

# Revolutionary Communist Youth NEWSLETTER

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## Lessons of the French Student Struggles—

# DOWN WITH THE BOURGEOIS ARMY!



March against the Debré law which took place before the national demonstration on 22 March. National action turned out 300,000 in Paris and other cities.

The French student demonstrations that began in mid-March against new draft and educational laws have been an important element in the social upheavals following the French elections. Student unity with striking Renault workers produced a massive demonstration of over 100,000 in Paris and 200,000 in other parts of France. These demonstrations were followed one week later by additional actions and culminated in the 50,000-strong May Day march in driving rain.

The Pompidou regime has gained a temporary reprieve in the recent elections, due in large part to the class-collaborationist policies of the popular-front Union of the Left composed of the French Communist Party (PCF), the Socialist Party and the bourgeois Left Radicals. But the instability of the Pompidou government's rule is shown by the recent mass worker-student actions in the streets of France.

In the U.S. as in France the task for revolutionaries today is to generalize and politicize the demands of the students and workers and to link the struggles to the program for the conquest of power by the proletariat. The French struggles can provide valuable lessons for American revolutionaries.

### Student Deferments and the Debré Law

The student actions were begun by the high school students in protest against the Debré law. Previously, student deferments had been available to anyone in, or planning to enroll in, a university. Unlike the U.S. nearly all males in France eventually do military service, but the French draft system

did possess a class bias. French university students (overwhelmingly of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois backgrounds) could get deferments until the age of 25-27. If by that age they had married and had children it was likely that they could obtain an exemption. For young workers unable to obtain student deferments, exemptions could not be obtained unless they became heads of families at the age of 17 or 18.

*Le Monde* of 21 March reports increasing inequity in those laws relating to exemptions and deferments, pointing out that such exemptions rose from 93,000 in 1969 to 133,000 in 1972. The paper also drew attention to the fact that while students are guaranteed that their studies will not be interrupted, young workers in apprenticeship programs have no such guarantee. Thus it is impossible for young workers to even plan their training free from military obligations.

The Debré law, which ends student deferments, was not meant to attack the class bias inherent in the system but rather to increase the already existing social stratification, and to militarize the youth. Thus one can still obtain a deferment in the elite professions of medicine, dentistry, pharmacy and other scientific fields.

Both the liberal bourgeois press *Le Monde* and the papers of the "far left" groups (i.e., those to the left of the PCF) have pointed out that the Debré law will increase the elite character of the student population. Additionally, it will provide draftees at a younger age, which the ruling class prefers both in terms of easier indoctrination in the armed forces and in order to return them to civil society after they have presumably assimilated bourgeois ideology.

### Must Go Beyond Simple Repeal

To call simply for the repeal of the Debré law as the PCF and Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) did throughout much of the student protests is to ignore the elements of class bias inherent in the old system. The additional slogan to "Re-establish and extend the deferments to all youth" was put forth by the high-school Committees of Struggle Against the Debré Law. Even this slogan, which attempts to cut across the bias, does not draw the class line to attack the bourgeoisie's draft and army as such. The slogan standing by itself assumes the continued existence of the bourgeois army. But behind the slogan stands the desire to attack social stratification, militarization of the youth and class privilege. Thus revolutionaries must give the slogan of the high school committees critical support.

The central task for revolutionaries is to turn the struggle for the elimination of deferments into an anti-capitalist struggle. The crucial demands are: "Abolish the draft!"; "Down with the bourgeois army!"; "For workers self-defense groups based on the trade unions!" and "Toward the independent organization of workers militias!"

While almost all education in France is state education with nominal tuition, stipends are rare. It is not enough to call for draft deferments to all youth without also attacking the class bias inherent in the educational system. In order to provide the right to college education for those normally unable to obtain it because of the necessity to

# Condemn CP-Cop Alliance and Labor Committee Hooliganism

Two tendencies developed out of the disintegrating New Left: right-wing Maoism, exemplified by the Revolutionary Union, the October League and the Attica Brigade; and the "pure rage" of the frenzied petty bourgeoisie, best exemplified by the National Caucus of Labor Committees. Both tendencies preserve the worst characteristics of the old New Left: anti-communism in their day-to-day work, gangsterism against their opponents on the left, veneration of the lumpenproletariat.

As faithful apologists for Chinese Menshevik *Realpolitik*, the anti-communism of the American Maoists takes the form of the "anti-social-imperialist united front." The front, which extends from Albania to the White House, has managed to include both the capitalists and their labor lieutenants in the workers movement, while conspicuously excluding Leninists. The anti-communism of the NCLC is mediated by their habitual national parochialism and has recently been aimed primarily at the CPUSA.

Both the Maoists and the NCLC currently share with each other an insatiable need to shore up their unstable ranks with large amounts of gangsterism directed against their left opponents with which they are politically unable to deal. Insofar as they

embody a political viewpoint and are not the simple apostles of Mao or Marcus thought, they converge in an orgy of petty-bourgeois class and racial guilt. It was such liberal populism which carried many Maoists into the McGovern camp. Equally, the NCLC wound up in the National Welfare Rights Organization, front group of the "Great Society." Both the Maoists and the NCLC soon discovered that a goodly percentage of the "honest pro-McGovern and welfare rights activists" were in fact CP members and contacts. This discovery led the NCLC to a "turf war" in which the NCLC was to "mop up" the U.S. Stalinists. Thus the NCLC became an unwelcome but vanguard member of the "anti-social-imperialist united front," as the worst elements of the New Left find their way back to Cold War anti-communism.

Having announced that they had been successful in "destroying the CP" [!], NCLC has recently announced its intentions to establish a "para-military revolutionary youth movement" based on the "pure rage" of ghetto youth (see *Workers Vanguard* No. 19, 27 April and No. 22, 8 June).

In Buffalo the NCLC attempted to disrupt a Young Workers Liberation League book fair at the State University (SUNY) campus on 18 April.

The next evening, some 20 NCLC members attacked CP supporters at a "Martin Luther King Coalition" meeting. The CP replied by calling the police.

The SUNY Student Association deliberated for 10 minutes at their 24 April meeting before unanimously voting to expel the NCLC from campus. While making our opposition to gangsterism on the left absolutely clear (specifically our willingness to enter a joint left defense against "Operation Mop-Up"), we also stated our opposition to the CP's use of the cops and the Student Association's purge. The latter course was undertaken for the same reason that we fight the NCLC's gangsterism—such hooliganism opens the entire left to victimization by the capitalist state.

The Buffalo local of the RCY immediately established an educational and propaganda campaign around the following slogans: "No Political Discrimination By the Student Association—Hands Off the Left!" "Reinstate the Labor Committee!" "Against Gangsterism on the Left! For United Left Defense Against Attack!" The letter printed below was part of the campaign by the Buffalo RCY and

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# EDITORIAL NOTES

## Revolutionary Campaign at Niles East High School

CHICAGO—Counterposed to the pro-administration politics and liberal pap characteristic of high-school student government campaigns, the student-election campaign of Scott Apton at Niles East High School in May was based on revolutionary communist politics. Apton, a junior at Niles East, is a supporter of the RCY. The campaign was waged to expose the phony nature of such student governments and to carry revolutionary propaganda to the students, the great majority of whom will be thrown into the work force after graduation.

Apton's program called for equal rights for high-school students: freedom of speech and the right to distribute literature; an end to the presence of cops in the schools and worker-teacher-student control of the schools. In opposition to the bourgeoisie's use of the schools to promote the class, racial and sexual divisions in society, Apton's program called for an end to tracking and compulsory courses; reduction in the legal age of adulthood with a government financial stipend for all students; the writing back into history of the role played by workers, women and blacks and other minorities; free access to birth control information and material; access to free abortion on demand, state financing of the schools (end the system of financing through property taxes) and an end to military recruiting in the schools. Apton called for support to workers' and teachers' demands, including the right to organize and strike; an end to layoffs; more teachers—smaller classes; and for unionization of all school workers. The final section of the program called for socialism through workers' revolution, underlining as key demands: full employment ("30 for 40"); nationalization of industry under workers control without compensation; victory to the Vietnamese revolution; military victory for the NLF and "not one penny, not one man for the capitalist army or for imperialist wars."

This was not the first radical election campaign to be waged at East Niles High School, but it was the first which rejected parochial "student power" rhetoric in favor of a full class-struggle program. Accordingly, it precipitated a ferocious response from the right wing and repression by the school authorities. The response of the "law and order" groups to RCY campaign literature and to several three-minute speeches given by Apton at student assemblies was swift and savage. After a series of harassments (including telephoned death threats) by a few hooligans, a group of some 150 students ranging from the "jocks" to the Jewish Defense League mobilized to physically threaten the RCY candidate after an assembly at which he spoke. The role of the administration forces exposed the hypocrisy of its pretensions to "democracy" and "fairness." One campus cop told Apton that "if I wasn't on duty I'd be right along with them." Members of the Chicago RCY took steps to physically defend their comrade.

Apton's revolutionary campaign and the right-wing response polarized previously unorganized left-wing, pro-working-class and liberal forces. Several teachers and some 300 students signed petitions in defense of the RCY candidate and his right to campaign and in condemnation of the violent attacks against him.

The administration's action in the face of the violence was not to defend the RCY candidate, but in effect to expel him from school in the middle of the campaign!—ostensibly because they could not guarantee his safety. A scheduled Spartacist League forum at the high school on the socialist approach to women's liberation was

also cancelled. A leaflet strongly protesting the cancellation received considerable support from among the students, compelling the administration to reschedule the talk, which was attended by some 30 students, and 10 signed up for an RCY-led summer study group. This pressure also led to the Administration's agreeing to allow Apton's return to school, in reversal of its earlier decision.

Despite the right-wing activity, Apton received 10% of the vote. But more important, the RCY campaign exposed the role of the schools in capitalist society and introduced the students at East Niles High School to the ideas of revolutionary socialism.

## Maoists Continue Exclusions

LOS ANGELES—The recent expulsion of the SL/RCY from Fanshen, an organization at UCLA influenced by the Stalinist Revolutionary Union and Communist Party, was motivated by the same anti-Leninism as the RCY's expulsion from the Chino Defense Committee (led by the Maoist Venceremos group), reported in *Workers Vanguard* No. 22, 8 June 1973. In both instances the expulsions were based on the political confrontation between revolutionary Trotskyism represented by the SL/RCY and the bankrupt Stalinist politics of the Venceremos-RU-CP.

In both organizations the SL/RCY had played an active and exemplary role. The Chino Defense Committee was set up to defend Venceremos from a California state-wide witchhunt. The SL/RCY was the sole organization to rally to the defense of Venceremos, organizing the only forums held for the Chino Defense Committee on Bay Area campuses, and actively publicizing the case and raising money for the defense. Likewise, in Fanshen the SL/RCY actively participated in its study group and worked with Fanshen in support of such working-class struggles as the Shell, Farmworkers' and Farah strikes and the struggle of the UCLA campus workers against the Administration's attempt to bust the campus unions. When Fanshen recently came under attack by the UCLA Administration, the SL/RCY called for a united-front defense of Fanshen and for an attempt to link that defense to the struggle of campus workers and their unions (AFSCME and AFT).

In the Farah, Farmworkers' and Shell strikes the trade-union misleaderships have succeeded in isolating and undercutting these strikes by relying on impotent consumer boycotts instead of struggling within the labor movement for genuine union solidarity (e.g., secondary strikes). On the UCLA campus, the AFT and AFSCME misleaders have used the consumer boycott as a substitute for the mobilization and strike action of their own ranks. The RCY has supported the Farah, Shell, lettuce and AFT-AFSCME boycotts as a demonstration of solidarity with the working class. We pointed out, however, that these tactics cannot substitute for the independent mobilization of the labor movement in militant actions like secondary strikes. The CP-RU leadership of Fanshen, on the other hand, has used support campaigns to uncritically tail after the labor bureaucrats and provide a radical cover for their sellouts. The Young Socialist Alliance and the Progressive Labor Party, which also participate in Fanshen, similarly tail after the CP-RU. The role of the CP-RU as left guardians of the union misleaders was exemplified when an RU supporter in Fanshen on a picket line in support of the UCLA AFSCME-AFT tore up an SL/RCY placard reading: "Dump the Bureaucrats! For a Workers Party!"

What unites the "social-imperialist" pro-Moscow CPUSA and the "Maoist splitters" in the pro-Peking RU is the appetite

to turn the dying New Left at UCLA into the student auxiliary of the labor bureaucracy, a role previously monopolized by the now thoroughly discredited Cold War anti-communist youth group of the Socialist Party: the Young People's Socialist League. But there is a specter haunting the Stalinists, the specter of revolutionary Trotskyism embodied in the SL/RCY. The expulsions from the Chino Defense Committee and Fanshen are negative confirmations of the power of the Leninist united front whose dual function is the struggle for class unity and for communist hegemony, under the slogan of "Freedom of Criticism, Unity in Action." Venceremos, the RU and the CP could not bear the test of revolutionary criticism, and they therefore became splitters and wreckers, breaking up principled common class-defense action.

This sectarian conduct in defense of opportunism again exposes Stalinism, in all of its pro-Moscow and pro-Peking varieties, as a counter-revolutionary current within the left and labor movements. The work of the RCY goes on—building the student/youth auxiliary to the struggle for communist leadership in the labor movement.

## Coalition of Black Trade Unionists Conference Gives Lesson in Workers Democracy

WASHINGTON D.C.—In the late '60's and early '70's a certain breed of aspiring labor bureaucrats emerged. These people are noted for their appeals to "honesty," "militancy" and, if they are members of some minority racial or ethnic group, to "nationalism." It is easy to be "militant" when one has no struggles to sell out, and to be "honest" when one has no treasury to stick one's hands into.

The recent gathering in Washington, D.C. of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists was a field day for such aspiring bureaucrats. The conference, complete with pledge of allegiance, was addressed by Democratic Mayor Walter Washington, and the latest darling of the "honest militants," Arnold Miller of the United Mine Workers. Miller, in his self-designated role of trade-union leader "different" from the Meanys and Boyles, proclaimed the need for uniting

## RCY Newsletter

Editorial Board: Paul Friar (managing editor), Libby Schaefer, Reuben Samuels.  
Production manager: Pat Michaels.  
Circulation manager: Tony Brandler.

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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the working class, but did not put forward any program for unity nor explain how it would differ with Meany's approach. Supporters of the SL/RCY intervened, distributing leaflets and SL/RCY newspapers. The conference could easily accept Mayor Washington but considered the presence of communists undesirable, and the goon squad was quickly assembled to evict the latter individuals.

Bill Lucy (International Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees), who played a major role at the conference, was questioned by RCY supporters concerning their exclusion. Lucy seemed to have taken lessons from Nixon recently, for he replied to the questions by a single answer that, in effect, he was in charge and could do what he wished. Lucy repeatedly refused to provide any reason for the exclusion and would not reply to any questions concerning workers democracy.

The Socialist Workers Party, also present, refused to do anything about the exclusion. Since the leaflet the SWP was passing out could not be considered either communist or in any way a threat to those assembled, apparently no action was taken against them.

The actions of Lucy and others provide a much truer picture of their program than their declarations of "militancy" and "honesty." The capitalists' representatives are perfectly acceptable to them, but they know quite well that a leaflet urging class struggle will expose them, and thus they prevent it from being distributed.

## Defend Carlos Feliciano!



Members and supporters of the Revolutionary Communist Youth answered a call for united-front actions in defense of Puerto Rican militant Carlos Feliciano who has been accused by the state of having played a role in bombings in New York.

While the RCY does not agree with his nationalistic positions, as revolutionaries we have a fundamental obligation to defend him against the attacks of the bourgeois repressive state apparatus. The defense campaign has sought support from many left-wing groups, organizing united-front demonstrations based on unity of action and freedom of criticism. In the recent demonstration, RCY emphasized the slogan, "For United Defense of the Left Against Ruling-Class Attack."

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## Continued from page 1 French Student Struggles—

support themselves or their families, revolutionaries must call for "free higher education with stipend." So also must revolutionaries attack the tracking system that seeks early on to prevent working-class youth from pursuing academic study. An attack on this practice has been put forward by Lutte Ouvrière (LO—Workers' Struggle) and several teaching unions.

Shortly after the beginning of the demonstrations against the Debré law the students started new actions against the Fontanet decree which created a new diploma—the *diplôme d'études universitaires générales* ("diploma of general university studies"). The French high school diploma is generally recognized as the U.S. equivalent of a "liberal college education." Upon entering the university itself, the student specializes in a manner like first-year graduate students do here or similar to concentration in one's major field as a junior or senior. The general diploma would eliminate the specialized first cycle and replace it with more general studies. To obtain such a general diploma, the student would have to pass exams outside his or her specialty (e.g., to get an English diploma, one has to pass higher mathematics as well). The result of such general diplomas would be to reduce the number of students passing the first cycle in the



Massive worker-student demonstration in France, April 1973.

Communiste and the *de facto* youth group of the OCI, the Alliance des Jeunes pour le Socialisme (AJS—Alliance of Youth for Socialism).

When the Renault strike opened the real possibility of unified worker-student demonstrations, the PCF's advantage increased greatly because of its control of the largest French trade union, the Confédération générale du travail (CGT—General Labor Federation). While the PCF raised the slogan of "Down with the Debré law" and "Re-establish the deferments," it qualified its demands and limited them to extensions for *students* and not youth *in general* (*Le Monde*, 27 March). The PCF demands were to be part of an equitable draft and education system,

Instead of fighting to transcend the minimum demands raised in the struggle, the AJS fought for unity around them, even implicitly red-baiting attempts to further politicize the struggle:

"The high school students have demonstrated that they are capable of deciding for themselves what action to take, without accepting *outside influences*."  
—*IO*, 21-28 March 1973 [our emphasis]

The policies advocated by the AJS are similar to Progressive Labor's insistence that "students shouldn't tell workers what to do," except that the AJS essentially proposed that communists shouldn't tell students what to do! The AJS attitude goes beyond workerism and becomes extreme tailism of petty-bourgeois radicals.

There is a certain consistency between the AJS's recent approach to the student struggles and the OCI's concept of the "strategic united front." As the September issue of *Workers Vanguard* ("OCI Seeks Class Unity, Weakens Program") pointed out, the OCI has a history of seeking unity in action with the Stalinists while not clearly posing its programmatic differences.

"Although the OCI has a program, one has to hunt to find it. It is everywhere submerged like, as Trotsky put it, a 'treasure at the bottom of the ocean' which does no one any good."  
—*Workers Vanguard*, September 1972

In the recent May Day demonstrations (as in the past) the OCI dispersed its cadre throughout the PCF sections without raising its own banners and slogans. While it may be tactically useful to follow a limited dispersal policy, the failure to also have one's own contingent with one's own banners and slogans amounts to a substitution of the united front tactic for the independent programmatic intervention of the party.

The Leninist policy of the united front was developed to provide an organizational framework for the unity in action of the working-class tendencies, while providing for each group to raise its own propaganda, thus allowing the revolutionary program to be actively counterposed to the reformists and Stalinists. The unity of the working class is crucial, but such unity is forged only through discrediting the non-revo-

lutionary leaders, who keep the class divided up and tied to the class enemy, and winning the rank and file to united struggle under the leadership of the revolutionary party. The OCI/AJS elevates "unity" in the abstract to a principle standing above political clarification. As a consequence, the struggle to win the French workers away from the PCF is undercut.

### Usec Youth Vanguardism

The Ligue Communiste, French section of the United Secretariat (fraternally allied with the U.S. Socialist Workers Party), linked a minimal-maximal approach with its consistent youth vanguardism. The minimum demands ("Down with the Debré law" "Re-establish and extend the deferments to all youth") are characterized by the Ligue as "immediate demands" which belong on the red-lettered banners in the streets. The maximum demands—those that attack the bourgeois army—are characterized as a "whole series of criticisms" which are proper as long as they appear in debates within the walls of the school strike committees (*Intercontinental Press*, 30 April 1973).

The Ligue also joined with the Social Democrats and PCF-led unions in raising the slogan: "For the Right to Choose the Age of Entry into the Army for All Youth." The call for this slogan can best be compared to a slogan calling for the right of all convicted men and women to choose the date when they will enter prison. To call for such a "right" is to give tacit approval to the bourgeoisie's standing army.

Rather than pointing to the need for working-class leadership against capitalist oppression, the Ligue makes pronouncements like: "Five years after May 1968, the whole youth have just taken a significant step forward in the struggle against the bourgeois state" (quoted in *Intercontinental Press*, 28 May 1973). Just weeks after the Ligue itself had published accounts of hundreds-strong gangs of fascist youth attacking demonstrators, it still manages to talk about "the whole youth" as though youth were a class, or the natural ally of the working class. Not only does the Ligue refuse to see class distinctions within the youth, but it sees the

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Reactionary French officer corps—defender of the bourgeois order.

university as well as to decrease the training of the students in their specialties and thus reduce the chances of obtaining jobs. Because of this, the high school and university students have sought to unify their protests against both the Debré and Fontanet measures.

### Role of French Stalinism

The French Communist Party has taken a purely reformist and opportunistic approach to the student struggles. Before the recent election, the PCF opposed actions against the Debré law as diversionary to the "real struggle"—the electoral victory of the Union of the Left. After the elections the PCF turned to support of the demonstrations, generally through maneuvers by its front groups, l'Union nationale des comités d'action lycéens [UNCAL—National Union of High School Action Committees] and l'Union nationale des étudiants français (renouveau) [UNEF (R)—National Union of French Students (Resurgent)]. When the high school committees called for actions on 22 March, UNCAL then called for similar actions for the day before. The maneuvers were generally unsuccessful for the PCF's base in the student movement is much weaker than that of two ostensibly Trotskyist groups—the Ligue

which according to the PCF "conforms with the national interest" (*Le Monde*, 24 March)! Thus the PCF in no way departed from its usual reformism and social patriotism.

### OCI Pursues Tailist Policy

The course of the OCI/AJS was both more surprising and more unfortunate. In the recent struggles the AJS had the most opportunistic position of all the far-left organizations and did little to distinguish itself from the PCF. When the latter raised modified slogans for the extensions of the deferments, the AJS continued to raise only the narrow demands against the Debré laws and for the simple re-establishment of the old deferments! *Informations Ouvrières* (*IO*), the press which reflects the OCI views, contented itself with energetic calls to action coupled with simple-minded talk of unity:

"[It is necessary to build] Committees where each political and working-class tendency unites together against the same enemy, the Debré law, with the same goal, its repeal.

"Unity against the Debré law which eliminates deferments, reinforces social stratification, militarizes the youth."

—*IO*, 8-14 March 1973 [original emphasis]

## SL/RCY Public Offices REVOLUTIONARY LITERATURE

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# WORKERS LEAGUE'S YOUNG SOCIALISTS: Youth Vanguardism Against

[The leaflet reprinted below was passed out in front of the Young Socialists' "First National Conference" held last May in New York City.]

This "First National Conference of the Young Socialists" is, in fact, the Workers League's fourth attempt to start a youth group. In the past the WL has tried to initiate youth groups such as "Revolt" and "Young Workers League" with a handful of WL members and in the case of Revolt with a couple of left Maoists who called themselves the "Marxist-Leninist Party." As these groups came to nought, they were simply disappeared by the WL, with no explanations.

The current WL youth group was originally "launched" over a year ago at the "Conference of Revolutionary Youth" on 18 December 1971. Following a series of Wohlforthite harangues which resembled more a Baptist revival than a communist conference, the one-page apolitical leaflet which advertised the conference and which contained such gross omissions as a failure to call for an NLF military victory in Vietnam (also omitted from the current YS Draft Program) was accepted as the YS "program." The *Bulletin* (3 Jan. 1972) reported that one WL speaker claimed that the Young Socialists "will be the first youth movement of its kind in the United States." Thus the WL turns its back on the entire heritage of the struggle for a genuine Leninist and Trotskyist youth group, both in this country and internationally: the early years of the Young Communist League, the Spartacus Youth League (youth section of the Trotskyist Communist League of America, predecessor of the Socialist Workers Party) and even the early years of the Young Socialist Alliance which was founded and led by Wohlforth himself. And rightfully so, for this heritage does not belong to the Young Socialists or the WL.

## What is a Leninist Youth Group?

Youth is not a class. Only the working class organized and led by its own vanguard party can carry out the socialist revolution. But that section of the youth that can be won to the proletarian revolution is essential to replenish and revitalize the revolutionary movement; they

generation has its own contribution to make. The Leninist youth group must provide youth with an arena for the widest and freest discussion and examination of all political questions. In addition to discussion, the political education of young revolutionaries must involve the experience of discussion and action. Thus the Leninist youth group must have an organizational life independent from the party. At the same time it is the Leninist party which alone is capable of leading the socialist revolution, and it is the Leninist party alone which contains the continuity and experience of the revolutionary movement as a whole. The revolutionary youth group is a necessary but subordinate section of the revolutionary movement which must march together, in political solidarity with the party. Based on the first four congresses of the Third International and the corresponding congresses of the Young Communist International, and the struggles of the Trotskyist movement in the thirties, a heritage which the WL/YS turns its back on, the proper relation between the revolutionary youth group and the vanguard party is a dialectical one of organizational independence and political subordination.

## What are the Young Socialists?

To deny the need for the revolutionary youth group to have its own organizational life is to create a manipulated, servile front group after the fashion of the Stalinists and the current practice in the YSA. To deny the leading role of the party and the need for the political subordination of the youth group is simply to affirm petty-bourgeois youth vanguardism of the Yippie-Weatherman sort. The YS is simultaneously without a real independent organizational life and is, in fact, organizationally Stalinist, and, at the same time, it is politically youth vanguardist.

As in a Stalinist organization where political discussion either consists of reading the litany or is suppressed altogether, and embarrassing questions are simply characterized as "Trotskyite questions" and the asker is expelled, so it is in the WL/YS except that embarrassing questions are characterized as "Spartacist Questions" and the asker is expelled. WL/YS supporters who have tried to sell the *Bulletin* or *Young*

to the working class; the Trotskyites are just a bunch of anti-communist rat groups"; and so on. As much as possible the Stalinists try to prevent their supporters from coming into contact with Trotskyists because they know how politically weak they themselves are. Slander and similar organizational measures are always resorted to by opportunists who cannot deal *politically* with criticism from the left.

Straight out of the Stalinist school of slander, with the same aim of hoping to seal its membership off from seriously exploring the politics of the SL/RCY is the article "Sectarianism and the Spartacist League" in the May 1972 *Young Socialist*. The article claims to be an attack on the pamphlet *Youth, Class and Party* which contains the "RCY Program and Perspectives." We are told in this article that we see "scientific socialism" as "separated from the breakup of the boom and the international movement of the working class." In fact, *Youth, Class and Party* states (p. 3): "The breakup of the New Left, most evident in the 1969 SDS split was caused by the inadequacy of New Left politics in the face of the general social crisis of the late '60's." We then go on to devote the next three sections or one-third of the basic document on program and perspectives, to analyze the New Left as a non-proletarian ideology isolated from the working class, essentially a variant of traditional British-American liberalism and utopianism, and we link the breakup of the New Left specifically to the impact of the Vietnam War, the French May-June 1968 events, the deepening class struggle in the U.S. and the international economic crisis.

Following the adoption of the document and the foundation of the RCY in September 1971, the RCY published a leaflet entitled "In the Wake of the International Economic Crisis: Revolutionary Communist Youth Formed" which stated:

"Realizing the combined effects of rising labor militancy and the undermining of the competitive position of American imperialism because of war-generated inflation, the RMC (Revolutionary Marxist Caucus, forerunner of the RCY) anticipated the direct attack of the American state on the trade union movement and other capitalist powers.... Facing a third inter-imperialist blood-bath and crushing of the hard-won rights of the working class, the need for a combative revolutionary socialist movement is more urgent than ever before."

## RCY: Born in the Struggle Against the New Left

Further, we took the struggle against New Leftism and for Trotskyism into the New Left, into SDS, while the WL abstained and stood on the sidelines, for which it was later to criticize itself. The RCY was born in the struggle against New Leftism and its Stalinist and Third World variants, and for Trotskyism, while the Young Socialists was formed simply as a reflex reaction to the formation of the RCY, and the prodding of Gerry Healy in England.

In the last class of the WL's recent series in New York on the International Committee, Wohlforth attempted to combat through lies and distortion the political threat posed by the RCY to the YS. He mocked our emphasis on upholding the Leninist traditions on youth-party relations of organizational independence and political subordination (making no claims that the WL/YS adheres to those Leninist norms), on the

## CONGRU



The call for a labor party, so conspicuous in recent *Bulletins* have been defending the WL's

grounds that all the SL has done has been to pin RCY buttons on some party members who don't care about being organizationally independent and are already politically subordinate to the party. As we point out above, the RCY has organic roots in the struggle against New Leftism and reformism in SDS. We state proudly that young members of the SL indeed initiated the RMC, forerunner of the RCY—but, it was our success in SDS in winning individuals and groups to our politics that laid the foundation for a real youth group.

Just as Wohlforth lies about the character and history of the RCY, he also lies about our activity—e.g., the statement that the RCY has had nothing to do or say about the budget cuts, e.g., the struggle against tuition at the City University of New York—a fight we were involved in well before the YS got in on the action (see "Budget Cuts Hit Campuses—Only the Working Class Can Smash Phase III" and "Stalinists, Nationalists Seek to Exclude Communists," *RCY Newsletter* No. 17, May 1973). Comrades of the YS: Where were you early on in the fight against CUNY tuition? We didn't see you on the picket lines when the Stalinists called the cops on us for raising socialist slogans around the budget cuts.

## YS: Youth Vanguardism

Suppression of real political discussion, intimidation and expulsion of potential oppositionists, slander of those who criticize the WL/YS from the left, these are the organizational methods of Stalinism, these are the organizational methods of the WL and the YS. Combined



Entertainment provided at the Workers League May Day Rally was marked by its complete orientation to "youth" and absence of working-class content.

represent the future of that movement. Under capitalism, youth have special problems: They are used as cannon fodder in imperialist wars, they are concentrated in the reserve army of the unemployed and they are deprived of essential political and social rights. And as Lenin stated, each generation must come to socialism *in its own way*, on the basis of problems which are different from previous generations. Thus each

Socialist to CP/YWLL supporters have probably run up against the wall of slander and hostility with which the Stalinists attempt to seal off their membership from criticism, especially from the left, and from Trotskyist politics. The CP/YWLL supporters are continually dished up a diet of slanders such as: "The Trotskyites have never had any influence in the working class; the Trotskyites are hostile

**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

# inst Leninism

## CALL A ESS OF LABOR



the May Day Rally, has been most used by the Young Socialists on the campuses. Re-use of reformist slogans.

with these are the politics of petty-bourgeois youth vanguardism. The 6 March 1972 *Bulletin* reports that Kiki Mendez, speaking for the YS at a Student Mobilization Committee meeting said, "We are mobilizing the youth separate from the Stalinists and the capitalists to take power"! For the YS, the generational, not the class, struggle is primary. They call in essence not for a workers state but for "youth to take power," i.e., a youth state! Several years ago in a polemic with Lynn Marcus, Wohlforth wrote:

"A related terminological problem is the use of the word 'youth,' 'radical youth,' 'youth vanguard,' etc. There is no attempt to see youth as separated by classes.... There is no such thing as a 'youth question' in the abstract. The struggle of generations is no substitute for the struggle of classes."

—"Some Comments on Perspectives for the Fused Movement," 31 March 1966

By then Wohlforth had accepted Marcus as his theoretical mentor in political economy. With the formation of the YS Wohlforth accepts Marcus as his mentor on the youth question.

This youth vanguardism was exemplified in the YS's approach to the tuition issue in New York, where it called 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." This hopelessly disoriented policy confuses the class line and spreads illusions about the social role of students by projecting students *en masse* as an effective independent pressure group towards the trade unions, in much the same way as the European Pabloites call for pressure "from the periphery to the center."

The WL/YS's approach to the youth question is similar to the SWP's black and women's work in the failure to adopt a class-struggle orientation to questions of special oppression, instead focusing almost entirely on the trans-class aspects of the question, thus suppressing the Marxist understanding of *class* (not age, race or sex) as the fundamental division in capitalist society.

Part and parcel of this youth vanguardism is the statement in the YS program that "it will be the energy

and fight of the Young Socialists which will bring forward a revolutionary leadership within the working class" as a substitute for the vanguard party and its struggle for leadership of the trade unions. In fact, the WL/YS's struggle has been to reinforce the most reactionary section of the American trade union bureaucracy and the most reactionary attitudes of the working class (e.g., support to police strikes and the presence of Attica prison guards in the trade unions, an anti-Marxist abstention from the struggle against women's oppression, interpreting union bureaucrat Abel's nominating speech for Henry Jackson at the Democratic Party Convention as a call for a labor party).

Counterposed to the role the YS sees itself playing is the RCY's conception of its work:

"The goal of the RCY's intervention in working-class struggles is to aid in transforming the labor movement into a revolutionary socialist instrument. The RCY seeks to become the student-youth auxiliary of the communist opposition within the labor movement...."

"The RCY recognizes that building the communist oppositions within the unions must go hand in hand with the construction of a revolutionary party which alone is capable of taking and holding state power. The RCY is the youth section of the Spartacist League, the nucleus of the American vanguard party."

—*Youth, Class and Party*, pp.11-12

—Revolutionary Communist Youth (youth section of the Spartacist League) 26 May 1973 ■

### YOUTH, CLASS AND PARTY

BASIC DOCUMENTS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST YOUTH

- I. RCY Program and Perspectives
- II. RCY Organizational Rules
- III. Youth-Party Relations

Write: RCY, Box 454, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003 \$5.00

## Continued from page 1 Condemn CP, Labor Committee

was printed in the 4 May *Spectrum* (campus newspaper at SUNY).

To the Editor:

The despicable gangster tactics of the Buffalo Labor Committee in their campaign to destroy the Communist Party (CP) have provided the Student Association (SA) with the pretext for purging a left political organization from the UB campus. The RCY condemns the Labor Committee (LC) for their physical attacks on another left tendency, however rotten and class collaborationist that tendency may be. We call on all left organizations to unite in defense of left organizations threatened with gangster attacks. Simultaneously, we oppose the intervention of the Student Association into the working class movement and the SA's acting as the political censor of the University by determining which groups shall have the right to propagate their ideas on campus.

The SA's revocation of recognition of the LC sets a dangerous precedent for future attacks on left organizations and serves to create the political climate for further repression. Events at the April 24 meeting of the SA are instructive. At the "hearing," the SA made no attempt to maintain even the facade of legality or due process. Although the issue of revocation of the recognition of a left group was an unprecedented one, discussion was limited to ten minutes. No evidence was heard to establish the facts of the case. People speaking directly to the issue were ruled out of order arbitrarily by the chair. Despite the absurdly limited discussion, the vote for revocation was almost unanimous, indicating that the matter had been carefully settled in advance. This cavalier disregard for due process exposes the revocation as a political purge in the interest of bourgeois respectability. The SA's actions do not occur in a political vacuum. They are not merely the response of outraged liberals to isolated acts of violence. Two years ago, far more serious incidents occurred on campus without the SA feeling obliged to "disassociate itself" from the organizations involved. The decline of radical activism and the growth of apathy and cynicism on campus, the national tendency of retrenchment from liberalism of the 60's, the consolidation of the dregs of the new left around anti-communism, form the political context in which the SA, on the basis of unformulated and unproven charges, can purge a left organization without alienating liberal opinion.

While the RCY unconditionally defends all those who take action against the bourgeoisie, the actions of the LC in attacking another left tendency make them criminals in the workers' movement and therefore are indefensible. In recent years the LC has frantically gone from one get-rich-quick scheme to another. First it was a fool-proof plan for tenant organizing. Then, the Labor Committee attempted to ingratiate themselves with the labor bureaucrats by offering them the "outside support" of the student based "Strike Support Coalition." Having quickly dropped these strategies when they proved their obvious bankruptcy, the NCLC has now proclaimed the "beginning of history" in its attempt to rebuild the Welfare Rights Organization, originally a "Great Society" program, analogous to VISTA or the Peace Corps. The LC's delusions of grandeur and frenzied impatience combined with the realization that the CP is a formidable reformist obstacle in the left movement have produced the kamikaze "Operation Mop-Up" aimed at the destruction of the CP within a month. The LC has not only demon-

strated its crackpot posturing (the CP is dead; we must bury the corpse), but its contempt for the elementary principle of workers' democracy. Opponent political tendencies must have the fullest possible opportunity for political struggle before the entire working-class movement *without physical attack*. The only way to destroy the influence of the reformists in the worker's movement is to defeat them *politically* by demonstrating decisively to the masses that their policies can only mean a continuation of capitalist exploitation.

The CP's reliance on the cops and the courts and the SA for its own defense renders moot the possibility of its principled defense against LC attacks by other left organizations. The CP has a long history of relying on the bourgeois state to settle questions within the workers' movement. The attacks of the LC simply give this latest act of class collaboration the convenient cover of self-defense. The precedent for this bloc with the bourgeois state was the CP's support for the prosecution of Trotskyists under the Smith Act in the 40's. The state rewarded the CP for its dutiful subservience by using the same act against the CP in the anti-communist crusades of the 40's and 50's. The intervention of the state into the left movement, even on the issue of gangsterism, can never resolve the matter in the interests of the left movement. Furthermore, the attempt of the CP/Young Workers Liberation League to pose as the outraged and innocent victims of gangsterism is at best hypocritical. Historically, its mode of operation has been to settle differences on the left with hooliganism and assassination. As recently as January 20, 1973 members of the CP/YWLL physically harassed and attempted to prevent SL/RCY members from distributing literature on the streets in front of a public meeting. Gangsterism on the left and the attacks of the LC must be fought with the united action of left groups to defend any left organization from the attacks of another. Such a defense would undoubtedly be strong enough to repulse the attacks of the LC as well as a powerful affirmation of the principle of workers' democracy.

The political climate in Buffalo demands action from all principled leftists. We are calling a meeting to plan action on Friday, May 4, 1973, Norton Union Room 334.

—Revolutionary Communist Youth 30 May, 1973 ■

## SWP Joins CP— Calls Cops

NEW YORK—The 29 June issue of the Socialist Workers Party's *Militant* carried an article entitled "Arrest of NCLC Thugs Demanded in N.Y." The author, Linda Jenness, a leading SWP spokesman, stated that three SWP members had filed criminal charges against NCLC member Steve Getzoff who had allegedly attacked them on 9 June. The SWP has thus joined the Communist Party in calling the cops against the NCLC.

The 2,000-member SWP/YSA could have played a major role in the construction of a workers' defense group against not only NCLC attacks but against attacks from the right as well. But such a course would have run counter to the SWP's extreme legalism and tailism of petty-bourgeois public opinion. Instead of such a Leninist policy of defense of all groups within the workers movement against physical attacks, the SWP has chosen the cops!

Jenness and Co. have a history of physically attacking their opponents on the left—a policy first started at the 4 July 1971 NPAC rally at Hunter College when members of the Progressive Labor Party, SDS, SL and the Revolutionary Marxist Caucus were physically excluded. Since then, it has

*continued on page 6*

## Continued from page 5 SWP Joins CP— Calls Cops

been reported that SWP members also attacked NCLC member Marsha Freeman in 1971, members of the Socialist Forum group and additional members of the SL/RCY. The SWP's policy has been one of physical attacks against its opponents when the SWP held substantial majorities at events, coupled with loud condemnations of violence when its own members have been worsted in various brawls. The current "position" of the SWP condemning the use of violence should in no way be confused with the SL/RCY's principled opposition to violence against groups and individuals within the workers movement.

The SWP has long since joined the Stalinist school of slander against its opponents on the left. To cite but one example: the founders of the SL were initially oppositionists within the SWP who were bureaucratically expelled; rather than fully defend its actions, the SWP leadership prefers instead to circulate the lie that our comrades had split from the SWP.

Equally, the SWP has demonstrated its willingness in embarrassing incidents to cover itself with further lies. When the SL published documents of the SWP's international collaborators which exposed the SWP's Ceylonese associate Bala Tampoe as severely compromised by several incidents linking him to imperialist diplomats and the CIA, the response of the SWP and its international allies was to deny the evidence. This included denying the fact that certain meetings took place at an international conference—even

LC goons attack at Columbia. For decades the SWP relied on the strength of working-class forces to repulse hooligan attacks. Now they join the Stalinists on this issue and call the cops.



Columbia Spectator

though the holding of these meetings was listed in the conference minutes which were available to the SWP's own membership!

The SWP's policy flows from its continued abandonment of the Trotskyist position of workers democracy. The reliance on the repressive apparatus

of the bourgeois state to deal with one's opponents within the workers movement marks a major step to the right on the part of the SWP. It is a policy which removes all substantial disagreements between the ex-Trotskyist SWP and the Stalinists on this crucial issue. ■

## Continued from page 3 French Student Struggles—

youth protests as playing the vanguard role to the working class. Thus, the 30 March *Rouge* talks about how the workers have learned how to struggle from watching the students. What *Rouge* fails to point out is that the role of the vanguard belongs to a Leninist party of the working class, which seeks to win communist leadership in the working class, and seeks to win students to supporting workers' struggles through the vanguard party. The Ligue does not struggle for leadership of the class—its main work is in the student milieu and marginal and service layers of the working class (e.g., bank clerks). It claims to work "from the periphery to the center" with a conception that the struggle will somehow organically "grow across" ("transcroître") into the more important industrial sectors of the class behind the backs of the Stalinists controlling the CGT!

The high point of the March-April events for the Ligue was recognition by the liberal bourgeois press (*Le Monde*, 8-9 April 1973) that the Ligue is stronger in the student movement than the PCF (*Intercontinental Press*, 23 April 1973). Of course, the PCF showed who has the strength where it counts when the workers began striking and sought unified demonstrations with the students. The Ligue's response to

this was to demonstrate its "independent strength" by holding a separate May Day march from the Stalinists (ending up at the same rally point). While this might be tactically correct in particular instances, it is ludicrous in the Ligue's case, where it mustered several thousand students as against the CP's some 40,000 workers. What was absolutely crucial for the May Day demonstrations was a united-front demonstration with sharply counterposed programmatic slogans, and the necessary tactical defense measures.

The height of the Ligue's inability to understand what Marxists mean by "class" comes out in their designation of the school strike committees as "high-school soviets" (*Rouge*, 30 March 1973, p.4). As Trotskyists know, soviets are the working class's organs for the seizure and wielding of state power, and the institutionalization of workers control in a workers state. Lenin's slogan "All Power to the Soviets" was precisely designed to underline the importance of the independent organization of the working class, the need for it to act separately from the bourgeois Provisional Government and the forces of petty-bourgeois radicalism. Only through taking the lead and demonstrating its independent strength could the working class win non-proletarian layers of society to its side. The Ligue, in its fetishizing of the democratic forms of a petty-bourgeois struggle, makes a mockery out of the traditions of the Russian Revolution.

### Lutte Ouvrière Takes Best Position

Of all the left groups in France, Lutte Ouvrière has had the most principled and political approach to the recent struggles. While LO has generally had a workerist and tailist approach, they have recently developed a base in the technical high schools. This base and the pressures which it exerted on LO no doubt played a major role in LO's activity.

Among all the groups, LO pointed out the elements of class privilege existing under the old deferment law and the problems posed in simply demanding its return. While properly giving critical support to the slogan, "Re-establish and extend the deferments to all youth!", LO insisted on the need to inject an anti-militarist content into the struggle.

"Deferments were, in fact, the last form of privileged status in the matter of military recruitment offered for this period by the bourgeoisie to its own youth.

"There are two elements in the reaction of high school students. On the one hand, undoubtedly, [there is] the desire not to lose a privilege that has been granted them. On the other hand however, [there is] the manifestation of open hostility to that form of militarization and subjection represented by... military service—which explains furthermore, the considerable participation of high-school and elementary-school students from the CET [technical colleges] who are not directly concerned by the elimination of deferments....

"If socialist revolutionaries must show solidarity with the struggles of high-school students against the attempt of

the regime to take away from them a benefit which had been theirs, up until now, they [the revolutionaries] must employ all means to develop the anti-militarist aspect of the struggle."

—*Lutte Ouvrière* (LO), 27 March-2 April

In its propaganda, LO has pointed out that the bourgeois army is part of the capitalist state which Leninists seek to smash in the process of carrying through the proletarian revolution. On this question it has been attacked by the Ligue Communiste which equates the LO position with liberalism and pacifism, and argues that a conscripted army is a good thing—certainly much better than a volunteer or professional army (*armée de métier*), which would be strongly pro-bourgeois and lay the military basis for fascism. According to the Ligue, a conscripted army will be filled with workers who can be won over to the side of the revolution, arms in hand, when the time comes. And if not that, the army at least is useful in instructing workers on the use of arms. LO answers these arguments very well:

"To limit the choice to the alternatives of the present military service or a professional army, is to assume the need for national defense and to place oneself first of all on the ground of the bourgeoisie."

—LO, 27 March-2 April 1973

"You are offered a gun, take it!" *Rouge* keeps saying so as to justify that it does not demand anything else than: 'Bring back and generalize deferments.' But, obviously, if we demand the suppression of military service, we are not inspired by some sort of sheep-like pacifism which considers learning to handle arms to be a sin. Needless to say we think that every young worker should learn to handle arms, but that, in order to do this, it is not necessary for them to be shut up in barracks nor to come under the power of a professional military elite. It is quite possible for workers to learn this at work or at home, under the guidance of workers organizations."

—*Class Struggle* (English-French paper of LO), No. 9, April 1973

In some respects, however, LO has left itself open to the Ligue's criticisms. Nowhere in its literature has LO explicitly made the important point that, once conscripted, young workers and students should go into the army—not to jail or another country—and take advantage of arms training. This would clearly distinguish LO from the pacifists. Furthermore, LO's emphasis in its propaganda has been against the militarization and hardships of army life more than upon the class aspect of the question. LO has downplayed agitation against the army as a bourgeois tool of repression to be used against the working class. Thus, the main demonstration slogans it proposed at one of the strike committee meetings were:

"Down with the Debré law!" "Against the militarization of youth!" "Abolish military service!" While it has reported favorably (as has the Ligue Communiste) the appearance of banners (raised often by the anarchists and spontaneists) reading "Down with the bourgeois army!" "Down with the cops' and bosses' army!," LO itself has not fought

for such slogans in the strike committees, although it has employed the concepts in its general propaganda. So while LO has correctly criticized the Ligue Communiste and the OCI/AJS for merely taking over as their own the special-interest demands of the high-school students and not going beyond them (*Class Struggle* No. 9), LO's approach has itself been flawed.

In its policy towards the CP, LO had essentially the same incorrect position as the Ligue Communiste—refusing to insist on a united-front orientation towards the CP's May Day demonstration, choosing instead to demonstrate its "strength" through the independent mobilization of the technical high school students, where LO has something of a power base. LO attempted to justify this policy by citing the need for the independent organization of the working class. This argument hardly applies. While the technical-school students are overwhelmingly headed for the working class and, in terms of their consciousness, identify more with the class than with youth as a whole, they are still students occupying a transient social position and their strikes are still student strikes, posing much less of a threat to the bourgeoisie than the striking Renault workers, who can withhold their labor power from the capitalists. While this work among young future workers is important, it hardly substitutes for the need to win communist leadership in the industrial sections of the class—and to do that it is necessary to break the workers from their Stalinist and reformist leaderships.

Throughout the 1960's, students in the United States struggled in various ways against the draft laws. Many of the fights were motivated by pacifistic ideals, and while revolutionaries sympathize with the resistance of the oppressed to imperialist wars, pacifism is a petty-bourgeois ideology alien to Marxism—and such struggles were in themselves unable to do much save register protest. Other student activities were based on the belief that no individuals should serve in the imperialist army. These people, like the pacifists, generally preached individual resistance rather than collective efforts designed to bring all of the exploited and oppressed into the struggle.

The SL continued the Leninist tradition. While we fight for the end of the bourgeois army and demand "not one man and not one cent for the bourgeois army," as long as the bourgeois army based on conscription is in existence revolutionaries must urge all those drafted to go into the army to conduct agitation among drafted youth. The SWP also held the same formal position, but conducted its day-to-day work around social-pacifistic and class collaborationist policies.

Because of U.S. imperialism's present situation, the actual process of conscription has been halted. It will begin again, and when it does, the revolutionaries must apply what they have learned, not only from the previous struggles in the U.S. but from those of our class brothers in the other countries as well. ■

## 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) 548-2934.  
CLEVELAND: Cleveland W.V. 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.  
WASHINGTON, D.C.: RCY, Box 226, Silver Springs, Md. 20907.

## Continued from page 8 ... Filipino Struggles

This approach provides the most nationalist sectors of the bourgeoisie with a mass movement to break from Marcos' dictatorship with a left face, setting up protectionist tariffs and perhaps nationalizing a few imperialist concerns along the way, but never denting the basic property relations. The concept of the "self-reliant" national economy, in which the national bourgeoisie has a progressive role to play in expanding the productive forces, ignores the fact of the world economy and, in the Maoist program, is a reactionary utopia with an opportunist and demagogic appeal to the liberal bourgeoisie. To throw off the yoke of imperialism, Filipino workers and peasants must expropriate the bourgeoisie as a class, not play off one sector against another.

### The Reality of "People's War"

The Maoist strategy of the countryside surrounding the city through "people's war" in reality means the submergence of the most class-conscious workers in a peasant army and the liquidation of the independent political activity of the proletariat, the only consistently revolutionary class in contemporary society.

The peasantry—a section of the petty bourgeoisie, socially atomized as individual producers and parochial in world view—has historically proved incapable of independent political action and, during revolutionary periods, will follow one of the two contenders for social power in the cities—the proletariat or the bourgeoisie. For the seizure of state power an alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry under proletarian hegemony is essential. The history of this century has amply demonstrated that the national bourgeoisie can do little to end the peasant's plight.

It is only through an alliance of all the toilers which is led by the working class that the peasantry can break out of its peonage.

### Maoism and Menshevism

Stalin revived the Menshevik two-stage conception of revolution through popular fronts with the liberal bourgeoisie in Western Europe and blocs with reactionaries like Chiang Kai-shek in China, rather than attempting to lead the proletariat beyond democratic demands toward the seizure of power. Hoping to tie down and neutralize the international bourgeoisie, Stalin sacrificed the international revolution to the national interests of the Kremlin bureaucracy.

Maoists have upheld this wretched tradition of betrayal and abandonment

of the working class. Mao cynically remarked in 1966, as American soldiers were pouring into Vietnam, that the more U.S. troops entered Vietnam, the greater the disaster for America would be—while doling out the meagrest quantities of aid to fight the American "Paper Tiger." This is the treatment the Filipino revolution can expect from the bureaucracy in Peking.

The Nixon-Mao détente and the projected balkanization of Southeast Asia puts "peaceful coexistence" on the order of the day around China's periphery. Local guerrilla actions and the fostering of nationalism, as in the Philippines, plays into this scenario by providing leverage against economic penetration by Japan, which replaced the U.S. as the Philippines' major trade partner in 1970, and as a pawn to barter for further concessions from America on trade agreements.

### The Way Forward

The fate of the Filipino revolution rests in the context of the topsy-turvy re-alignment of China and the U.S. and the increasing inter-imperialist rivalry between Japan and the U.S. for markets and economic hegemony in Southeast Asia. The Maoist "new democratic" revolution which proclaims a path of national development independent of these super-powers is pure chicanery. The only way forward for the Filipino workers and peasants is under the banner of the international solidarity of the proletariat under the leadership of an international vanguard party which would unite the most conscious workers in Japan, the Philippines and the U.S.

But international solidarity will remain nothing more than a pious wish unless revolutionary socialists in all countries fight in the mass organizations of the proletariat to unmask the Stalinists and Maoists as misleaders and to expose the labor bureaucracy's capitulation to protectionism and economic nationalism. The U.S. labor bureaucracy's reactionary and divisive appeals to social chauvinism to counter runaway shops in search of cheap labor in the colonial countries must be met by the demand for the organization of foreign workers in a genuinely international union that can raise the standard of living of foreign workers to that of U.S. workers and fight for jobs for all through a shorter work week at no loss of pay. American overseas investments, like the auto assembly plants in the Philippines, provide the concrete setting to link Filipino and American workers on the basis of a class-struggle program that includes demands against trade competition, for international working-class action against imperialist war, for the expropriation of capitalist property under workers control and toward socialist planning based on an international division of labor. ■

## RCY Events

### Berkeley

#### Class Series

HISTORY OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Begins in early July, for more information call: (415) 653-4668.

Series will include classes on the struggle of the International Left Opposition against Stalinism, the struggle against fascism and social patriotism during WWII, the 1952-53 fight against Pabloite revisionism, the development and expulsion of the Revolutionary Tendency from the Socialist Workers Party and the present international tasks of revolutionaries.

### Boston

#### Class Series

BUILDING THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY: BOLSHEVISM OR MAOISM?

Sherman Union, Boston University, Rm. 314, every Thursday at 7:00 p.m. For further information call (617) 492-3928. Class topics are:

1. Revolutionary Strategy and Tactics in the Colonial World.
2. Class Nature of the Soviet Union: Bureaucratic Degeneration not Capitalist Restoration—China and Cuba: Deformed Workers States
3. Stalin's "Socialism in One Country" vs. International Proletarian Revolution
4. Maoism in Power
5. Maoist Regroupment: An Obstacle to Building the Revolutionary Party
6. Rise and Fall of the Black Power Movement
7. The Revolutionary Party and its Program

### Buffalo

#### Class Series

FUNDAMENTALS OF MARXISM

SUNY, Norton Hall, Rm. 332. Tuesday, 7:30 p.m. For further information call: (716) 881-3004. Topics:

3. Wage, Labor and Capital
4. State and Revolution; Can the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?
5. What Is To Be Done?
6. Lessons of October

### Los Angeles

#### Class Series

BUILDING THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

Starts 24 June. Every Sunday, 7 p.m. For information call (213) 467-6855.

### New York

#### Class Series

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

260 W. Broadway, Rm. 522, Manhattan. Meets every other Thursday, 7:30 p.m., throughout summer (first class in July meets on the 5th). For more information: (212) 925-4295. Class topics:

4. The Founding of the Fourth International
5. The Spanish Revolution
6. The Second World War and the Colonial Revolution
7. The 1940 Faction Fight in the SWP (Part Two)
1. The Genesis of Pabloism
2. The Marxist Understanding of Post-War Stalinism [Series continues in the fall]

### Forum

LESSONS OF THE 1973 FRENCH STUDENT STRIKES

Speaker: Libby Schaefer, RCY National Secretary, Spartacist League Central Committee. Saturday, 7 July, 7:30 p.m. St. Gregory's Church, 144 W. 90th St., (Subway: B'way-7th Avenue IRT to 96th Street). For more information: (212) 925-2426. Contribution \$.50.

Supporters and friends are invited to an:

## Educational-Recreational SL/RCY SUMMER CAMP

from Saturday, 11 August through Sunday, 19 August

located at a northern Illinois lakeside and featuring swimming, boating and other sports. (Easy public transportation from Chicago.)

Discussion topics projected include:

- The post-war economy. (Real class-struggle prospects as opposed to revisionist "neo-capitalism," "permanent war economy," and "final-crisis" mongering.)
- The historical struggle to build the Fourth International and the American Trotskyist movement. (Key issues in Trotsky's time.)
- Decisive issues for revolutionary Marxists in the labor movement.

And more....

**RATES:** \$6.00 per day for the whole eight days; \$7.00 per day for lesser periods. The classes are scheduled to benefit those who can only attend for either half of the eight days.

For further information and reservations: Contact your SL or RCY Local (see local directory), or write Spartacist: Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10001.

# Maoists Betray Filipino Struggles

In response to a "mysterious" wave of urban bombings and "assassination attempts," Ferdinand Marcos declared martial law throughout the Philippines on 21 September 1972. Following the tradition of Suharto in Indonesia and Bhutto in Pakistan, Marcos has moved quickly to consolidate dictatorial power by militarizing the state apparatus, jailing political opponents, labor leaders and newspaper editors and suspending normal democratic restraints.

Up to 50,000 peasants have been relocated in central Luzon in an attempt to undercut the peasant revolt that has flared up in the countryside. Further south, in Mindanao and the Sulu Islands, Marcos has rearmed Christian bandit gangs against local guerrillas, the Moslem Revolutionary Forces, thus enflaming sectarian hatred and increasing the possibility of full-scale religious war.

New waves of labor militancy—in response to inflation as high as 25 percent annually, 33 percent unemployment, and government corruption (the peso was devalued drastically after Marcos raided the state treasury to bribe voters in the 1969 presidential elections)—have activated the largest and lowest-paid skilled proletariat in Southeast Asia.

The absence of a Leninist vanguard to oust the reformist and bureaucratic trade-union leadership and to bring the historic tasks of the proletariat into the mass organizations through the revolutionary program, combined with the inability of the bourgeoisie to maintain order and rule through parliamentary channels, created the social vacuum which allowed a petty tyrant like Marcos to establish a Bonapartist regime. Faced with a mounting social crisis, the majority of the propertied classes have at least temporarily accepted Marcos' "strong man" rule as an expedient to stabilize the floundering capitalist order.

## Permanent Revolution and the Philippines

Historically, the Filipino bourgeoisie has relied on American finance capital and has aligned itself with the most reactionary domestic forces. Striking confirmation of Trotsky's theory of the permanent revolution emerges from the contours of Filipino history. It has become increasingly obvious that the nascent bourgeoisie in the colonial countries cannot play the progressive role associated with the rise of capitalism in Western Europe and the tasks fulfilled in those democratic revolutions—agrarian revolution, the establishment of bourgeois democracy, the development of industry and the forging of national unity and independence. The perpetual underdevelopment of the colonial world, enforced by predatory imperialist powers, and the resulting economic and social weakness of the native bourgeoisie make this class the weakest link in the imperialist chain and make the proletariat the only class that can unite and lead the subjugated nation toward independence and economic development.

The Philippine revolt against Spanish colonial rule in 1896 came quickly under the control of the United States' plans to colonize the islands under a more "progressive" facade. The Philippine declaration of independence, representing the aspirations of the native bourgeoisie, placed the Philippines under the "protection of the Mighty and Humane North American nation."

The inter-imperialist war between Spain and the United States overwhelmed the anti-colonial struggle and resulted in the ceding of the Philippines to the U.S. for \$20 million and a guarantee of the property and business rights of Spanish citizens on the archipelago. The guerrilla war begun against the Spanish and continued against the Americans was viciously

crushed by 1902 as the Filipino bourgeoisie, unwilling as ever to rely on the revolutionary masses who would challenge their basis of privilege, accommodated itself to "autonomy" under American hegemony.

After unrestricted trade began in 1913, unlimited duty-free sugar, coconuts, tobacco and hemp were allowed to enter the U.S., guaranteeing an outlet for the Filipino rural monopolies, while American finished goods swamped the Filipino market, stifling native manufacturing and undercutting English and Japanese goods forced to pay tariffs.

Under the pressure of the worldwide depression in the 1930's, American sugar and dairy interests lobbied for Filipino independence which would place the islands outside of the U.S. tariff wall. The American Federation of Labor also adapted its usual policies to the situation. The labor bureaucrats have repeatedly responded to the influx of super-oppressed (and initially super-exploited) foreign labor with racist and nationalist demagoguery. Such policies have made it easier for the various capitalists to exploit the antagonisms between nations and races to disorganize the workers movements. Thus the AFL lobbied both for Filipino independence and for limits to be placed on the emigration of Filipino labor.

After eleven years of commonwealth status, the Philippines became formally independent of the U.S. in 1946. The Bell Trade Act of the same year, however, set American-Filipino relations in the post-war period in a pattern that continued economic subservience. Nationhood of a colonial country, when generated by the sectional interests of the metropolitan bourgeoisie and their agents in the working-class movement, in fact undercuts the possibilities of genuine national independence.

Payment of war damages, through the Tydings Rehabilitation Act that promised \$620 million to a country devastated by WW II, was made contingent on amending the Filipino constitution to provide for the most far-reaching clause of the Bell Trade Act—economic parity for Americans in the Philippines. Under parity, Americans have the right to own controlling interest in and exploit the natural resources of the Philippines and operate public utilities. Although parity does not give American interests substantially better terms of investment than they enjoy in many other areas—Latin America, for example—it does provide an important competitive advantage over Japanese, British and other foreign powers which are limited to 40 percent ownership.

## Marcos Bids for U.S. Support

Parity, along with the U.S. military bases in the Philippines—important American outposts and staging areas—is the hottest issue in the rising flames of Filipino nationalism. The Supreme Court ruled in 1972 that Americans would lose property covered by parity and the right to be directors and managers of corporations when parity expires in 1974. Marcos has sought to back up his dictatorship with American aid in return for voiding these decisions and guaranteeing U.S. military bases.

The bourgeoisie in the Philippines is tied to the landlords and compradors (in many cases the same person) and will make nationalist noises, but must court the U.S. and Japan to bank-roll their monopolies and support their luxurious tastes and standard of living. Their nationalism resides in their pocketbooks and cannot risk threats to market quotas for agricultural products and foreign investment through multi-national corporations. A key task for revolutionary socialists in the Philippines is to head off this bankrupt nationalism and channel the legitimate

aspirations of Filipino workers and peasants for national independence into a class-struggle perspective.

## Filipino Stalinists Abandon Class-Struggle Program

The Filipino Communist Parties, whether Moscow or Peking line, have abandoned the fight for the political and organizational independence of the working class. The Hukbalahaps (Anti-Japanese People's Army) set up by the Moscow-oriented CP during World War II, welcomed the return of American troops to the Philippines and campaigned for a "democratic peace" in line with Stalin's aims of conciliating the Allied powers. Just as Ho Chi Minh subordinated the anti-colonial struggle to the needs of the Moscow bureaucracy by aiding the re-establishment of French rule in Vietnam, the Filipino CP organized the Democratic Alliance as an adjunct to the Nacionalista Party, paving the way to the stabilization of bourgeois rule and American hegemony. Zigzags reflecting the Cold War led the Huks in 1950 to pursue an

adventurist "quick military victory" line. Following a series of defeats, the CP dissolved the guerrilla army and re-entered the parliamentary arena as a pressure group on the liberal bourgeoisie.

Despite its vicious criticisms which led it to break from the "social imperialist" Soviet Union and "black bourgeois" CP gang in 1968, the Peking-oriented Communist Party offers no real revolutionary strategy for the Filipino masses. The heralded Maoist "people's war" departs in organizational form but not in political content from the consistently class-collaborationist practices of the Moscow-line CP.

The Maoists' analysis of the "three enemies" of the Filipino people—imperialism, bureaucratic capitalism and semi-feudalism—and its program for a "new democratic republic" based on a coalition "harmonizing" the interests of the working class, peasantry, petty bourgeoisie, national bourgeoisie and all other "patriots" can only keep the working class bound in the arms of its class enemy, the bourgeoisie.

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Filipino ex-Foreign Secretary Manglapus calls upon a army to oust Marcos thus "liberating" Philippines. Does Maoist "bloc of four classes" include such people?

NEW YORK, 17 June—Members of the anti-Marcos wing of the Filipino bourgeoisie spoke here yesterday. Former Foreign Secretary and Senator Raul Manglapus and former Consul General in Los Angeles Roberto Mallo addressed an audience of approximately 100 on their recent defections to the United States and their program for Filipino "liberation."

The impotency of the bourgeoisie in the colonial countries is strikingly seen in the program and strategy of Manglapus and Mallo. Manglapus, in a speech on 19 May, stated that the recent Constitution of 1971 is invalid. According to the older 1935 Constitution which he believes to be in effect, Marcos ceases to be the legal commander of the armed forces in December of this year. It is to the armed forces that Manglapus addresses his appeal, stating that "we believe the army is still willing to work things out in the framework of constitutional democracy in the Philippines," and describing those who compose the bourgeoisie's repressive apparatus as "the men upon whom we rely for the restoration of democracy."

A leaflet distributed to the audience quoted Manglapus's program in which he calls upon the army to implement the following demands:

1. Restore civil liberties and release political prisoners immediately.
2. Place the country under the provisional rule of a civilian council composed of respected senior citizens who will pledge never to run for office in the future.
3. Reconvene the Constitutional Convention and give it two weeks to eliminate the obnoxious transitory provisions.
4. Submit the Constitution in separable questions to the people in a secret ballot plebiscite as provided in the 1935 Constitution.
5. Set a definite date for elections under whatever constitution may be in force after the plebiscite.

This program completely neglects the political and economic situation in the Philippines today. While calling for an end to Marcos it says nothing about the conditions which allowed Marcos to take power. In the period of deepening inter-imperialist competition, the program calls for a return to the past when differences and difficulties were to be discussed in a "democratic" manner and implemented in the same way. Such "democracy" is something that the colonial bourgeoisie which does not hold power can easily discuss. But those that control the repressive state apparatuses throughout the colonial world have consistently been unable to implement such "democratic" procedures and have increasingly relied on naked force.

Revolutionaries are of course interested in the restoration of civil liberties in the Philippines. But our program does not stop there. Any "revolution" led by the Filipino bourgeoisie to replace Marcos will in no way qualitatively improve the lot of the workers and poor peasants. However democratically-minded Manglapus and Mallo claim to be, the world situation and their class position would rapidly drive them to attacks on the toiling masses in a manner similar to Marcos. The toiling masses must place no faith in such people. Liberation will occur in the Philippines, not through the activities of the anti-Marcos wing of the bourgeoisie, but by workers' and peasants' struggles led by the revolutionary working-class party. The Filipino section of the international Leninist vanguard party will seek not simply an end to Marcos but an end to capital.