third. When the leading parties of the Second International capitulated to the national chauvinism of WW I, it was the militants primarily concentrated in the Socialist youth and women's groups (representing a more oppressed stratum of the working class than the privileged labor aristocracy—the most influential component of the Western European Socialist parties) who carried the banner of internationalism against the tide of national chauvinism. It was these militants who, under the impact of the Russian October, provided the precious founding cadre for the new Communist International (CI). With the destruction of the CI as a world revolutionary party under the heavy blows of the failure of the German Revolution, the bureaucratic degeneration of the Bolshevik Revolution, the rise of fascism and the impending renewal of imperialist world war, the tasks of creating a new international were placed on the agenda. Trotsky, one of the creators of the CI who had authored its founding manifesto, turned to the generation of young workers, unscarred by the defeats and betrayals of the past. Hence, the founding manifesto of the FI ends with a clarion call to "Open the Road to the Woman Worker! Open the Road to the Youth!"

The seriousness with which Trotskyists undertook this necessary historical exhortation to find the road to the next generation of revolutionaries was displayed by the fact that—though the founding of the FI took place under the most difficult conditions requiring careful preparation and secrecy, at a time when the Trotskyists had meager resources and were being hounded throughout the world by the police and agents of all wings of the bourgeoisie from the fascists to the most "democratic" and, with special vehemence, by Stalin's secret police—nonetheless the Founding Conference was followed one week later by the "World Youth Conference of the Fourth International." Both Conferences were held in September 1938; the former was attended by 21 delegates representing 11 countries, while the Youth Conference was attended by 19 delegates from 7 countries (Poland, Austria, Belgium, Holland, England, the U.S. and France). There was a considerable overlap in delegations and, in addition, the International Bureau of the FI, elected at the party Conference, sent three delegates to the Youth Conference. Besides adopting the "Resolu-

tion on the Youth," the World Youth Conference endorsed the Transitional Program and voted to affiliate as the official youth section of the FI.

As Nathan Gould, the youth delegate from the U.S., reported in the weekly organ of the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party, Socialist Appeal (22 October 1938):

"The resolution on relations between the youth and adult Internationals accepted the classical Leninist concept of these relations. The Youth International, which accepts the proletarian revolutionary international leadership of its adult body is to be politically subordinate to and organizationally autonomous of the Fourth International."

Gould then stated that all decisions and resolutions of the Youth Conference, including the "Resolution on the Youth" flow "from and are subordinated to the demands of the theses on The Death Agony of Capitalism." Indeed, the capitalist death agony developed with such rapidity and acuteness that the "youth question" was soon superseded by the "military question." The principal concerns of working-class youth in civilian life under capitalism—the lack of jobs, education and social equality, problems with which the "Resolution on the Youth" were mainly concerned—were soon to be transcended as imperialist war gave these youth the "jobs," "education" and "social equality" of the barracks. Within the context of universal militarism, the Trotskyists conducted themselves with exemplary valor, e.g., building revolutionary cells within the German Army. But the objective conditions forced the FI to temporarily abandon the tasks set out in the "Resolution on the Youth" and the struggle for a Trotskyist youth international.

Rise of Pabloism

After WW II, the Trotskyist movement, decimated by fascism and Stalinism, tried to regroup and reorient itself. However, the destruction of a whole generation of Trotskyist cadre, including Trotsky himself, left the FI theoretically unarmed and isolated from the working class. The untested and inexperienced cadre that rose to the leadership of the FI, personified by Michel Pablo, were overtaken by the post-war pre-revolutionary upheavals whose course their weak forces could not significantly influence. These cadre were further disoriented by the apparent stabilization of capitalism on the one hand, and the growth of Stalinism and social democracy on the other (see "Genesis of Pabloism," Spartacist No. 21). Pabloism meant the abandonment of the struggle to build independent Trotskyist parties and the liquidation of Trotskyist cadre into the existing Stalinist and social-democratic formations which were seen as playing an eventual revolutionary role under the impact of the "objective process." The corollary for Trotskyist youth was the command that they should bury themselves in the Stalinist and social-democratic youth groups and wait for the "objective process" to unfold.

Thus the "Resolution on the Youth" and the prospects for a Trotskyist youth international were abandoned when the FI succumbed to Pabloism. Although many of the specific demands and slogans of the "Resolution on the Youth" are clearly dated, the resolution possesses more than just historical interest. The document, especially section 14 entitled "The Revolutionary Program," is a valuable reaffirmation of the programmatic criteria governing youth work as Lenin, Trotsky and

the early CI and FI conceived it. Such a reaffirmation is particularly important today when so many political tendencies claiming to be Trotskyist display the most elementary confusion on this question. The early CI and Young Communist International, and the Founding Conference of the FI and corresponding Youth Conference were explicit and insistent that the Leninist-Trotskyist youth group must be a section of the vanguard party which embodies the continuity, tested political leadership and developed programmatic clarity of the revolutionary movement. The program of the youth section must be developed within the framework of the party's program, as the

Karl Liebknecht, revolutionary youth leader of the Second International, fought the latter's opportunism. A founder of the Spartacus-bund, he was assassinated by forces under Social-Democratic leadership in 1919.

industrial countries. The SWP has surpassed Pabloism in adopting a non-proletarian ideology. It has lifted the "cultural autonomy" slogan from the Austro-Marxists and applied it to the present by having each oppressed "sector" of the population independently "self-determine" itself, into that pure realm of freedom which is, of course, obtainable only on the gilded comfort of the college campus. Each "sector" of society (students, blacks, Chicanos, women and yes, even the working class) is provided by the revisionists with its very own "transitional" program.

Departing from Trotskyism and proletarian revolution on another road, a road akin to "third-period" Stalinism,



"Youth Resolution" states: "It is within the framework of the transitional programme of the Fourth International that the present programme should be developed and applied." "Youth" is not a class, there is no "youth program" as such. The program which addresses itself to the objective needs and special oppression of youth is part and parcel of the program for proletarian power. "The struggle for these demands cannot be separated from the struggle for the demands of workers as a whole, both employed and unemployed" ["Youth Resolution"].

Youth Vanguardism From the SWP to the WL

The various pretenders to the banner of Trotskyism all reject Trotsky's class approach to the youth question—namely, that the question of special oppression and needs of youth must be subordinated to and integrated into the revolutionary program for the working class, the Transitional Program. Modern Pabloism, embodied in organizations like the SWP, the International Marxist Group in England, the Ligue Communiste in France, and personified by "theoreticians" like Ernest Mandel and "activists" like Tariq Ali, after years of self-internment in reformist organizations, have recoiled from entrism and have tried, in their various ways, to jump on the bandwagon of the "international youth radicalization." Starting from the proposition that we live not in the era of capitalist decay but in the era of "neo-capitalism," i.e., capitalist crises stabilized by state intervention into the economy (e.g., debt expansion), they come to the conclusion that therefore the "epicenter" of world revolution has shifted from the industrial to the colonial countries, or from the industrial working class to more peripheral "sectors" of the work force such as white-collar workers and white-collar "apprentices" (i.e., students). They see the industrial working class as hopelessly bureaucratized and bourgeoisified, only approachable from the "peripheries" of guerrilla warfare in the colonial countries and youth and petty-bourgeois vanguardism in the in-

is the Socialist Labour League, its gang in the U.S., the Workers League, and their corresponding youth groups, both called "Young Socialist." Starting from a radical perspective—that capitalist productive forces can no longer grow and, therefore, capitalism can no longer grant long-lasting reforms—they draw a reformist conclusion, i.e., that the struggle for such reforms is inherently revolutionary. In fact, this is simply inverted social democracy—that socialism can be won through piecemeal reform struggles. The Transitional Program, on the other hand, raises demands that flow from the real objective needs of the proletariat, but also prepare and mobilize the workers for the revolutionary struggle for proletarian power.

The WL's treatment of the youth question is completely opportunist: Ignoring the heterogeneous social composition of youth, the WL calls upon youth (all youth) to pressure union bureaucrats to build a labor party, and presents transitional demands for youth, as an undifferentiated mass, to carry out. The WL's line embodies classless youth vanguardism. The irony of the WL's constant exhortations to the "youth" to build a labor party, create general strikes, etc., is that in the WL's propaganda to the working class (e.g., in their auto program for 1973, Bulletin, 12 February, p. 18) it often "forgets" to mention the labor party as well as other key transitional demands like nationalization of industry under workers control. Its youth group, furthermore, has no internal political life but is a front group manipulated by the WL.

The Revolutionary Communist Youth, as the youth section of the Spartacist League, continues the traditions of the early CI and FI, the traditions of Lenin and Trotsky, that the youth section must be programmatically linked and united to the vanguard party ("politically subordinate and organizationally autonomous"), that the special demands which address themselves to the problems of the youth must flow from the Transitional Program and must link the struggles of youth to the struggle of the proletariat for power.

—RCYN Editorial Board

International: "Resolution on the Youth"

The Capitalist Impasse

1) Capitalism, whether it be authoritarian or liberal, admits the inability to bring the slightest relief to the misery and suffering of working-class youth. *The young want a trade*, and when (rarely enough!) it consents to give them one, it is only to chain them the better to a machine which tomorrow will stop and let them starve beside the very riches they have produced. *The young want to work*, to produce with their hands, to use their strength, and capitalism offers them the perspective of unemployment or of "the execution of work in conditions other than the normal conditions of production," according to the excellent hypocritical definition of labor-camps by the League of Nations, or of armament production, which engenders destruction rather than improvement. *The young want to learn*, and the way to culture is barred to them. *The young want to live*, and the only future offered them is that of dying of hunger or of rotting on the barbed wire of a new imperialist war. *The young want to create a new world*, and they are permitted only to maintain or to consolidate a rotting world that is falling to pieces. *The young want to know what tomorrow will be*, and capitalism's only reply to them is: "Today you've got to tighten your belt another notch; tomorrow, we'll see.... In any case, perhaps you're not going to have any tomorrow."

Give Youth a Future— Give the World a Future

2) That is why youth will rally under the flag of those who bring it a future. Only the Fourth International, because it represents the historical interests of the only class which can reorganize the world upon new bases, only the Bolshevik-Leninists can promise youth a future in which it can put its abilities to full use. Only they can say to the youth: "Together with you, we want to make a new world, where everyone works and is proud to work well, to know his job down to the smallest details; a world where everyone will eat according to his hunger, for production will be regulated according to the needs of the workers and not those of profit; a world where one must constantly learn, in order the better to subordinate the forces of nature to the will of man; a world where, by ceaselessly extending the domain of the application of science, humanity's theoretic knowledge will be daily increased; a new world; a new man who can make real all the hopes and powers he bears within him." It is under the ensign of a new world and a new humanity that the Fourth International and its youth organizations must go on to win the working-class youth; it is under that ensign that they will win that youth.

The Struggle for a Future— The Struggle for Bread

3) The promise of a better future would be only demagogy if the Bolshevik-Leninists were not fighting for an immediate improvement in the situation of working-class youth, if they were not formulating youth's immediate demands, if they were not spreading word of the necessity for working-class youth to fight by class-struggle methods for the satisfaction of these demands, and if, through this struggle and on the basis of the experience gained therein, they were not demonstrating to exploited youth that its demands could be finally satisfied only by establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, that the struggle for these demands must be transformed into a struggle for power

by means of a struggle for the control and management of the economic system.

We Demand the Right to Work!

4) For the young workers engaged in production the Bolshevik-Leninists put forward slogans with the aim of a) measuring the work done by the young not according to the desire to drag as much profit as possible out of it, but on the contrary according to their degree of physical development; b) assuring them of a standard of living equal to that of adults, by that very fact assuring them of economic independence; c) raising their technical qualifications as far as possible; d) against the equal opportunity for young and old to be exploited by capitalism, setting up their equal rights.

For the young under 20, they also formulate the following demands:

Reduced working week, with schedules allowing young workers to engage in sports in the open air;

At least one month's paid vacation per year;

The organizing, by factories or groups of factories, of training courses, at the bosses' expense and under workers' control;

Hours of craft training taken out of the working week, and paid for at regular rates;

Application of the principle "for equal work, equal pay," under workers' control;

The fixing of a minimum living wage for young workers; fixing of the wages of young workers under the control of all the workers taken as a whole;

Prohibition of night-work, of over-laborious, unhealthy, or unwholesome tasks; workers' control over the use of young labor.

Equality for Youth in Social Legislation—All Together For the Struggle!

5) In order to take the defense of their demands into their own hands, the young workers should have the right to choose their own delegates, whose task is above all to draw the attention of the adult delegates and of the workers in general to youth's specific demands, to tie up the struggle for these particular demands with the struggle for the general demands of the working class. In the same way, in all branches of trade-union organizations, these must be created, and imposed upon the trade-union bureaucracy, union youth commissions, whose task shall be to study the demands of the youth, and to recruit and educate young workers. The task of the Bolshevik-Leninists is to take the lead in the organization of such commissions.

In order to throw trade-union doors wide open to exploited youth, the Bolshevik-Leninists demand the establishment of *reduced dues* for young workers.

We Want a Trade!

6) In the fight against unemployment the slogans, *raise the school age, organize apprenticeship*, make sense only to the extent that the weight of this must be borne, not by the working-class, but by the big capitalists. Hence the Bolshevik-Leninists owe it to themselves to formulate the demands of working-class youth in this field as follows:

Prolongation of the school age to 16, with a grant for family support in working-class and small farmer families.

Reorganization of the school in cooperation with the factory: the school should prepare children for life and work; it should weld the youth to the older generations; hence the demand for

control by workers' organizations over technical education.

Reduction of the period of apprenticeship to a maximum of two years.

Forbidding of all work not connected with the actual apprenticeship.

The setting up, at the expense of the bosses, in connection with every business or group of businesses engaged in manufacturing, mining, or trade, of *apprentice schools*, with an attendance of at least 3% of the personnel employed in the business or group of businesses.

Choosing of the instructors by the labor unions.

Control of these schools by a mixed commission of workers' delegates and delegates of the apprentices themselves.

We Demand Our Right to Live!

7) The task of saving the unemployed youth from misery, despair, and fascist demagogy, of working them back into production and thereby binding them closely to the working class is a vital task for the future of the proletariat. Revolutionaries must struggle to force capitalism (a) to undertake to work the unemployed youth back into production through the organization of technical education and guidance; (b) to put the unemployed youth back immediately into productive activity; (c) to organize such work not according to semi-military methods but on the basis of regular wages: *Down with labor-camps, either voluntary or obligatory!*; (d) to furnish youth, which it is throwing into misery, the wherewithal to live. Hence the Bolshevik-Leninists put forward the following demands:

Unemployment benefits on the adult scale for all young unemployed, manual or intellectual, immediately upon their finishing school;

Forcing the big bosses to open technical re-education centers under workers' control;

Technical re-education organized according to the needs of production, under the general control of the trade unions and the congresses of workers' delegates;

Reopening of the shut-down factories;

Commencement of large-scale public works (hospitals, schools, low-cost housing projects, sports fields, stadia, swimming-pools, electric power-stations), paid at trade-union scales and under workers' control from top to bottom.

For Our Brothers On the Farms!

8) The misery of the farm youth is no less than that of the industrial youth. For farm youth the Bolshevik-Leninists formulate the following general demands:

Strict application of all the above-named laws and social measures in the country just as in the city;

Suppression of the domestic exploitation of young children;

Particularly strict application of the principle: "For equal work, equal pay."

District organization of technical education at the expense of the big finance-capital farm-owners;

Healthy food and lodging for young farm workers living in their bosses' houses;

Cheap credit for small-scale farmers, and especially for small-scale farmers with family responsibilities.

For Our Countryside

9) The industrial and farm youth are the most exploited part of all working-class youth. The youth organizations of the Fourth International must draw particular attention to the following demands: *Strict application of principle: "For equal work, equal pay!";*

An extra day off per month;

The right to voluntary maternity;
A 6-months' leave-of-absence for maternity;

Maternity grants for girl-mothers.

Open the Schools and Universities

10) One of the necessary conditions for the progress of humanity is that large sections of working-class youth should have access to culture and science. The Bolshevik-Leninists put forward the following slogans:

Open the schools and universities to all the young who are willing to study.

Free education and support for workers' and farmers' sons and daughters.

Bread, Books, and Civil Rights for Coolies!

11) In colonial and semi-colonial countries, laboring youth is the victim of a double exploitation—capitalist and patriarchal. In these and in imperialist countries the defense of the demands of the young colonial workers and peasants is the first duty in the fight against imperialism. This fight is carried on around the general slogan: *The same rights for colonial youth as for the youth of the imperialist capital-city.*

Organization of hygiene and similar care in all villages.

Organization of homes for young workers, peasants, and coolies, under the control of labor and nationalist organizations.

Schools for native children; teaching in the native language.

Open the government administration to native language.

Open the government administration to native intellectuals.

Take the necessary financial credits from the war and police budgets and imperialist privileges.

12) The bourgeoisie recognizes working youth's right to be exploited; but refuses it the right to have anything to say about that exploitation, and deprives it of all political rights; in certain countries it even forbids youth under 18 to have any political activity whatever. The working class replies to these measures by saying: *Whoever has the right to be exploited has also the right to struggle against the system which exploits him. Full political rights to young workers and peasants!*

The right to vote beginning at 18, just as much in legislative and municipal elections as in the election of delegates.

Abolition of special laws forbidding youth to engage in political activity.

We Demand Our Right to Happiness!

13) Working-class youth's need for relaxation is utilized by the bourgeoisie either to stupefy it or to make it submit to an even tighter discipline. The duty of the working class is to help create a youth that is strong and capable of throwing all its physical and mental strength into the fight against capitalism; to aid it in using what leisure capitalism gives it to learn to understand the world better, in order to be better able to change it. Hence the Bolshevik-Leninists demand:

Free access to all sports fields, stadia, museums, libraries, theatres, and cinemas, for all young workers and unemployed;

The ordering of their leisure by the young unemployed themselves;

The using of young unemployed intellectuals for the organization of lectures and discussions, etc. on physics, chemistry, mechanics, mathematics, political economy, history of the labor movement, art, literature, etc.;

The establishment of homes open to the working and unemployed youth, where the young will not only have the

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“Resolution on the Youth”

opportunity to be amused and instructed, but can also study out for themselves the social problems with which they are faced; these homes to be managed by working-class youth itself under the supervision of the local trade-union organizations.

The Revolutionary Program

14) *The struggle for these demands cannot be separated from the struggle for the demands of workers as a whole, both employed and unemployed. The final disappearance of unemployment among the youth is closely linked to the disappearance of general unemployment. The struggle for raising the school age and for compulsory technical re-education is closely linked with the struggle for the sliding-scale in wages and in working hours. The struggle to drag out of capitalism those reforms which aim at developing the class-consciousness of working youth is closely linked with the struggle for workers' control of industry and factory committees. The struggle for public works is closely linked with the fight for the expropriation of monopolies, for the nationalization of credit, banks, and key industries. The struggle to smash back all efforts to militarize is closely linked to the struggle against the development of authoritarian state tendencies and against fascism, the struggle for the organization of workers' militias. It is within the framework of the transitional programme of the Fourth International that the present programme should be developed and applied. It is under the ensign of the proletariat fighting for power that the Fourth International will win the demands of exploited youth.*

THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE YOUTH OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Lausanne, 11 September 1938

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What Defense...?

In a period of sharp class struggle, the ILD utilized all legal rights, seeking support from professional petty-bourgeois forces, while always emphasizing the importance of mass working-class action. It welcomed support from all quarters, but refused to politically compromise itself in order to gain support from non-proletarian elements. James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the ILD until his expulsion from the CP in 1928 for Trotskyism, summarized this policy in writing on the Sacco and Vanzetti case:

"Our policy is the policy of the class struggle. It puts the center of gravity in the protest movement of the workers of America and the world. It puts all faith in the power of the masses and no faith whatever in the justice of the courts. While favoring all possible legal proceedings, it calls for agitation, publicity, demonstrations—organized protest on a national and international scale. It calls for unity and solidarity of all workers on this burning issue, regardless of conflicting views on other questions.... The other policy is the policy of 'respectability,'... of ridiculous illusions about 'justice' from the courts of the enemy. It relies mainly on legal proceedings. It seeks to blur the issue of the class struggle. It shrinks from the 'vulgar and noisy' demonstrations of the militant workers and throws the mud of slander on them. It tries to represent the martyrdom of Sacco and Vanzetti as an 'unfortunate' error which can be rectified by the 'right' people proceeding in the 'right' way. The objective of this policy is a whitewash of the courts of Massachusetts and 'clemency' for Sacco and Vanzetti, in the form of a commutation to life imprisonment for a crime of which the world knows they are innocent."

—"Who Can Save Sacco and Vanzetti?"
Labor Defender, January 1927

This was the consistent policy of the CI throughout its early years. The ILD never blurred the nature of the capitalist state or bourgeois justice; its policy was "class against class," com-

batting the repressive apparatus of the bourgeois state through the independent mobilization of the proletariat.

The Policy of Social Fascism

In conjunction with the consolidation of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, the world-historic defeat of the Chinese proletariat in 1927 and the internal Soviet need for rapid agricultural collectivization, the CI's political line switched in 1928 to the policy of the "third period." The Stalinist CI claimed the social-democratic parties were more of a threat to the proletariat than ascending fascism, labeling them "social fascists" and rejecting joint defense against the fascist threat. This policy, which amounted to a refusal to challenge the social-democratic arch-betrayers' hegemony over the German working class, allowed Hitler to rise to power without a shot being fired. "Social fascism" became the guiding theory of the ILD, which rejected the defense of democratic rights and united fronts because this would "create illusions." Breaking with the tradition of its earlier years, the

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ILD often ignored legal work, romanticizing the use of non-professional workers' self-defense in the courts. This foolish ultra-leftism allowed many courageous workers, unversed in court procedure and legal jargon, to be sent to jail, compliments of "Communist" advice.

During the Scottsboro defense, the ILD refused the support of the NAACP, another "social-fascist" outfit. Instead, the ILD posed the "united front from below"—unity of the CP, CP front groups and local unions somehow untainted by their "social-fascist" leaderships [see, for example, *Scottsboro Boys National Bureau Letter*, No. 1, 1932, p. 4].

The "Social-Fascists" Become the Great Defenders of Democracy

Recoiling empirically from a policy which had resulted in the destruction of the German labor movement, the CI dumped "social fascism" but, in typical Stalinist fashion, embraced a symmetrically disastrous line having nothing in common with the Leninist policy of the united front. At the 7th World Congress, Georgi Dimitrov formulated the policy of the *popular front*—a *strategic alliance* with the social democrats and the liberal wing of the bourgeoisie to defend bourgeois democracy against the fascist onslaught.

Marxists recognize that bourgeois democracy is simply one form of the dictatorship of capital, which is, however, forced to preserve some limited democratic rights which are vital to the self-organization of the proletariat. The working class thus has an interest in the defense of bourgeois-democratic rights against fascism and bonapartism, but not at the expense of tying itself politically to the bourgeoisie and subordinating its own organizations to bourgeois leadership. Thus, Marxists may call for *limited blocs* with the representatives of bourgeois democracy (e.g., the suppression of the Kornilov assault on the bourgeois Kerensky regime) but at all times seek the independent mobilization of the working class through its own organizations and under its own slogans. These tactical

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Stalinists, Nationalists ...

RCY put forward the following proposal: (1) That united-front demonstrations be built around the demands: "No Tuition at CUNY and SUNY," "No Cutbacks in Social Services" and "Open Admissions with Stipend"; (2) that all political tendencies which support these demands be allowed to participate and to raise additional demands, carry their own banners and distribute and sell their own literature; (3) that the meeting condemn the use of the cops against working-class and left tendencies as happened at the 15 March "No Tuition" demonstration. In the discussion period, the RCY met with frequent red-baiting attacks by the nationalists, egged on by the Maoists.

Maoists Propose to Police Communists Themselves

An uproar arose over the third part of the motion and a supporter of the Attica Brigade offered the following amendment: "We don't think the cops should do it; the next time this stuff happens, we should move on them ourselves." The RCY asked for clarification about what "this stuff" was, demanding to know if the "stuff" was the carrying of communist and working-class slogans on the line. This turned out to be exactly the Maoists' objection, and a sharp debate developed over the specific issue of what banners could be carried on the line. The Attica Brigade

and the TWC argued that only the TWC demands should be permitted: "No Tuition at City University"; "End Attacks on Open Admissions"; "Expand Open Admissions, No Cutbacks, No Tuition."

The RCY indicated its critical support for a united front around these demands, pointing out that the demands did not go far enough. In particular, we emphasized that a united front should include the demand for open admissions with a stipend for all—a demand which most benefits minorities, poor and working-class students and which cuts across the class bias of the capitalist educational system. The RCY indicated it would participate in a demonstration around the TWC demands, provided it could carry its other demands and slogans: "Open Admissions with Stipend," "Nationalization of the Universities

under Worker-Teacher-Student Control," "Only the Working Class Can Defeat Capitalist Attacks," "Fight for Socialism."

The RCY led the struggle for a principled Leninist united front and in opposition to the use of the cops against the left. The vote on the question of slogans on the picket line was split and a motion was made to divide the house. A spokeswoman from the TWC then declared that the TWC had called the upcoming demonstration and would "move" on any group carrying its own slogans no matter how the vote turned out. At this point, the chairman resigned and the RCY, along with the YSA and the YS, walked out.

The actions of the Maoists and nationalists violate the Marxist-Leninist principles of workers democracy and the Leninist conception of the united front—which provides for unity in action and freedom of political criticism—as formulated by the first four Congresses of the Communist International. Behind the exclusionist policies is the class-collaborationist desire to limit the

demonstration to reformist demands acceptable to the liberal bourgeoisie. The Maoists and nationalists attempt to cover this over by claiming that they do not want to alienate "the people" by raising revolutionary demands before "the people" are ready for them. But who are "the people" that this policy will attract?—right-wing liberals and bourgeois politicians. The Maoists call the Trotskyists "leeches on the movement" for attempting to put forward communist politics; the Maoists, however, are very happy to have *bourgeois* "leeches on the struggle" and they formulate their politics so as to encourage this.

By carrying out this methodology in the working class, the Stalinists abandon the struggle to win workers away from reformist leadership and in fact bolster and strengthen this leadership by limiting struggle to reformist demands and excluding working-class and communist slogans. This treacherous class-collaborationist methodology of the left-center coalition has resulted historically in the betrayal and murder of millions of workers, when the bourgeois "allies" of struggles for reform turn on the working class in its growing militancy and attempt to smash it.

The actions of the Attica Brigade, the TWC and the UCC block the struggle to build a strong fight against budget cuts. The real power for the struggle against capitalist attacks lies with the working class, not with liberal students and "progressive" bourgeois elements. The RCY will continue to fight for its right to support the struggle against budget cuts and its right to raise the communist program and strategy that can defeat the capitalist class. ■

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blocs are not a defense of the bourgeois order, but are steps on the road of replacing bourgeois democracy by the proletarian dictatorship.

Paving the way for Communist participation in capitalist governments (as in France and Spain), the Dimitrov popular-front policy, based on the needs of the Soviet bureaucracy, has been a central point of Stalinist theory and practice (Soviet and Chinese alike) for the last 35 years.

The Trotskyist movement upheld the united-front policy of the Third and Fourth CI Congresses—"class against class." The Fourth International understood that the task of communists was to promote class unity against fascism, as part of the struggle for socialist revolution. While the Stalinists sought "national unity," the Trotskyists called for workers militias formed through a united front of all proletarian organizations, and raised demands such as nationalization of industry under workers control. In this way they attempted to prepare the working class for a successful fight against fascism, while raising demands that pointed to the need for the working class to organize production in its own interest.

Except for the brief period of the Hitler-Stalin Pact, the CPUSA loyally supported the "anti-fascist" democracy of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. During WW II, the CP became the staunchest adherent of "national unity" in the labor movement. Placing itself in the right wing of the trade-union movement, it denounced all strikes as "fascist-inspired" and proposed speed-up to strengthen the "national war drive." As a result of the CP's patriotic frenzy, defense work became virtually non-existent; the CP ignored the round-up of Japanese-Americans into detention camps and the continued repression of blacks.

In the most important frame-up of the war years, the Smith Act prosecution of the leadership of the Socialist Workers Party, the CP rejected the principle of labor solidarity and heartily endorsed the government's prosecution [see *Daily Worker*, 16 August 1941]. (The CP's treachery in abetting the government in setting a precedent by the imprisonment of the 18 SWP leaders for "conspiracy to violently overthrow the government" paved the way for the virtual destruction of the CP in the McCarthy witchhunt. The bitter truth that "an injury to one is an injury to all" became clear after the war, when CP members were constantly prosecuted under similar indictments.) Abandoning the elementary duties of class solidarity, the International Red Aid was disbanded in the mid-forties and the CP junked the ILLD.

The CP's "lesser-evil" strategy has been maintained to this day, with Nixon substituted for Hitler as "the main enemy." The task of programmatically "uniting all progressive forces" remains the common thread of all variants of Stalinism. The Stalinists use defense efforts to cement the "anti-monopoly" popular front, watering down the thrust and program of campaigns to snare a few liberals. The CP worked tirelessly to promote a respectable image for Angela Davis—cooling down the emphasis on the anti-communist character of her trial, refusing to tie her defense with the less popular Ruchell Magee case, at one point limiting her defense to a call for bail, unwilling to take the defense into the trade-union movement—all in an attempt to pacify liberals. In a recent march in Buffalo protesting the murders at Attica, the CP-supported coalition went so far as to make the major operational thrust of the demonstration the demand for the state to construct a memorial statue to the slain Attica prisoners outside the prison alongside the already completed memorial for slain prison guards! The CP constantly muddles the nature of the state and the capitalist political parties, attacking the Republican Party without condemning the Democratic Party in the Davis case.

The "Anti-Revisionist" Left

The ostensible left groupings outside

the CP have failed to pursue a principled united-front policy. The Panthers "United Front Against Fascism" Conference in 1969 saw an amalgam of the CP, the Maoist Revolutionary Union, the Revolutionary Youth Movement II (later to dissolve into the RU and October League) and the Workers World Party, all enthusiastically tailing after the Panthers "community control" popular-front program (complete with appropriate quotes from Dimitrov). Their enthusiasm spilled over into the streets with forcible exclusion and beating of members of the Spartacist League, Progressive Labor, International Socialists and the Workers League.

PL for a number of years pursued a carbon-copy replica of "third-period" defense tactics, rejecting united fronts

Successful government repression of such groups represents a threat to all left and working-class organizations—defense is not a moral question, but a class question. It is necessary to have a Marxist comprehension of the words, "an injury to one is an injury to all." Groups like PL, the SWP, CP, WL and National Caucus of Labor Committees—which claimed to defend the Panthers but, at the height of the FBI-led anti-Weathermen hysteria, joined in the chorus of bourgeois "public opinion" condemning the Weathermen as "proto-fascists," "criminals" and "crazies"—thereby demonstrated that they are more concerned about their respectability in the eyes of radical petty-bourgeois "public opinion" than in the elementary obligation of working-class

the unity of the class is maintained without compromising political clarity. In recent cases in San Francisco and New Orleans (see RCYN, No. 15 and 16), where we have been denied our legal right to function on campus, our campaigns have had a dual character: We have fought for our democratic rights, while exposing the anti-communist character of the attacks on our rights. We formed united fronts for defense around the demand, "Rescind the Ban on RCY," and worked with all forces in agreement with the slogan, while maintaining our independent propaganda and revolutionary program.

The united front is an important component part of the tactic of revolutionary regroupment. The superiority of the revolutionary program is demon-



Fourteen SWP members convicted of "subversion" in 1940. CPUSA provided information to assist Justice Department in bringing conviction. Stalinists were "rewarded" later when Smith Act was in turn used against them.

with "revisionists," spurning the struggle for democratic rights and using political differences as an excuse to avoid unconditionally defending the Panthers and Weathermen against ruling-class repression. The WL stubbornly refused support from other left tendencies in the Juan Fariñas defense campaign, and the once-Trotskyist, now-reformist SWP limits all its defense activities to civil-libertarian politics.

The SL/RCY unconditionally defends the left and working-class movement from bourgeois repression and right-wing attack, in spite of our political differences with any particular victimized group or individual. We have refused to opportunistically restrict our defense work to those campaigns which garnish temporary popularity and liberal support in the bourgeois-press cocktail circuit, such as the Panther and Angela Davis defense campaigns; we have explicitly made clear our solidarity with those less popular groups like the Weathermen and Venceremos, which, no matter how misguided their actions, nonetheless are part of the left.

solidarity.

At the same time, we distinguish between the self-destructive substitutionism of the Weathermen, who chose as the targets for their bombs the symbols of the bourgeois order, and the indiscriminate terror of some elements in the Irish Republican Army, or the Japanese supporters of the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. When the former blows up working-class pubs in Belfast or the latter machine-guns a crowd in an Israeli airline hangar, it has crossed the class line. Such "exemplary" actions exemplify genocide, and while they may be motivated by the frustrated aspirations of the oppressed, Marxists cannot possibly solidarize with activities which have as their targets not the bourgeois order but simply people who happen to be at the wrong place at the wrong time. Such actions may be akin to racial or religious war, but not class war.

As part of our struggle for both the unity and the political clarity of the left and labor movement, we are unconditionally opposed to substitution of gangsterism for political struggle. Thus, we defended a Boston Student Mobilization Committee meeting on 24 May 1970 from an unprovoked attack by PL. And we defended PL from the SWP goons at the July 1971 National Peace Action Coalition Conference in New York when the SWP physically excluded PL (followed by the physical exclusion of the SL and Revolutionary Marxist Caucus) for vocal opposition to the presence of bourgeois politician Vance Hartke.

Only militant defense campaigns based on the Leninist conception of the united front can effectively defend left and working-class tendencies from bourgeois attack. The slogan of the united front is "March Separately, Strike Together," i.e., each participant in the united front, while agreeing on common actions, keeps its organizational and political independence. Thus

strated by the testing in action of competing political programs. The best militants who gave their allegiances to other programs and banners yesterday, rally to the banner and program of proletarian revolution in the course of the struggle. For the unity of the class, for communist hegemony—these were the goals of the united-front and defense work of Lenin and Trotsky and the early CI, and the defense work of the early SWP. It is to that heritage and to those goals that the RCY is committed. ■

RCY Local Directory

- ATLANTA: RCY, c/o Spartacist, P.O. Box 7686, Atlanta, Ga. 30309.
- BALTIMORE: RCY, Box 226, Silver Springs, Md. 20907.
- BERKELEY: RCY, Box 852, Main P.O., Berkeley, Ca. 94701, or call (415) 653-4668.
- BOSTON: RCY, P.O. Box 137, Somerville, Mass. 02144, or call (617) 876-6382.
- BUFFALO: RCY, Box 6, Norton Union, S.U.N.Y., Buffalo, N.Y. 14214.
- CHICAGO: RCY, c/o SL, Box 6471, Main P.O., Chicago, Ill. 60680, or call (312) 643-4394.
- CLEVELAND: Cleveland WV Committee, Box 2492, Cleveland, Ohio 44112.
- DETROIT: RCY, c/o SL, Box 663A, General P.O., Detroit, Mich. 48232, or call (313) 862-4920.
- LOS ANGELES: RCY, Box 66403, Mar Vista Station, Los Angeles, Ca. 90066, or call (213) 467-6855.
- MILWAUKEE: RCY, c/o SL, Box 5144, Harbor Sta., Milwaukee, Wisc. 53204.
- NEW ORLEANS: RCY, c/o SL, Box 51634, Main P.O., New Orleans, La., 70151.
- NEW YORK: RCY, Box 454, Cooper Sta., New York, N.Y. 10003, or call (212) 925-2426.
- SAN DIEGO: RCY, P.O. Box 22052, University City Sta., San Diego, Ca. 92122.
- SAN FRANCISCO: RCY, P.O. Box 40574, San Francisco, Ca. 94140, or call (415) 863-1459.
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YSA RESIGNATION

Comrades:

On Sunday 3 February, I was excluded from a business meeting of the YSA, although I was a YSA member for three years. The exclusion was done in a most undemocratic and bureaucratic fashion. At this meeting I had intended to read my letter of resignation, and because of this, I was excluded. Here are the facts of the exclusion and the events which directly preceded it:

On Thursday, 1 February, the YSA organizer asked me if I wished to resign from the YSA and I said "yes." She asked what procedure I was going to take and I stated that I wished to read my letter of resignation to the local. She told me that I could not attend the meeting since I was a sympathizer of the RCY and that my exclusion was based on the YSA Constitution. However, the YSA Constitution states that *formal charges* must be brought against a member in order for that comrade to be dropped or excluded. When I stated the above, she recanted and said that she would ask the local Executive Committee if time would be allotted for my statement, since I insisted on my *right* to attend.

On Sunday night I went to the meeting. At the door to the hall, I was told that the Exec. in its report recommended my resignation be accepted and that no time be allotted for me to read my statement. The local, so I was told, voted to support the Exec. recommendations, and so I was excluded from the meeting as a political opponent. I was told that if I wished to discuss the matter, I could come back later in the week. In a truly democratic-centralist organization, a comrade who wished to resign would have the right to read a statement of resignation to the local, whether he was resigning for personal or political reasons!

The action of the Exec. last Sunday proves that the bureaucratic and reformist SWP/YSA will go to great lengths to avoid being exposed. I am therefore making available to the membership of the YSA my suppressed resignation statement.

[The resignation is printed below.]

Dear Comrades,

I, Scott A., have been a member of the YSA for almost three years. I served as the Skokie YSA organizer and was a member of the local's Executive Committee throughout its existence. On the basis of the reasons that I am about to outline, I hereby submit my resignation to the Executive Committee and rank and file.

As a result of summarizing my experience in the YSA and intensely re-evaluating the SWP/YSA political line, I have found that these organizations have given up their claims to being the revolutionary vanguard in this country. Their formal statements about being the Marxist-Leninist (i.e., Trotskyist) leadership in the U.S. are negated in their practice. I will cite some examples.

The SWP/YSA have claimed to be the most conscientious builders of the anti-war movement (NPAC). But in order to become the major builder, they have decided in theory and practice to build a popular front. The SWP/YSA has constantly raised only the reformist demands "Out Now" and "Bring the Troops Home Now" since 1965. They have built up a "non-exclusionist" anti-war organization. But what exactly does "non-exclusionist" mean? The SWP/YSA front groups NPAC and SMC were built as mass anti-war organizations which, however, transcend all classes. This gives them the opportunity to win over liberal members of the bourgeoisie like Vance Hartke and labor bureaucrats like Victor Reuther. How can so-called Trotskyists build a movement which transcends all classes and rubs shoulders with enemies of the working class? This is out-and-out popular frontism!

A real Trotskyist organization would call for clear military support to the

DRV-NLF and lend no political support to NPAC or any other reformist popular front. It would call for class action rather than classless pacifist movements. Revolutionary Marxists realize that the majority of Americans are opposed to U.S. imperialist aggression in Indochina, but realize also that only conscious political action of the working class rather than popular frontism can put an end to imperialist endeavors.

The *ultimate* consequences of such a popular front is seen in the NLF program. The recently signed "peace" treaty in Vietnam, which calls for a coalition government, at best opens the door to renewed civil war, and at worst will leave the NLF open to physical annihilation as the Thieu regime regroups its forces. The SWP/YSA similarly betrays Trotskyism and the working class by adopting the popular front.

My opposition to the SWP/YSA is based on other issues as well. The SWP/YSA's uncritical support for the feminist and black nationalist movements shows that these so-called Trotskyists base their program on bourgeois ideologies rather than a truly working-class program as embodied in Trotsky's *Transitional Program*. The SWP/YSA implies that women, organizing as women, can break down their own oppression ("sisterhood is powerful"), and that blacks, regardless of class, but as a nation, can fight their oppression. The SWP calls for the building of a black political party rather than a workers party based on the trade unions and with a clear anti-capitalist program, and making a clear class break with the Democrats and Republicans. In the women's movement, the SWP has not called for a women's party, but plays up to liberal Democrats such as Bella Abzug.

Revolutionary Marxists raise the position that only a class-conscious working class, led by its vanguard, is the key to the liberation of the oppressed and the elimination of racism and sexual oppression—through a socialist revolution.

These present reformist policies are a direct result of the Pabliste degeneration of the SWP/YSA. This degeneration made itself more than obvious when the SWP/YSA majorities gave uncritical support to the Cuban and Algerian guerrilla wars and the subsequent Cuban bureaucracy. The SWP/YSA also has in theory as well as in practice abandoned the working class as the class of revolutionary change. This is evident in their support for petty-bourgeois-led guerrilla movements and the call for student vanguardism, as typified by the Red University theory.

On the basis of these reasons, I hereby resign and encourage other comrades to do the same. I encourage comrades to look to the Spartacist League and Revolutionary Communist Youth, for, since 1963, the SL has been the most consistent, principled opposition to the SWP/YSA and other reformist and revisionist tendencies in the working-class movement. I declare my political solidarity with the SL/RCY and encourage comrades who wish to remain sincere revolutionaries to do the same.

For a Workers Revolution!

Scott A. 3 February 1973

Documents of the Buffalo Marxist Collective

Includes: **50¢**
BMC Programmatic Document
A Brief Political History of the BMC
Why We Didn't Join the WL/YS
Write:
RCY, Box 454,
Cooper Sta., New York, N.Y. 10003

RCY Events

•Ann Arbor Forum

FROM MAOISM TO TROTSKYISM

Speaker: Joseph Drummond, RCY National Committee member, formerly of the Buffalo Marxist Collective Executive Committee. University of Michigan, 3529 Student Activities Building. Wednesday, 16 May, 7:30 PM.

•Bay Area Forum

COMMUNIST WORK IN THE TRADE UNIONS

To be held in May. For more information: (415) 653-4668.

•Buffalo Class

FOR THE REBIRTH OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

State University of New York, North Union. Room 234. Thursday, 10 May, 7:30 PM.

•Chicago Class Series

TOWARD THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Thursday, 26 April--Student Radicalism and the New Left
Thursday, 10 May--The Emancipation of Women
Thursday, 24 May--Trade Unions and the Class Struggle
Thursday, 31 May--The Struggle for a Workers Party

University of Illinois Circle Center. Room to be posted. All classes will be held both at 12 noon and at 7:30 PM on each date indicated.

Forums

MYTHS OF MAOIST CHINA

University of Illinois Circle Center. Room to be posted. Thursday, 3 May, 7:30 PM.

ORIGINS OF MARXISM

Speaker: Joseph Seymour, Spartacist League Central Committee. University of Chicago, Reynolds Club, South Lounge, 5706 S. University. Wednesday, 16 May, 7:30 PM.

•Detroit

Class Series

PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM AND THE TASKS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

Begins Wednesday, 25 April, and meets every other Wednesday throughout May, June and July, at 7:30 PM. For information on location, call (313) 862-4920.

Forum

FROM MAOISM TO TROTSKYISM

Speaker: Joseph Drummond. Wayne State University. Room to be posted. Thursday, 17 May, 1 PM. For more information: (313) 862-4920.

•Los Angeles

Class Series

WOMEN'S LIBERATION AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE

University of California at Los Angeles, Ackerman Union. Room 3564. Every Wednesday throughout May, at 7:00 PM.

Forum

FROM MAOISM TO TROTSKYISM

Speaker: John Fisher, RCY, formerly of the Buffalo Marxist Collective. University of California at Los Angeles, Ackerman Union. Room 3564. Tuesday, 8 May, 8:00 PM. For more information: (213) 467-6855.

•New Haven Forum

BUILDING A REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH MOVEMENT
--Lessons of the Past and Perspectives for the Future

Speaker: Libby Schaefer, RCY National Secretary, Spartacist League Central Committee. Yale University, 115 William L. Harkness Building. Tuesday, 1 May, 7:30 PM.

•New York Class Series

HISTORY OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

To begin in mid-May. For more information: (212) 925-2426.