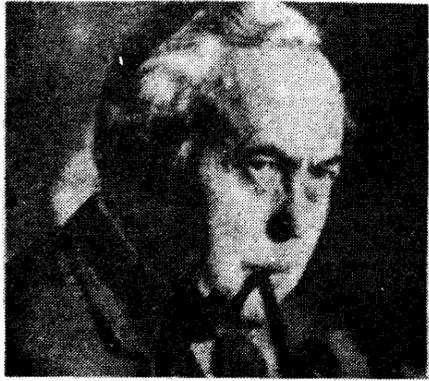


Young Spartacus

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In Britain and the U.S.— Who Shall Rule?

[1 MARCH—In Great Britain, neither the Tories nor the Labour Party has won a clear majority of Parliamentary seats, creating a highly unstable governmental situation. Heath, refusing to resign, will be vying with Wilson for Liberal Party, Scottish Nationalist and Ulster Royalist support to shift the balance of power in his favor. The need to vie for Liberal support will cause an immediate polarization among the

Labour Party tops into right and left wings, creating a very favorable situation for communists within the Labour Party to counterpose themselves as an alternative revolutionary leadership to the vacillations and betrayals of the reformist bureaucracy. In the U.S., seven top Nixon aides have been indicted for conspiracy by a Federal grand jury, as the House of Representatives continued its impeachment inquiry.]

In Britain and the U.S. the chief bourgeois governmental executives, Heath and Nixon, have reached the nadir of their credibility and authority in the context of deep, pervasive social crisis; it is indeed ironic then that these two right-wing capitalist politicians are most sharply, vigorously and nakedly posing the question: "Who Shall Rule?"

The contexts of course are not completely identical. Given a country with a class-conscious working class, almost permanent industrial unrest, and the escalated confrontation with the miners, Heath poses "Who Shall Rule?" in direct class terms: Parliament and its ministers vs. the unions, or the bourgeois state vs. extra-parliamentarian proletarian organizations.

Heath not only imported a great part of Britain's current inflation from the U.S., but he also imported those mechanisms which were meant to facilitate the integration of the trade unions into the bourgeois state: the Industrial Relations Act (the British version of Taft-Hartley), the Pay Board and wage controls. It is Heath and not the cowardly leadership of the National Union of Miners (NUM) who has chosen to interpret the miners' struggle as a challenge to his program for stripping the unions of their class independence and integrating them into the capitalist state.

Thus, in spite of the fact that the NUM leadership and the Trade Union Congress (TUC) have tried to present the miners' demands as "exceptions" and in no way a challenge to the state management of industrial relations and wages, nonetheless it is Heath (often in opposition to a large sector of the capitalist class he represents) who has escalated the conflict into a struggle by the state against working-class organizational independence. And it is for this reason that the miners' struggle is of such importance to the workers movement.

"The King is absolute ..."

The Watergate crisis is, at first remove, unlike its British counterpart. It is a crisis within parliamentarianism, a crisis within the bourgeois state, a struggle between "executive privilege" and the norms of bourgeois legality. The ruling-class attitude toward Nixon is best summed up in the old German proverb: "Der König absolut, wenn er unseren Willen tut"—"The King is absolute, as long as he does our bidding."

Surreptitious entry, electronic surveillance, police spies, mail tampering and all the other Watergate "dirty tricks" are the ordinary business of

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From top, left, to right: Labourite Wilson, striking British miners, Tory Heath, cold-warrior Democrat Jackson, President (for the moment) Nixon.

How to Defeat Shockley, Fight Racial Oppression

Shouting Him Down Not the Answer

Progressive Labor's (PL) liberal-reformist strategy against racist campus ideologues, thinly veiled by a cover of tactical militancy, has recently gained some popularity in the academic community. First to jump on what looked like it might be a bandwagon (they call it the "mass line") have been the student Maoists of the Attica Brigade. Somewhat more sluggish but not to be left out is the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) which has recently taken a position against allowing Shockley to speak.

Since the spring of 1972, SDS, under the leadership of PL, has centered virtually all of its work around reformist campus anti-racist campaigns. The main targets of the campaigns have been academics such as William Shockley of Stanford and Arthur Jensen of Berkeley, who hold that blacks are intellectually inferior to whites by virtue of their genes, and Richard Herrnstein of Harvard, who maintains that

class structure is largely determined by genetics.

PL/SDS has responded to public appearances by Shockley and Jensen with militant demonstrations to prevent them from speaking (e.g., the well-publicized incidents at Harvard and Staten Island Community College), and leaflets identifying these academic

racists with Nazis and "exposing their racism."

The Marxist Tradition of Scientific Debate

The RCY maintains that insofar as academic apologists for racial oppression and the capitalist system attempt

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PL/SDS-led shouting confrontation (right) with Shockley (left) at Staten Island Community College.

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or Communism?p. 12**

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and Students in the '30s ...p. 6**

EDITORIAL NOTES

Gangsterism and New Left Nonsense: Attica Brigade At Work

The Attica Brigade, the Maoists' answer to the National Student Association, is student-powerist, reformist, gangsterist and linked to the Revolutionary Union, known for its workerism and tailism of the union bureaucracy. The RCY, with its insistence on principled political struggle, a Leninist conception of united-front work and capacity to "fight back" against gangsterist attack, has been giving the Attica Brigade some political "trouble" lately.

A few recent incidents: At the University of Connecticut at Storrs in late January, the RCY joined an Attica Brigade-called demonstration to protest Melvin Laird's presence there to accept a "humanitarian" award for his services in the field of mental health.

The Brigade, busy limiting the demonstrators to "anti-imperialist" slogans (e.g., uncritical support to the bourgeois-nationalist GRUNC in Cambodia) flipped out when the RCY contingent approached with an "All Indochina Must Go Communist" banner. Several Brigaders attacked the RCYers and the banner, but were beaten back. In contrast, the Brigade remained totally passive in the face of the flying of American flags and singing of patriotic songs by right-wing students.

Similar physical harassment against the RCY occurred at an Attica Brigade national gathering at Kent State University in Ohio in January, where RCY newspaper salesmen, as well as members of Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF), were pushed and shoved around. The RCY and YAWF entered into a mutual defense pact, maintaining their right to sell as a principle of workers democracy.

The Brigaders in Buffalo, cowed by the RCY's political presence on the University of Buffalo campus, distributed a leaflet in late January advertising a class series, which ended with the following sad little plea:

"Because of previous bad experiences with certain campus groups, like picking fights at our forums or using our meetings as a platform to 'counterpose' their programs, we ask that members of Spartacist [sic] League/Revolutionary Communist Youth and American Communist Workers Movement [a rival Maoist formation—YSp] not attend these classes."

In an open letter to the Attica Brigade, the Buffalo RCY pleaded "guilty" to the charge of engaging in political struggle in the Leninist tradition, at the same time declaring that the charge of picking physical fights was simply a flagrant lie and challenging the Brigaders to prove this slander (they didn't).

What's behind all this nervous aggression against other left-wing tendencies, in particular, the RCY? An inability to defend opportunism by other means. Nationally, the Attica Brigade is concentrating on an anti-Nixon campaign whose program consists of the slogan, "Throw the Bum Out," a program even George Meany and Henry Jackson can support. The Attica Brigaders apparently do not feel responsible for giving students (and of course not workers—that's for the Revolutionary Union) an idea of what to do after Nixon is impeached, but are content to flow easily with the current tide of opinion, merely tagging on the usual token militancy: "Organize to Fight."

In Buffalo, the Attica Brigade demonstrated its understanding of the class line by wildly cheering some campus cops (the same who had helped crush the 1970 student strike) who, at a campus student meeting in January, expressed their opposition to possible budget cutbacks (after all, cops like to hold onto their jobs, too).

But the Attica Brigade has really outdone itself at Boston University where, in cooperation with the Student Union, it recently brought out a pamphlet called "an alternative guide to BU." In the section entitled "Alternatives," we read:

"This year as students at Boston University there are countless ways we can disrupt, change or subvert. How we spend our lives, how we relate to other people, and how we relate to the University will help determine the future of this country. We can create change by speaking out politically and by breaking away from the life styles we are taught..."

"Guerrilla Guide to Boston University"

"The following are a few ideas almost anyone can do:..."

8. Smoke dope in class....
10. Light a cherry bomb during graduation....
16. Come to class naked....
21. Let the air out of Silber's tires....
46. Write your Congress person....
59. Hold a silent vigil....
61. Piss on the administration building...."

Abbie, Rennie and Jerry, where are you now that they need you?

Woodcock Talks to the Students

Leonard Woodcock, President of the United Auto Workers (UAW), has been touring the campuses lately. Under the guise of speaking on the subject, "Labor and Social Change," he has been lobbying for various Democratic Party-sponsored bills currently being debated in Congress. The New Haven RCY attended his forum at Yale where he lamented that a number of UAW members still had the "mistaken idea" that labor and capital have contradictory interests.

Speaking from the floor, one RCY supporter recounted the crimes committed by Woodcock and Company: the mobilization of 1,000 bureaucrats to smash the Mack Avenue Stamping plant wildcat, the bureaucracy's gangsterism against left-wing paper salesmen, the rotten sell-out of the Ford workers in the recent contract negotiations and the union leadership's craven capitulation to the bourgeoisie in the face of wage controls and massive layoffs.

The RCYer pointed to the need for a class-struggle caucus in the UAW that would challenge the present pro-capitalist incumbents on a program of nationalization of the auto industry under workers control, workers democracy in the union, a shorter workweek with no loss in pay to end unemployment, an end to racial and sexual discrimination in hiring and job upgrading, industry-wide strikes against lay-offs and for a workers party to fight for a workers government.

Woodcock replied, "I'm running a union, not a revolution," and then complained that he had "heard this speech last week at Brandeis." The RCY chapter at Brandeis confirmed that it had indeed attended Woodcock's forum there and given him hell.

No Real Gains in Barnard Strike

NEW YORK—Despite the claims of the union leadership and its friends in the Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA), the District 65, Distributive Workers of America, strike at Barnard College of Columbia University that ended on 4 February, was no victory for the workers.

The final three-year contract settlement included a mere first-year 7.7 percent increase and a second-year 7.2 percent average increase, with the pension plan and most other benefits scrapped until "new" negotiations are held in the *third year* of the contract! Given the officially recognized 9 percent annual rate of inflation, the "gains" of the strike actually amount to a net loss in pay.

The RCY, which vigorously supported the strike through its presence on the picket lines and political intervention in the Student Strike Support Committee, was alone in pointing the way to a winning strategy. The RCY called for a mobilization of all students, campus workers and campus unions in support of the strike.

To counteract the University's effective use of the non-union student clerical workers (who receive free tuition as part of their job) to divide the workers, the RCY called for a union-initiated organizing drive to challenge a previous NLRB decision ruling the students out of the union, and for an end to tuition and open admissions with full stipend to all through nationalization of Columbia University under worker-student-teacher control.

Neither the SWP/YSA nor the Attica Brigade addressed themselves to these crucial political questions facing the workers, while the union leadership responded by viciously redbaiting the RCY.

The union bureaucracy further distinguished itself by emphasizing "sisterhood" and big-name publicity rather than militant class-struggle solidarity and action. Union picket signs appealed to class-enemy Barnard College President Peterson: "Martha, support your sisters!" Securing the support of other "sisters" like anti-labor, bourgeois politician Bella Abzug and bourgeois feminist Gloria Steinem was substituted for the mobilization of wide labor and student support. Steinem added her insights to the struggle, declaring that there wasn't a feminist she knew who didn't support the strike; she pointed out that while Barnard students wouldn't grow up to be clerks, "spiritually we are all typists" (*Barnard Bulletin*, 31 January 1974).

While favoring the right of anyone who supports a strike to walk its picket line, the RCY vigorously opposes the tail-ending or spreading of bourgeois illusions (e.g., that Abzug, supporter of wage controls and the Zionist state, is a "friend of labor") and feminist consciousness, calling for male-female solidarity along class lines as the basic minimum *beginning* for winning real strike gains.

Shadows of the Chavez Bureaucracy

CHICAGO—On 10 February, the leadership of the United Farm Workers (UFW) boycott-support committee disbanded a highly publicized picket line of a Jewel supermarket upon the arrival of a contingent representing the Spartacist League/RCY.

The picket line was intended to be the culmination of three days of boycott-support organizing activity in Chicago directed by the Midwest Student Organizing Committee. The SL/RCY attended the conference held by the Committee, affirming its solidarity with the farm workers and the necessity of honoring the boycott of scab produce. It sharply criticized the substitution of the consumer boycott strategy for a reliance on the organized striking power of labor and brought up the necessity for the farm workers to wage a political fight in their union against the Chavez misleadership and for a class-struggle leadership.

The leaders of the conference, among whom were many individuals belonging to ostensibly Marxist organizations, notably the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party and the Stalinist Communist Party, consistently and openly attempted to prevent discussion of the political and strategic questions facing the farm workers, questions whose discussion and resolution the SL/RCY insisted were essential for the farm workers' victory.

On Sunday morning, the Jewel supermarket picket line was dispersed—obviously according to a previously discussed plan—when the SL/RCY contingent arrived carrying militant class-struggle slogans.

Chavez's cynical hangers-on, who are willing to go so far as to liquidate their own picket line to avoid exposure of the UFW bureaucracy's betrayals, call those who dare to speak the truth disrupters. It should be clear to all supporters of the farm workers' struggle, however, who the real sectarians, splitters and wreckers are: those who are so afraid of the unmasking of their no-win strategy that they will break up even their own flimsy support actions.

Ethnic Student Centers Closed at Madison

MADISON—Negotiations are continuing between the Administration and the Open Centers Committee (OCC), a coalition of nationalist and left groups, concerning the closing of the Afro-American and Native American Cultural Centers at the University of Wisconsin at Madison. In the summer of 1973 the Administration decided to replace the centers with "Multicultural Ethnic Programs," which had a far lower budget. At the same time, the Army Math Research Center (the sole surviving independent center) would continue to get \$1,500,000 to develop such techniques as carpet bombing for U.S. imperialism.

The stated reason for the closings, according to President Weaver, was the University's opposition to "ego-satisfying, identity-segregating cultural rap courses and centers" in favor of a "thoroughly well-balanced and tightly integrated undergirding for success." Dean of Students Ginsberg, however, admitted that the centers were not segregated. The closings are actually a symptom of the U.S. bourgeoisie's desire (as recommended in the Carnegie Commission's 1970 report) to cut costs by eliminating or cutting back student facilities and programs.

The RCY supports the democratic right of students and teachers to change and extend the curriculum and departmental structure. We are opposed, however, in the interests of unity in the class struggle, to *exclusionary* departments or courses, which breed parochialism and are based on the reactionary belief that whites have nothing to learn from black history or vice versa.

The OCC's panacea, expressed during the negotiations, is student and minority control over sections of the University, a reactionary-utopian demand akin to community control. Universities must be nationalized under teacher-student-worker control, instead of divisive attempts by separate minority groups to control their piece of the pie.

The OCC is also attempting to get an increase in financial aid for minority students, an increase in the number of Asian-Americans, Chicanos, and American Indians hired by the University and an increase in the admission of Asian-Americans to the University. While this again reflects a nationalist conception, the RCY critically supports these demands for the increased admittance of minorities, but calls for open admissions for all with a full state-provided living stipend, as the only truly democratic solution.

Who Shall Rule?

Continued from page 1

every bourgeois government in its dealings with left and labor organizations. It was only when these tactics were turned against the bourgeoisie and its agents—the "Watergating" of Democratic Party headquarters, the CREEP Mafioso-like extortions from leading representatives of the capitalist class itself, and Nixon's outrageous corruption in attempting to acquire a personal fortune—that the ruling class turned against Nixon.

This political crisis in the bourgeois order has as its background the loss of American imperialist hegemony. The U.S. can no longer afford to be the sole banker and cop for world imperialism. This dictated Nixon's real domestic and foreign policies. He lectured on the virtues of the "free market" and then established wage controls; he preached the inviolability of the dollar and then devalued the dollar; he built his political career on cold-war anti-communism and proceeded to withdraw the troops from Vietnam while pursuing a "detente" with China and Russia.

Kissinger's con-man rhetoric aside, loss of hegemony does not lead to "partnership" but to a reassertion of inter-imperialist rivalries. The fragility of imperialist "partnership" as well as "detente" has been demonstrated in the recent Near East war, the first major international test of Kissinger-Nixon policies.

Since the rise of French and German capitalism at the end of the nineteenth century, Britain has not been unfamiliar with inter-imperialist rivalries. In the current round both the U.S. and Britain are employing similar tactics, wage controls combined with currency devaluation, the latter generating domestic inflation and the former a fall in real wages. In the U.S., for example, take-home pay rose less than the 5.5 percent Pay Board-mandated guideline, while the cost of living rose 9.4 percent, producing a 4 percent fall in real wages (*Newsweek*, 4 March 1974).

The "Energy Crisis" Cover-up

Both the American and British ruling classes, in order to account for rampant inflation, took advantage of the Near East war to declare a phony "energy crisis." Thus, after oil companies announced record profits in the face of a 25-50 percent rise in the price of oil products in the past year, Nixon gave his first news conference in four months essentially to "explain" why oil prices must go still higher! Likewise, confidence in the integrity of the Tories was not exactly strengthened by the Pay Board statement that Heath overestimated miners' wages and that they were indeed underpaid relative to other industries.

Given the profound social instability in the U.S. in the face of the political-economic crisis, the question of "Who Shall Rule?" cannot be contained in parliamentary terms. "Middle America" genuinely believes that Nixon is lining his pockets and corporate profits are getting fatter for every block longer

the gas lines grow and for every percent increase in the cost of necessities. American workers, subjected to breakneck speed-up and overtime last year, are threatened this year with severe unemployment as well as falling real wages. This should have generated enormous class conflict within American society.

Unions' "Restraint"

Instead even the bourgeois press has praised the unions for their "restraint." This praise is really directed at the "restrainers": the union bureaucracy—Woodcock's piecard-manned goon squads that broke up the Mack Ave. wildcat, Abel's no-strike deal in steel, Miller's strikebreaking in the mines. In England, the TUC performs these functions. Despite Heath's non-cooperation, the TUC is keeping up its end of a previous offer, seconded by the NUM leadership (including its "left" wing), to ensure that the miners are the *only* "exception" and that the other unions stay within Pay Board guidelines.

Nixon and Heath are both discredited, but then so are their adversaries, Meany and Wilson. Meany knows "who rules" as he calls for Nixon to resign to make way for Gerald Ford who, even according to the AFL-CIO bureaucracy's own criteria, is 99 percent anti-labor. Meany, like the German king, is absolute as long as he does *their*, i.e., the bourgeoisie's, bidding. The Labour Party and Wilson seek to channel the pervasive social crisis and the class discontent of the British working class into parliamentary channels while Meany hopes to ride it out with Ford until "Scoop" Jackson is swept into office on the promise of restoring Pax Americana-Cold War "prosperity."

The Meany-Woodcock-Miller bureaucracy is brittle, having no real authority any more among its working-class base; the British workers have already had a taste of Wilson in power and are therefore prone to few illusions in the capacity or willingness of the Labour Party to fight for workers' real interests. Wilson is so unpopular that he runs far behind Heath, Thorpe (the Liberal candidate), and even the rest of his own party in the opinion polls. In the U.S., big class battles are on the agenda, for the year of "restraint" has meant a storing up of accumulated discontent in the working class. The dam has been holding, but it cannot hold for much longer.

"Who Shall Rule?"

It is the task of communists to provide leadership to these class battles and to bring to the fore those demands which will link deeply felt economic grievances to the political mobilization of the class for power: a shorter work week with no loss in pay to end unemployment, a sliding scale of wages and hours to counteract the effects of inflation, oust Nixon with a general strike, for a Congress of Labor that will call for new elections and nominate a workers candidate, for a workers party that will fight for a workers government.

To give leadership to the British workers in the present social crisis, it is necessary to call for a general strike in defense of the miners, an end to wage controls and abolish the Pay Board and the Industrial Relations and Emergency Measures Acts, oust the Tories, for a Labour Party/TUC government pledged to a socialist program of expropriating the capitalist class, and Britain out of the Common Market—for a United Socialist States of Europe.

If a communist opposition to the reformist leadership of the American and British labor movements acquires significant authority in the coming period of class struggle, and the basis is laid for mass parties of a reborn Fourth International, then in the next round of class battles it will be the proletariat organized and led by its conscious vanguard who will answer the question: "Who Shall Rule?" ■

Solidarity Demonstrations with British Miners

The Spartacist League/RCY has responded to the crisis in Britain and the immense importance to the world working class of a miners' victory by initiating Miners' Solidarity Action Committees across the country to build for united-front solidarity demonstrations around the slogan, "Victory to the British Miners." Planning meetings and demonstrations have been held in New York, Los Angeles, Detroit, Chicago, Boston, the Bay Area, New Haven and Toronto. In addition to the SL/RCY, others who have joined or endorsed the Committee include the Black Panther Party; the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; Fight Back; Bill Epton; Communications Workers of America Locals 1101, 1103 and 1150; the Ad Hoc Committee for Defense of Haitian Refugees; the Centers for Change; the Friends of Haiti; the Irish Republican Clubs; the Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the National Maritime Union; Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Locals 438 and 8-149; Paul O'Dwyer; Rank and File Committee for a Democratic Union within the N.Y.C.T.A.; the United Farm Workers; OCAW Maritime Local 8-801; the Catholic Worker; War Tax Resistance; the Harlem Tenants Union; Burton Hall; Revolutionary Communist League (Internationalist); Alfred Russel; the Ad Hoc Stewards' Committee of the Massachusetts Social Workers



Guild, Local 509; Local 616, Amalgamated Meatcutters and Butcher Workmen of North America; D. Archer, Ontario Federation of Labor; J. Potts, Canadian Union of Postal Workers; Howard Zinn; the Indochina Peace Campaign in Boston; the Militant Action Caucus of the CWA; Young Socialist Alliance, New Haven, Long Island and Patterson, New Jersey; Craig Gouthier, New Haven People's Center; UFW Yale Support Committee; New Haven South Africa Task Force; Justin Manning, International Representative of the Office and Professional Employees' Union; and the Revolutionary Socialist League.

While many groups and individuals were willing to endorse the demonstrations, most either sent only token representation or did not come at all. Among those groups which mobilized in force were the Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the NMU and the Militant Action Caucus of the CWA. The only other group significantly represented was the YSA, with the New Haven, Long Island and Patterson, New Jersey YSA chapters participating in the demonstrations. The SWP/YSA National Offices, however, refused to give their endorsement.

Boston's Columbia Point:

Capitalist Anarchy Threatens Housing, Education

[The following article is a slightly edited version of a Young Spartacus supplement originally distributed in Boston in February as a response to the University of Massachusetts' encroachment into the Columbia Point neighborhood.]

Since 1954 the Columbia Point Housing Project has sat decaying, collecting the most destitute Boston families. Now Mayor White has announced that Columbia Point will be transformed into "one of the handsomest neighborhoods in the city." This miraculous transformation has been triggered by the January 1974 move of the University of Massachusetts-Boston Campus (UMB) to Columbia Point and the resultant opportunity to turn "lead" into "gold" for the John Hancock Insurance Company (which owns a large part of the peninsula including Bay-side Mall); for New England Telephone (which holds the mortgage); for investment corporations like Baystate (one of whose directors, Joseph Healy, is Chairman of the UM Board of Trustees); for large realtors (for which opportunities for speculation derive from, one, the geometric increases in the value of the peninsula itself and, two, the block busting, apartment subdivisions and rent gouging that have already begun in Dorchester and South Boston); and the city government (for which the influx of business will turn hitherto

untaxable land into a source of revenue).

Neither the real needs of working-class and poor families for decent housing nor the need for expanded educational opportunities for minority, working-class and poor students have ever been a determining factor in the events surrounding the move of UMB to Columbia Point.

Since UMB opened in 1965 with 250 students in a former office building downtown, a permanent site for the university has been sought. However, all the locations considered before the decision on Columbia Point ran afoul of vested financial interests and powerful lobbying groups. It is widely known that the John Hancock Insurance Company threatened to leave Boston if the UMB campus moved into Copley Square, where they planned their new "plywood" skyscraper. The Greater Boston Real Estate Board, joined by the City Council and Back Bay civic groups, complained that there were already too many students in the downtown area. The choice inexorably narrowed to the Columbia Point peninsula where, from the point of view of city and state politicians there are no vested interests to protect.

According to the state legislature, UMB, with a projected enrollment of 15,000 by 1980 (of which the number from the city of Boston will remain

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... Columbia Point Housing

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unchanged at 2,000), must remain a commuter school. Therefore, plans for the university did not include a single unit of housing for the thousands of students, faculty and staff who will inevitably move into the surrounding area rather than battle traffic, the skyrocketing cost of gas and overcrowded and poorly maintained rapid transit.

Mayor White earlier suggested that UMB take over the housing project outright, but this plan has been withdrawn in favor of a more "lucrative" plan announced on 17 January. The new plan will reduce the existing number of low-income units by 1/3, to 1,000 "rehabilitated" units, a reduction equal to the number of one- and two-bedroom apartments kept vacant with the excuse that they were unrentable (in their condition no wonder!); the *Justin Grey Report* of last January estimates the projects are in need of \$6,000,000 in major repairs. Earlier the rent ceiling was raised 57 percent from \$105 to \$165 a month, clearly indicating the city's intention to drive out as many of the current tenants as possible, in spite of "assurances" to the contrary.

Already there have been instances of tenants refusing to let their bathrooms be renovated because they feared that any repairs would be shortly followed by their eviction. As the *Justin Grey Report* noted there are some 500 UMB married students who fall within Boston Housing Authority limits for low-income housing and who are no doubt in the eyes of the city and business community more "desirable" than the present tenants.

The plan also makes provision for 3,000 new units of "low-moderate" and "market-priced" housing. The rent levels have not yet been set on the 2,000 units set for "\$7,000-12,000" level (the remaining 1,000 units are for "over \$12,000 income") and when set they could well put these units out of range of even "moderate" incomes as well as almost all of the present residents of Columbia Point and a large percentage of Boston's poor and working-class residents.

Housing and Capitalism

That the housing crisis is an inevitable outgrowth of capitalist society shows up quite clearly in Columbia Point. Capitalists produce for profit, not for use; low-income housing has never been a profitable investment but up until recently there has been money from the Federal "till" to stimulate the "social consciousness" of investors and developers. With the fall of U.S. capitalism from its position of hegemony over world capitalism to the most powerful among equals, U.S. capitalists have been forced to intensify their drive for profits and competitive ability on the world market.

Nixon's 15 August 1971 wage-control speech inaugurated this intensified drive to reduce the costs of production at the expense of the working class.

Most immediately and critically affected are those living on fixed, subsistence-level incomes: the unemployed and chronically unemployed, the aged and recipients of all forms of public assistance. These sectors of society are maintained by capitalism not out of any philanthropic considerations but as a reserve army of labor, to be employed during times of "boom" and tossed out in recessions and depression, and to hold down the wages of all employed workers through the threat of being replaced. Women, youth and minorities comprise the largest part of the reserve labor army; but this threat of lumpenization is particularly ominous to blacks and other minorities who if permanently removed from the productive process are increasingly "fair game" for the geno-

cidal policies of a future U.S. fascist reaction.

By and large the residents of Columbia Point fall into this sector of society. Sixty percent of the residents are black. The median family income is \$4,157, less than half the city-wide median. Seventy-six percent of the families in the project receive some form of public assistance and while 40 percent are over 18 years old, only 14.5 percent are employed (and of these 14.5 percent, how many are underemployed?). While the project residents are among the most oppressed in Boston, they are the least able to defend themselves or improve their standard of living (contrary to the Maoist conception that the most oppressed are the most revolutionary). Chronic unemployment, i.e., no relation to the means of production, leads to chronic despair, lack of organization and lack of independent social power.

The Only Road Forward

The Revolutionary Communist Youth (RCY, the youth section of the Spartacist League) is opposed to the sub-human living conditions imposed on Columbia Point residents and public housing tenants in general. We would like nothing better than to see these high-rise ghettos torn down and replaced with decent, low-rent housing; however, the experience of programs like "Urban Renewal" (where thousands of poor families were displaced without an increase in decent low-rent housing) shows that we cannot leave this task to the capitalists or their government.

We, therefore, oppose evictions of Columbia Point tenants and the increase in the rent ceiling, calling instead for a massive rent rollback in both public and private housing city-wide. In addition, to take housing out of the hands of profit-hungry speculators, to provide decent, low-rent housing for all, to create jobs for the unemployed, we call for expropriation of the landlords, massive construction of low-rent housing and all-rental housing under worker-tenant control!

Reformist Schemes No Answer

The reformists of the Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance, Communist Party/Young Workers Liberation League, Revolutionary Union/Attica Brigade, Progressive Labor-led SDS and various campus radical groups descend into reactionary ethnic politics by calling for the utopian demand of "community control." Columbia Point tenants have already rejected Office of Economic Opportunity "tenant control" schemes, showing more of a sense of the realities of class society than these "revolutionaries."

As communists we know that the liberation of blacks and other minorities cannot come from "control" of rotting tenements and failing small businesses that make up most ghetto communities. Liberation is not replacing harassment, strikebreaking and eviction by white cops for the same, only by black cops; nor is it substituting black "Tammany Halls" for white. Social power in capitalist society does not reside in the control of Detroit's ghetto, but in control of its auto plants; it is not in control of the Columbia Point projects but in control of New England Telephone. In opposition to the capitalists and the reformists the RCY calls for placing industry under the control of the working class to be run in the interest of all the exploited and oppressed: for expropriation of industry under workers control!

The struggle for these demands is both economic and political; even demands for higher wages can come up against the power of the state in the form of wage controls (supported by both the Republicans and the Democrats) and often the armed forces of

(Continued on page 11)

...Shockley

Continued from page 1

to present a pseudo-scientific theory to justify racial oppression and the other injustices of capitalism, then they must be discredited and "silenced" by trenchant, scientific criticism the way Marx discredited the reactionary economist Malthus.

In fact, Marxists have always insisted upon scientific refutation of bourgeois ideology. Kautsky, when he was still a Marxist, wrote a refutation of anti-Semitic theories in *Are the Jews a Race?* Gramsci criticized Bukharin for vulgarizing bourgeois ideology in order to refute it; rather, one must take up the ideas of the most sophisticated bourgeois ideologues and refute them in detail:

"... it is not very 'scientific,' or more simply, 'very serious,' to choose one's adversaries from among the most stupid and mediocre, or again, to choose the least essential and most incidental of their opinions and presume that one has 'entirely demolished' the opponent because one has demolished one of his secondary or minor opinions, or that one has demolished an ideology or a doctrine because one has shown the theoretical insufficiency of its third- or fourth-rate champions."

—Gramsci, "Critical Notes on an Attempt at a Popular Presentation of Marxism by Bukharin," *The Modern Prince and Other Writings*

PL's use of terrorism rather than scientific debate to silence Shockley implies that Shockley is right and can only be defeated by force. Not afraid to behave contradictorily, however, PL has published written refutations of Shockley's theories, thus demon-

strating that its shouting-down confrontations are acts of *conscious opportunism*, an attempt to capitalize on anti-racist sentiment through flashy demonstrations. So what if the fight against racism is thereby disoriented?

petty bourgeoisie and lumpenproletariat to defend capitalism through the destruction of the organizations of the working class, we would be in favor of their suppression by whatever means necessary. But this is not the case. These men do not lead masses; in fact, they are not political leaders at all. Suppressing them will not improve the situation of black people in this country by one iota.

A mass fascist movement, however, may very well make use of their ideas the way that German fascism came to incorporate the ideas of Sombart and Spengler. It is important to recognize that these people are not simply isolated academic cranks like the English professor trying to prove that Francis Bacon wrote the Shakespeare corpus. These people have come to the fore precisely because they represent the right-wing social motion of the Nixon Administration: the dismantling of the "Great Society" poverty programs and the cutback in other social programs, Nixon's bonapartist appeal to "law and order," and his making his "Southern strategy" a national strategy.

Jensen, Herrnstein, Shockley and Banfield are the ideological apologists for Nixon's "Southern strategy." But they are not Norman Rockwell or Robert Shelton—their writings and speaking tours are not addressed to the lumpenproletariat and crushed petty bourgeoisie who become the shock troops of fascism. Instead their audience is the same as that addressed by the liberal academics that PL is courting through its Committee Against Racism—the administrators, government bureaucrats and ideological apologists for the bourgeois order.

These liberal academics are just as much defenders of the bourgeois order as Shockley *et al.* They argue

RACIAL OPPRESSION & WORKING-CLASS POLITICS

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

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with Shockley only how best to defend and serve the bourgeois order. These liberals are the disinherited apologists for the Johnson "Great Society." They are as committed as the Shockleyites to perpetuating the myth that racial oppression is not inherent in the capitalist system.

Political Firings on Campus

In addition to chasing the big names around in order to shout them down, SDS carries on harassment campaigns against local "racist professors," and calls on the university administration to "fire racist professors" and "ban racist textbooks."

The RCY opposes raising the demand that a pro-capitalist university administration fire a racist professor. First, this perpetuates the illusion that somehow it is possible to isolate and sanitize the university separate from capitalist society as a whole. This is little more than a warmed-over radical version of the classless conception of the university as an ivory tower, removed from the struggles of society.

Secondly and more importantly, to appeal to the university administration to ban racist textbooks and fire racist professors reinforces the liberal notion that the administration is class-neutral. As PL once knew, the campus administration is the "boss," like corporate management from which it is often recruited and to which it often returns, the administrators are the direct agents of the capitalist class on campus, while the teaching staff is part of the work force. While the targets of political firings theoretically

If these academic ideologues were in fact leaders of a fascist movement, that is, a political mobilization of the

could be the academic right wing, far more frequently it is the left whose jobs are under attack. The precedent of political firings makes it far easier for the university to launch such attacks on leftists.

This should be obvious to PL/SDS which has recently been engaged in campaigns to defend professor-supporters of theirs, e.g., at the University of Connecticut at Storrs. PL/SDS's demands upon university administrations to end racism come as no surprise, however, in the wake of its attempts last year in Miami to extract similar promises from the direct political representatives of the ruling class—when an SDS contingent demanded of George McGovern that he sign SDS's "Anti-Racism Bill" and fight for its inclusion in the Democratic Party platform.

Politically, the SDS anti-racism campaign has largely maintained the

Semitism and fascism or racism and fascism has roots in the U.S.'s role in WWII where, in order to mobilize support for U.S. imperialism the bourgeoisie appealed not only to simple national chauvinism, but also to "humanitarian" opposition to anti-Semitism. In the minds of most Americans the key facts about Hitlerite Germany are not that it decimated the organizations of the left and working class, imprisoned and murdered their leaderships, and oppressed nationalities like the Poles or Greeks, but that it massacred six million Jews.

While fascism always makes use of reactionary ideology, it does not necessarily employ racism or anti-Semitism. The fascists under Mussolini in Italy, for example, did not rely heavily on these particular weapons, but they were extremely nationalistic. Clearly a fascist movement in the U.S. would employ racist ideology, but it

The 1969 SDS Split and PL's Downhill Plunge

The blatant and disgusting reformism pushed by PL in the student movement these days is the legacy of the 1969 split in SDS. At that time, Spartacist League supporters in SDS gave critical support to the PL wing whose crude, but pro-working-class line stood counterposed to the New Left-style third world nationalism of the Dohrns and Klonskys.

The SL pointed out, however, that PL's program for SDS was centrist, that is, it did not put forward a socialist program but defined SDS in negatives only: anti-imperialist, anti-racist, anti-sexist. A centrist policy does not remain stable; it either moves in an increasingly working-class and revolutionary direction or becomes dominated by its reformist components.

PL rejected the revolutionary program put forward by the SL (and later the SL-initiated Revolutionary Marxist Caucus, forerunner of the RCY) and adopted instead the parochial and economist campus worker-student alliance. This retreat from the subjectively revolutionary stance of PL in 1969 culminated in the spring 1972 SDS convention where the single-issue, fight-racist-theories-on-campus program marked the hardening up of SDS into a class-collaborationist organization, indeed, into the SMC of racism so ardently desired by the PL leadership. The RCY, recognizing this turn toward class collaboration, walked out of SDS after the revolutionary proletarian program it had proposed had been defeated.

Since 1972 SDS has increasingly covered itself with ignominy—from the Miami Democratic Party convention to the founding of the Committee Against Racism (CAR) in late 1973. CAR consists mainly of liberal academics and burned-out PLers who no longer wish to be revolutionaries but find the struggle against academic racist theories to be soothing to the guilty petty-bourgeois conscience.

For a Class-Struggle Fight Against Racial Oppression!

Racial oppression is indigenous to the capitalist system which thrives on the creation and furthering of divisions within the class and which needs an industrial reserve army of an unemployed or semi-employed unskilled workforce. Key to the fight against racial oppression is the construction of racially-united caucuses in the trade unions which fight to replace the capitalist-serving bureaucrats with a class-

struggle leadership. Such caucuses should take the lead in campaigns to organize the unorganized and fight for a shorter work week with no loss in pay to end unemployment. In this way, a fight is waged against the tendency toward lumpenization and the isolation of blacks from the working class, a tendency which, if not reversed, will create the basis for a fascist-genocidal "final solution" to the black question. Such a caucus must fight against discrimination in hiring and job upgrading, racist attitudes of white workers and separatist or nationalist attitudes of black workers by showing concretely how such divisions weaken the struggle against the employer and by pointing out that the creation of an industrial reserve army, made up of oppressed

What is the Permanent Revolution?

by Leon Trotsky

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minorities and women, serves to drive down the wages of the class as a whole.

On the campuses it is not the job of communists to convince students that racial oppression will be defeated by disrupting a lecture or calling on an administration to ban a racist professor or racist textbook. Instead every manifestation of racism and racial oppression must be fought in such a way that the blame is placed not on "bad ideas" and racist theories as isolated phenomena, but on their role as tools of the capitalist system. The academic and idealist prejudice that history is a struggle of ideas alone rather than the struggle of classes must be fought, not capitulated to.

It must be demonstrated to students that the struggle against racial oppression, as well as all other forms of social oppression, is a question of class allegiance. In the mobilization of class against class, black workers because of their special oppression will play a leadership role, as they have in so many recent strikes across the country, and white workers will transcend their racial prejudices. For it will be the proletariat as a class, organized and led by its revolutionary vanguard in which black workers will play a leading role, that will sweep the Herrnstains and Shockleys, as well as the racist bourgeois order they defend, into the dustbin of history. ■

Progressive Labor Party Split

News of the split in Progressive Labor (PL) began circulating on the left as YSp went to press. The entire Boston chapter of PL, joined by Buffalo, has left PL, forming the Party for Workers Power (PWP), publishing a newspaper called *Spark*, and promising to bring out soon a public document about the split. PL has not acknowledged the split except to note in the latest *Challenge* (7 March) that there have been "changes in the leadership in Boston" and, therefore, anyone interested in PL activities there should contact New York.

The Spartacist League/RCY has long pointed out that PL's rejection of key Stalinist theories like the two-stage revolution, coupled with a failure to arrive at a genuine Leninist, i.e., Trotskyist, perspective, left PL in an untenable and contradictory, hence unstable, position; an organization that is neither fish nor fowl has no future. The recent significant split was apparently not based on qualitative political differences—the PWP's *Spark* is a carbon copy of *Challenge*.

character of an academic debate around questions like whether IQ measures intelligence, and whether black-white differences in IQ test scores result from genetic differences between blacks and whites. As PL competently demonstrates in its pamphlet "Racism, Intelligence and the Working Class," the answer to both questions is "no." IQ tests measure certain acquired aptitudes that correlate well with success in bourgeois education and society and there is no scientific basis for attributing the generally lower (on the average) scores of blacks to anything more than the effects of racial oppression under capitalism.

While it is important to counter such racist theories, it is dangerously disorienting to locate the focus of the struggle against racial oppression in the realm of theories. Racism can only be fought successfully through the class struggle, where demands against racism are not raised as moral exhortations dependent upon the good will and honesty of the listener (all those "free wills with opinions" floating around), but are linked to concrete and felt needs of workers who will see that their economic and political interests as a class are intimately bound up with a successful struggle against racial and sexual oppression—against divisions within the class which only weaken it in its fight against the bosses.

The moralistic idealism behind PL/SDS's current strategy was also at the heart of the old SDS right wing's "white skin privilege" theories which translated programmatically and in practice into anti-working-class policies and strategy.

Nature of Fascism

PL's idealism reaches an obscene level with PL's analysis of the rise of fascism as traceable to the failure of students and others to suppress the theorists of anti-Semitism:

"REMEMBER THE RESULTS FOR THE GERMAN PEOPLE AND THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD IN ALLOWING AND FOLLOWING THE NAZI MASTER RACE THEORIES.... We have accumulated enough experience by now to start a counteroffensive against these Nazi theories [of Shockley et al.]."

PL's incorrect equation of anti-

is not racism that paves the way to fascism. To equate racism and fascism is to define fascism in liberal terminology and to miss its class character—without an understanding of fascism, a fight against it is defeated at the outset.

Fascism is the last resort of the capitalists to maintain their class rule in the face of growing working-class social unrest. By abandoning bourgeois democracy and supporting the political leadership of dictators whose base is the economically desperate petty bourgeoisie and lumpen-proletariat, the capitalists hope to save the profit system. One can imagine PL in Nazi Germany, urging greater militancy in the classroom against right-wing professors, while cheering on the Stalinists' criminal sectarian refusal to enter into united-front, class-struggle action against the Nazis.

The "Shockley Question" at Yale

The latest attempt to schedule a campus Shockley speaking engagement is the projected 14 March Shockley-Roy Innis debate at Yale, initially to have been sponsored by the Yale Political Union, a student organization which invites speakers to the campus. The scheduling of the debate sparked an opposition movement of the minority-group student organizations. They have staged a series of meetings and rallies calling upon the Administration to prevent the debate.

On 15 February the Political Union, under the pressure of this opposition, voted 200 to 190 to disinvite Shockley and Innis. They were reinvented by Lux et Veritas, a right-wing student-alumni association, which then also backed down under pressure. The latest news is that Shockley-Innis have been reinvented once again, this time by the financially well-endowed Yale Calliopean Society, which has been inactive for several years but has come out of retirement for the occasion. Yale President Brewster has, as usual, been playing both sides against the middle, attempting to look publicly like the friend of the anti-racist, anti-debate faction, at the same time carrying on a corridor campaign of appeasing the pro-debate right wing.

Progressive Labor/SDS's one campus member and the Young Socialist Alliance's (YSA) two campus members have completely tail-ended this movement, making no attempts to inject socialist politics. The YSA, always anxious to outdo reformists in their own game and more comfortable in its liberalism than PL, has felt no impulse to cover itself with a veneer of tactical militancy; rather, it made a feeble attempt at Yale recently to wrest organizational leadership away from the minority-student organizations by suggesting a picket line—"The Yale

Picket Against Shockley"—to prevent the debate.

A YSA spokesman at the "Yale Picket" meeting did not identify himself as a socialist but, in presenting his arguments against the debate, characterized himself as, after all, just "a free will with an opinion." YSAers later rebaited the RCY: "Go build a vanguard party"; the RCYers promised they would. PL offered its assistance to any picketing activities.

Roy Innis of CORE distinguished himself by showing up at one of the initial meetings called by the Political Union to discuss the projected debate, insulting everyone (black and white) and referring to himself as the "black general" of the movement who automatically should be listened to. Not surprisingly, he did not convince the minority students, who continued to oppose the scheduling of the debate (probably not a few opinions in favor of the debate were changed as a result of Innis' intervention).

While the strategy of shouting down Shockley as an important aspect of fighting racism is based on liberalism (see article, page 1), some of the opposition to the debate contained a healthy thrust in that it was based on Innis' lack of qualifications and recognition that he is a black-capitalist hustler with nothing to offer oppressed blacks.

The New Haven RCY has intervened heavily in these events with class-struggle politics, in particular emphasizing the rotten black-capitalist politics of Innis and CORE and exposing the liberal approach of ostensible socialist organizations like the YSA and PL. Alone in its insistence on the need to link the struggle against racial oppression to that of the working class against capitalism, the RCY has made a real impact on the Yale student community.

The Spartacus Youth League and the Student Upsurge of the 1930's

The Lessons from History series has in the past included articles on the early years of the Communist Youth International and the development of a "Resolution on the Youth" at the founding Conference of the Fourth International. This article on the Spartacus Youth League, the first Trotskyist youth organization in the U.S., focuses on the SYL's internal debates over a correct orientation to students and on the main aspect of its student work, namely, its intervention in the anti-war student movement, counterposing the Leninist slogans against imperialist war to the predominating petty-bourgeois pacifism and social patriotism.

Today, student groups like the Maoist Revolutionary Union-dominated Attica Brigade and Progressive Labor's SDS are organized along the same reform-

ist, student-parochialist conceptions as the Stalinist National Student League of the 1930's. So-called "socialist youth organizations" like the Socialist Workers Party's Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) made themselves infamous by their consistent petty-bourgeois, single-issue reformism on the Vietnam War. Such anti-Leninist youth work is nothing new; rather, it is the heritage of the Stalinist degeneration of the Third International.

The new recruits to the Attica Brigade, YSA and SDS may not be familiar with the historical traditions of these aspects of youth work and are not aware that old mistakes are being repeated and old betrayals consciously rerun. An examination of these issues in the crisis years of the 1930's sheds light on current differences between left-wing youth and student organizations.

Lessons from History

The development of the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) took place in the context of a growing radical student movement, dominated politically by the National Student League (NSL), which was led by the Stalinist Young Communist League (YCL).

The YCL was changing rapidly in response to events in American society (the Depression, New Deal, renewed militancy in the working class and preparations for imperialist war) and internationally (the further political degeneration of the Soviet Union and the rise of fascism in Germany). The YCL, under the control of the Communist Party, subservient to the dictates of the Soviet bureaucracy, entered a period of crisis in the mid-thirties, losing members and influence, as the line of the sectarian "third period" was abruptly changed to the policy of the People's Front.

The Stalinist youth liquidated all remnants of independent working-class politics in their program and gave uncritical support to the multi-class American Student Union and American Youth Congress (with the emphasis on the American!), leading them on to the football field to wave pompons and cheer for Roosevelt as he prepared another slaughter for the American workers.

The radical student movement of the early 1930's, with an even greater percentage of students involved than the protest movements of the 1960's, was the main battlefield in the political war between the left-wing youth organizations. The sporadic anti-ROTC campaigns and expressions of discontent in 1931 soon developed into a wave of militancy which expressed itself in numerous anti-ROTC and anti-war rallies, conferences on unemployment, fascism and the crisis in education caused by the Depression, and widespread support for striking workers.

In the period since WWI, the Student League for Industrial Democracy (SLID), a bloc of the social-democratic Young People's Socialist League (who formed its leadership) with liberal Christian "socialists," had been the dominant leftist group on the campuses, while the Young Workers League (previous name of the YCL) had concentrated on work among the young proletariat. The SLID in 1931 was an exhausted and demoralized organization with no enthusiasm to greet the outburst of campus radicalism.

National Student League

The SLID never gained the influence or numbers of the early-thirties National Student League (NSL), the dominant left-wing campus organization throughout this period. The NSL began as a YCL-led split from the SLID in September 1931, a split based on the "third period" line that social democrats were social fascists and on the Stalinists' organizational appetite for a youth group of their own.

Centered in New York City, the group at first called itself the New York Student League, but the rapid gain in national membership soon justified a name change to National Student League. Publication of a monthly magazine, the *Student Review*, was begun in December 1931.

At that time the Trotskyist movement held that the Communist Parties were susceptible to reform from within. Consistent with this political orientation, the young Trotskyists considered themselves to be part of the YCL. At first organized into Spartacus Youth Clubs (SYC), sympathizing circles of the Communist League of America (CLA), the young Trotskyists concentrated on education of their membership and periphery in the historical lessons of Marxism and on intervention into YCL activities.

The SYC attempted to introduce resolutions in defense of a revolutionary perspective at YCL meetings and conferences, called on young militants to join the YCL, encouraged Trotskyist sympathizers to remain within the YCL to seek to win over the organization as a whole to Trotskyism, and themselves sought readmission to the organization, from which Trotskyists had been expelled in 1928. The Young Spartacans defended the YCL politically against the YPSL which at that time criticized the Soviet Union from the right and had not even partially broken with the betrayals of the Second International.

Young Spartacus and the Student Movement

The first volume of the paper circulated by the SYC, *Young Spartacus*, published by the National Youth Committee of the Communist League of America, reflected this strong orientation to the YCL, correct for that period. A real weakness, however, of the early *Young Spartacus* was a failure

to recognize the political importance of certain student protest actions, which it either ignored or gave brief and routine press coverage.

The first two issues contained nothing about the vital and expanding student movement but a one-column editorial which gave a formally correct but abstract analysis of the student's role in the revolutionary movement. The initial events surrounding the rise of the NSL to popularity such as the student delegation to Harlan County, Kentucky, to demonstrate support for the striking miners and the Columbia University strike in support of expelled liberal student editor Reed Harris, merited only short articles in back pages of *Young Spartacus*.

With the turning of the YCL more and more to the student arena, however, and the growth of a tremendous anti-war movement within that arena, the *Young Spartacus* began to devote more space to the student movement, and soon began to publish a monthly column called "Student Notes." The last issue of the paper (December 1935) was devoted exclusively to discussion of the issues surrounding the reunification of the NSL and SLID to form the American Student Union.

The orientation to the student movement necessitated more than just an abstract, formally correct understanding of the student question. Several debates on this question took place in the SYL, reflecting problems experienced in the arena.

Development of Leninist Position on Student Work

While favoring work among students, the SYL held the correct position that separate student self-interest organizations were necessarily reformist dead-ends and that it was not the task of communists to organize front groups for student "economism." Students are a socially heterogeneous group lacking the concentrated social power of the proletariat, which can stop capitalist production by withholding its labor. Therefore students are incapable of playing an independent or consistent political role or of posing a serious threat to the power of the capitalists.

While subordinate to the party's main work in the class, an orientation by the youth group to students is, however, important in the construction of a vanguard party as—and this was the case in the 1930's—the student movement is frequently the arena for ideological debates within the left. Student work can thus be an important component of the splits, fusions and regroupments that lead to the crystallization of a vanguard nucleus. In the longer view, it will be important in defeating the forces of capitalist reaction to win as large a section of the politically volatile student population as possible, as well as other non-working-class layers, to identify their interests with those of the proletariat.

The SYL sought to build a Leninist youth group which included both students and young workers and to focus its intervention in the student movement on the need to link up with working-class struggles through the class's political leadership, namely, a Leninist vanguard party. This did not preclude entry or intervention into existing student organizations when principled and tactically advisable. In fact, such work was vital to the growth of the SYL.

Leftism and Rightism on the Student Question

Having overcome its early tendency

to abstain from student work, the SYL initially adopted a correct tactical orientation of entry into the NSL with the goal of winning its majority to revolutionary politics. This tactic was arrived at after an internal debate in which sectarian workerist elements advocating a principle of non-entry were defeated.

Nevertheless, a tendency toward sectarianism continued to manifest itself in certain areas of student work, for example, in the SYL's orientation



New York students rally in 1937 in Madison Square for war student strike.

to the Oxford Pledge movement. This movement originated at Oxford University when the student union voted that "This House will not fight for King and Country in any war." The pledge was picked up by students in other countries, including the U.S., where it was generalized to declarations of refusal to fight for "our government" in any war.

The SYL, correctly noting the pacifist content of the Pledge and narrow student character of the movement, concluded that a posture of hostility and organizational abstention was therefore appropriate. They thereby cut themselves off from a layer of potential recruits who, while entertaining pacifist illusions, were also motivated by anti-patriotic, implicitly internationalist sentiments (and the movement did take on an international character, at least organizationally). This anti-patriotic sentiment was evident in the declarations' insistent opposition to participation by "our government" (or "our King and Country") in any war, rather than a general statement of opposition to war.

The retention of the Oxford Pledge became a polarizing issue in the anti-war student movement of the late 1930's when the social pressures to be patriotic were increasingly felt. The Stalinists opposed the Pledge while the Trotskyist Young People's Socialist League-Fourth Internationalist (SYL's successor) argued for its retention, capitalizing on its anti-patriotic, internationalist implications, opposing pacifist interpretations of it, and fighting to link it to anti-imperialist, revolutionary class-struggle demands.

Following the debate in the SYL over a general orientation to students, a rightist minority emerged, advocating abstractly the formation of a national "militant mass student movement" that would be anti-fascist, anti-militarist

and anti-imperialist and would "take up the struggles of the students around student issues" (*Young Spartacus* supplement, October 1934). This centrist formulation failed to put forward a positive socialist program, and instead defined the organization through negatives and as narrowly studentist. It was strikingly similar to Progressive Labor's 1969 program for SDS (which has since moved from centrism to reformism pure and simple) and the Revolutionary Union's current program for the Attica Brigade.

The SYL majority counterposed to this the Leninist conception:

"An organization which aims to educate the students in the character of the class struggle, and the duties which result from it can only do so on the basis of a clear program, a communist program. Clarity, which is always essential, is doubly so where different class elements are involved.... organizations which, like the NSL, move in the direction of organizing the students solely on the problems of the student

and early 1970's: subordination of revolutionary politics for the sake of the "movement."

This development coincided with the Stalinists' turn away from "third period" sectarianism towards the class collaboration of the popular front. The seeds for the capitulation to social patriotism were planted in the "third period," when the Stalinist parties, while following in the main a sectarian policy, zigzagged off into classless "anti-war" actions under the pressure of their role as defenders of the Soviet bureaucracy abroad.

Thus the Stalinists endorsed the infamous 1932 Amsterdam Conference dominated by the wretched politics of the pacifist literary figure Henri Barbusse. Barbusse's document, which was passed at the Conference, failed to distinguish between reactionary wars of imperialism and revolutionary wars of the proletariat against capitalism. Trotsky denounced the Communist International's (CI) behavior at the Conference as "monstrous, capitulatory, and criminal crawling of official communism before petty-bourgeois pacifism" ("Declaration to the Antiwar Congress at Amsterdam," *Writings of Leon Trotsky, 1932*). The Trotskyists' resolution calling on the Communist International to organize an international anti-war congress of all labor organizations to plan a united front action on a concrete program against war could not even obtain a vote and they were heckled and prevented from getting the floor.

The Stalinists' pacifism blossomed into open social patriotism in the popular-front period. In the NSL the formerly sectarian and crude but pro-working-class line was totally abandoned in favor of pacifism and social patriotism; the SYL should have recognized this as a qualitative degeneration into a hardened reformism and left the NSL, attempting to take with it any remaining subjectively revolutionary elements.

Instead, the SYL continued to conceive of itself as a left pressure group within the NSL, making formally correct political statements about the NSL's pacifist anti-war activities, but characterizing such activities as "errors made by the National Student Strike Committee [of the NSL]... [for example,] the failure to include working class youth organizations in the strike committee.... The second error was to allow for unclarity [by omitting] the slogan 'against imperialist war'.... In certain instances, notably CNY and New York University, the SYL forced the use of the word 'imperialist'" (*Young Spartacus*, May 1935).

The SYL should have denounced the conscious capitulation to the bourgeoisie that these politics represented, rather than creating the illusion of good-willed, but incompetent, opponents of imperialist war. Thus, while the SYL organized support for the anti-war strikes around Leninist slogans, its failure to counterpose itself clearly to the Stalinist NSL undercut its work.

Nevertheless, the SYL continued to recruit from the YCL and its periphery. In Chicago particularly, where several vigorous and active SYL chapters existed, a small but steady trickle sided with the Young Spartacans. The NSL grew so desperate that it attempted to pass a motion barring "Trotskyites" from membership. YCL members attacked SYLers at an NSL meeting against war; Spartacus leader Nathan Gould was attacked by YCLers when attempting to distribute a leaflet, and YCLers issued threats of violence if the Trotskyists did not cease to speak to their members. Such thuggery was the Stalinists' only "defense" against the SYL's revolutionary criticism of YCL capitulation. This desperation grew so intense that the Chicago NSL dissolved the organization rather than allow two SYLers to join!

American Youth Congress

This motion from crude pro-

working-class radicalism to alliance with the bourgeoisie was repeated in the American Youth Congress (AYC). In August 1934 a Roosevelt supporter by the name of Viola Ilma called upon all youth organizations to "convene and discuss the problems confronting the young people of this country." At the first convention, there was a split between the Ilmaites and the left (predominantly the YCL and YPSL); Ilma withdrew from the Congress, leaving the YCL, YPSL, YMCA-YWCA, the Boy Scouts and a few church organizations.

Despite the protests of the YCL, the SYL was present, although it correctly refused to endorse or join this wretched front for American bourgeois interests in the growing imperialist antagonisms. At the same time, the SYL maintained an active intervention into AYC meetings, sharply counterposing revolutionary class-struggle demands to the AYC's class collaborationism.

The AYC adopted a vague program of protest, pointing out the social problems of unemployment, transiency and militarization suffered by American youth. The second Congress, held in January 1935, had no agenda point for discussion. More vague resolutions were adopted—to be brought to Roosevelt and members of the U.S. Congress. *Young Spartacus* printed a scathing attack on this Congress, which was a pompous facade of fake radical-sounding speeches by Norman Thomas and various liberal Congressmen about the plight of American youth. Since the Congress was a bloc of tendencies representing different classes in society, no concrete program of action that would serve all interests could be adopted; in fact, the program of the

bourgeoisie predominated.

The third meeting, in Detroit in July 1935, represented an apt culmination of this motion toward impotent liberalism and moral outrage. The SYL described the meeting in the August 1935 *Young Spartacus*:

"The congress opened with the singing at an outdoor mass meeting, attended by 2,000, of 'America.' In consideration of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, ten o'clock mass was arranged at which Reverend Ward preached a delightful and most interesting sermon...."

"Having completed its graduation to pacifism, the congress was no longer dignified by a reluctant opposition to IMPERIALIST war. Resolutions congruous with revolutionary spirit were supplanted entirely by the slogans of the pacifists. Thus, at last, the congress reeked from beginning to end with 'peace.'"

"The Stalinists, chief sponsors of the congress, blocked every formulation, resolution or amendment that stood to the left of the proposed program. Every resolution introduced to the right of the program was carried with passionate enthusiasm and exhilaration.... Every left or semi-left proposal was combatted by a classically opportunist argument: 'Everybody knows that my organization is heartily in favor of that resolution. However, it must be defeated because its acceptance will narrow the congress to purely labor organizations.'"

The Stalinists thus consciously tried to prevent the drawing of the class line in the Congress.

NSL Rises to FDR's "Challenge"

The main documents of the Congress, the American Youth Act and the (continued on page 11)



Madison Square as part of annual nationwide anti-

issues are... intolerable. A left-wing group must take sides for and against each of the classes that comprise society. A union, and the NSL contemplates a union, is predicated upon a unity of interests. That unity does not exist among the students; for, they contain representatives of all classes." —*Young Spartacus* supplement, October 1934

NSL's Turn to Popular Frontism

While the rightist minority position was rejected at the SYL Founding Conference, a certain tendency to tail-end the NSL had developed. By 1935, the yearly NSL-led anti-war student strikes had become formations identical to the Socialist Workers Party's National Peace Action Coalition of the late 1960's

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To supplement the fall drive and pave the way for the monthly *Young Spartacus*, the Revolutionary Communist Youth, youth section of the Spartacist League, is holding a short (three-week) subscription drive in March. The increase in circulation is very necessary in order to keep pace with the continued growth of the RCY and its increasing political weight on the left. The success of the drive depends upon local organization and the full and enthusiastic participation by all members.

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Pan-Africanism...?

Continued from page 12

saw North American and West Indian blacks playing a vanguard role in the Pan-Africanist movement (apparently because he believed Africa lacked enough black "thinking intelligentsia" to lead the movement), within the U.S. he emphasized the struggle for equal rights.

In addition to being one of the founders of the Pan-Africanist movement, he was also the founder of the Niagara Movement and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. In the pages of the NAACP organ, *The Crisis*, DuBois constantly attacked Garveyism: "Marcus Garvey is without doubt, the most dangerous enemy of the Negro race in America and the world. He is either a lunatic or a traitor" (*The Crisis*, No. XXVIII).

When Garvey boasted that "Mussolini copied fascism from me" and invited the KKK to Universal Negro Improvement Association meetings, it was DuBois who denounced this operational unity between white and black racialism. DuBois, who had joined the Socialist Party in 1903 and was a vague fabian social-democrat, also opposed Garvey's call for Africa to "give to the world its black Rockefeller, Rothschild and Henry Ford" and Garvey's various black capitalist schemes such as the Black Star Steamship Company.

And since DuBois stood for some sort of self-government for Africa, he was repelled by Garvey's plan to colonize Africa and replace the Germans in the German colonies and the French and British colonists in Sierra Leone and the Ivory Coast with black American colonists. As DuBois knew all too well, and as the Carmichaels and modern Garveyites and advocates of "back to Africa" have too conveniently and easily forgotten, the "back to Africa" movement had its origins in the American slavocracy's schemes to rid North America of free black citizens who threatened the survival of slavery: the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Color in the U.S. This culminated in the colonization of Liberia by free blacks who now serve as the colonial-settler elite for Firestone, exploiting the native populations on rubber plantations.

When Garvey crowned himself "Emperor of Africa" and bestowed upon his lieutenants such titles as the Duke of the Nile, the Earl of the Congo, the Viscount of the Niger and the Baron of Zambesi, his "Negro Empire" hardly sounded like a proposal for African self-government. While Garvey hoped to replace white European colonialists in Africa with black American colonialists, DuBois wanted the black "thinking intelligentsia" to assume some of the "white man's burden" of "guiding" the "dark continent" into the "civilized" world.

lized" world.

It is not entirely an aberration, however, that Pan-Africanism, the movement fathered by DuBois, is equated by many blacks today with the "back-to-Africa" movement led by DuBois' greatest adversary, Garvey. For while DuBois fought for "full Negro rights and equality in America," albeit in his liberal and pacifistic way, nonetheless in *Dusk of Dawn*, written in his 72nd year, DuBois projected that if blacks were unable to break down the racial barriers to full equality, they might very well be forced to emigrate the way German Jews were forced to emigrate. Disillusioned by the ineffectiveness of his own liberalism, DuBois eventually joined the American Communist Party and emigrated to Ghana to join the Nkrumah brain trust. DuBois, like Carmichael today, was never able to find the proletarian class axis to the militant advocacy of black civil rights.

Disillusionment with Stalin's Communism

Between 1921 and 1927 three Pan-Africanist Congresses were held, but it was during the thirties that Pan-Africanism won most of its adherents: George Padmore and C.L.R. James, Jomo Kenyatta and Kwame Nkrumah. Many of these new recruits were badly burned by the opportunism of the Communist International (CI) during this period, when, as part of the policy of the "popular front," the CI suppressed the struggle for colonial independence in order to bloc with the "democratic" imperialist governments against the rise of fascism. Padmore was, for example, one of the CI's leading black spokesmen. Following the 6th CI Congress in 1928 he was placed at the head of the CI's African Bureau and the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers, which was a sub-body of the Red International of Trade Unions.

Padmore became increasingly disillusioned with "third period" policies, in particular the application of the "black belt" theory, not only to the deep South in the U.S., but to South Africa where, in the face of apartheid and Bantustans, the call for a separate "Negro Republic" was particularly reactionary in its implications. Faced with the catastrophic defeats of the "third period" policies, especially the triumph of fascism in Germany, the USSR and the CI began as early as 1934 to move rapidly to the right, seeking an accommodation with bourgeois democracy, especially with England, France and the League of Nations. As a consequence, anti-colonialist propaganda and agitation was muted or pushed aside. It was during this period that Padmore left the CI and others like Kenyatta and Nkrumah passed through the periphery of the Communist movement.

During the same period, the West Indian C.L.R. James became the leading black Trotskyist in the U.S. He left the Socialist Workers Party in 1940 with Shachtman, rejoined in 1948, only to depart again during the McCarthyite witchhunt. Today James devotes himself to writing paeons to the most discredited of Pan-Africanists like Nkrumah, and to reviving black Zionism through his "Marcus Garvey Institute" in Detroit. All that is lacking is for this ex-Trotskyist to found his own steamship line and crown himself the new "Emperor of the Negro Empire."

Padmore was the guiding genius behind the next Pan-African Congress, held in 1945 and attended by the men who were to shape the African independence movement for the next decade such as Nkrumah and Kenyatta. While the Pan-African Congresses of the twenties could ignore the Russian Revolution, a Pan-African Congress could hardly ignore the independence strug-

gles that engulfed the colonial world after WWII. Thus the resolutions of the 1945 Congress were slightly more radical than those of the twenties, one going so far as to bluster:

"Yet if the Western world is still determined to rule mankind by force, then Africans, as a last resort, may have to appeal to force in an effort to achieve freedom, even if force destroys the world... We condemn the monopoly of capital and the rule of private wealth and industry for private profit alone. We welcome economic democracy as the only real democracy."
—*Pan-Africanism or Communism*

But even this resolution was addressed not to the mobilization of the African masses but, like the tepid, liberal and modest resolutions of the twenties, was addressed to their colonial masters, as the conclusion of the resolution demonstrates:

"Therefore, we shall complain, appeal and arraign. We will make the world listen to the facts of our condition. We will fight in any way we can for freedom, democracy and social betterment."
—*Pan-Africanism or Communism*

Under the influence of Padmore, the resolutions passed were for the first time explicitly anti-communist. For example, one resolution "expressed the hope" that the victory of Asia and Africa over colonialism would result in the development of "free nations" which "would stand united to consolidate and safeguard their liberties and independence from the restoration of Western imperialism, as well as the dangers of Communism" (*Pan-Africanism or Communism*).

Pan-Africanism as a Strategy to Defeat Communism

As is quite clear from the title of Padmore's major ideological work, Padmore sees Pan-Africanism as the only alternative to Communism in Africa. In fact, his book is primarily addressed to the imperialist powers, especially the U.S. Congress and the British Colonial Office, presenting Pan-Africanism as the best strategy for defeating Communism. In the concluding chapter of *Pan-Africanism or Communism*, Padmore writes:

"In this connection of aid to Africa, if America, the 'foremost champion and defender of the free world' is really worried about Communism taking root in Africa and wants to prevent such a calamity from taking place, I can offer insurance against it."

The anti-communist "insurance" that Padmore peddles has as its premium a "Marshall Aid Program for Africa." To the British Colonial Office Padmore does not recommend immediate independence, not this prominent Pan-Africanist who is so solicitous about the interests of the imperialist powers. Instead he advises:

"Old-fashioned paternalistic government planning will make no appeal to politically-awakened Africans. They must be able to take part in the control of the plans by representation in the various committees and boards. To win the trust and confidence of Africans, the Colonial Office must push on with constitutional advance even at the risk of temporary setbacks."
—*Pan-Africanism or Communism*

For the African countries themselves,

Padmore proposes:

"...the main sector of the national economy should be state-controlled, since there is not enough capital available to undertake large-scale enterprises. But the rest should be left to private initiative. The Africans must be encouraged to do things for themselves and not just sit back and expect Government to do everything for them. The emphasis must be upon self-help."
—*Pan-Africanism or Communism*, [emphasis in original]

The Cult of Nkrumah

Pan-Africanism or Communism was first published in 1956. In 1957 Padmore became Nkrumah's "Advisor on African Affairs." It is precisely in Nkrumah's Ghana and his Convention People's Party (CPP) that we can see Pan-Africanism in practice. Pan-Africanists have built a cult around Nkrumah. Thus Carmichael writes in *Pan-Africanism—Land and Power*:

"We never understand history because history is always moved forward by a single person. China would not be China were it not for Mao Tse-Tung. Vietnam would not be Vietnam without Ho Chi Minh. France would not be France without de Gaulle. England would not be England without Winston Churchill. I have found one—Dr. Nkrumah."

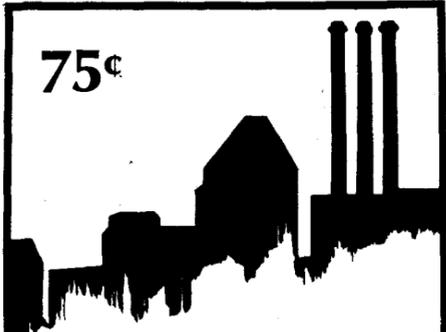
And ex-Trotskyist C.L.R. James, in his eulogy on Nkrumah, published in the July, 1972, *Black World*, writes: Kwame Nkrumah was one of the greatest political leaders of our century... After Marcus Garvey, there is no other name that is so symbolical of African freedom as the name of Nkrumah."

About Nkrumah's Convention People's Party (CPP) James states: "The party was not built one by one—it was a crusade, a revivalist campaign. People joined in the thousands. This was politics in the sense of politics in the Greek city-state." A truly infelicitous comparison, as politics in the Greek city-state was the realm of a few thousand free men whose "freedom" was based on a few hundred thousand slaves and the total exclusion of women from public life!

Confronted with such idolization, it is worthwhile to review the saga of Ghana's "Winston Churchill." After the 1945 Pan-African Congress, Nkrumah returned to Ghana (known in pre-independence days as the Gold Coast). At first he joined the conservative, petty-bourgeois United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) but finding that organization too ossified, he organized his own party in 1949—the CPP. As opposed to the UGCC which stood for "full self-government within the shortest time," the CPP claimed to stand for "self-government NOW." Unlike the UGCC, which worked only through commissions set up by the British colonial authorities, the CPP claimed to be willing to resort to "positive action" which Nkrumah defined as follows:

"...the adoption of all legitimate and constitutional means by which we can attack the forces of imperialism in the country. The weapons were legitimate political agitation, newspaper and educational campaigns, and, as a last resort, the constitutional application of strikes, boycotts, and non-cooperation
(Continued on next page)

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based on the principle of absolute non-violence as used by Gandhi."
—quoted in Fitch and Oppenheimer, "Ghana: End of an Illusion," *Monthly Review*, July-August 1966

Nkrumah gives an extremely legalistic and conservative interpretation to even Gandhi's non-cooperative, non-violence which Gandhi himself never claimed had to be constitutional.

Nkrumah's commitment to "self-government NOW" and "positive action" were put to the test soon after the formation of the CPP. In October, 1949, British colonial authorities under the



Nkrumah dances with Duchess of Kent, Independence Day, Ghana, 6 March 1957.

guise of the Coussey Commission published a report which recommended a semi-representative government in which the colonial Governor would retain "reserve powers." Nkrumah denounced this plan, known as the Coussey Constitution, as "bogus and fraudulent" and called on the people of Ghana to prepare for "positive action." But at the same time Nkrumah entered into negotiations with the colonial authorities to get the Constitution liberalized.

The 1950 Ghana General Strike

Responding to Nkrumah's call for "positive action" the Trade Union Congress (TUC) of Ghana prepared for a general strike. Nkrumah equivocated, vacillating between "positive action" rhetoric and attempting to postpone any real showdown with the colonial authorities while negotiations were under way. As the Colonial Secretary, Reginald Salway, wrote six years later in the *British International Affairs* (October, 1955):

"Nkrumah publicly called off 'positive action' and tried hard to get the Trade Union Congress to call off the general strike, but the TUC no longer had any control over the wild men. Dr. Danquah [President of the UGCC] taunted Nkrumah with having sold himself to the Colonial Secretary and thus infuriated the rank and file of the CPP who forced Nkrumah to retract."

Partially because of Nkrumah's vacillations, when the TUC finally called a general strike on 6 January 1950, it was badly led, poorly supported and easily smashed by the colonial authorities. Nkrumah and other CPP leaders were thrown into jail though their terms were carefully limited so that they could run in the elections for Ghana's new semi-government.

Arden-Clarke, the colonial Governor during this period, wrote:

"Nkrumah and his party had the mass of the people behind them and there was no other party with appreciable public support to which one could turn! Without Nkrumah, the Constitution would be stillborn and if nothing came of all the hopes, aspirations and concrete proposals for a greater measure of self-government, there would not be any faith in the good intentions of the British Government and the Gold Coast

would be plunged into disorders, violence and bloodshed."

—"Ghana: End of an Illusion"

The CPP ran for the elections on a moderate program of increased industrialization, modernization and expanded social services. The program made no mention of nationalization. Although the CPP had a well-organized and efficient infrastructure and both the CPP and the colonial authorities did all they could to drum up participation, less than half the adult population bothered to register and less than half of those registered bothered to vote.

Within the context of relative indifference to the elections, the CPP far outdistanced the UGCC and Arden-Clarke released Nkrumah from prison, giving him the title of "Leader of Government Business." Arden-Clarke was one man who wisely (for British imperialism) followed Padmore's advice, putting the "politically-awakened Africans" on the "various committees and boards" in order to "push on with the constitutional advance" while, as even the CPP electoral program was forced to state: "The Coussey Committee let the country down by prolonging white imperialism."

Under Nkrumah, "Self-Government NOW"—the slogan of 1949—did not become self-government till 1957. The character of the 4 March 1957 Independence Day demonstrations made clear the source of the new government's legitimacy:

"The Duchess of Kent, acting as Queen Elizabeth's official representative, announced at the ceremonies: 'Henceforward all powers previously exercised by my government in the United Kingdom will be exercised by my ministers in Ghana.' The presence of the colonial governor, dressed like the commander of an eighteenth century frigate; the display of all the mildewed symbols of British imperial authority; and the playing of 'God Save the Queen' emphasized the tidiness of the transition."

—"Ghana: End of an Illusion"

British Imperialism in Ghana

More important were Nkrumah's and the CPP's economic policies. Ghana's economy, shaped by British imperialism, is dominated by cocoa. In order to bail out the bankrupt British Empire after WWII, the Labour Government established throughout the British Empire a network of raw material marketing boards, including the Cocoa Marketing Board of what was then the Gold Coast. These marketing boards were commercial monopolies where the prices paid to the producers were below world market prices. The differences were raked off by Britain in the form of sterling balances held in long-term, low-interest government securities.

Thus the colonies, including the Gold Coast, were forced to finance Britain's post-war economic recovery with their precious and meagre social surplus. Padmore's proposal for a "Marshall Plan" for Ghana came after poor, underdeveloped Ghana had for over a decade been supplementing American Marshall Plan aid to Britain. After 1951 the Cocoa Marketing Board under CPP domination continued to send Ghana's cocoa profits to England and thereby further retard Ghana's economic development. In 1952 Nkrumah established the Cocoa Purchasing Company as a subsidiary of the Cocoa Marketing Board. In addition to playing the broker between the farmers and the Cocoa Marketing Board, the Cocoa Purchasing Company was a vehicle of financial self-aggrandizement, speculation, graft, corruption, bribery and vote-buying for the CPP.

Many apologists for Nkrumah, especially the Stalinists, claim that 1961-62 was a turning point in Nkrumah's political development. In 1962 the CPP, under the impact of severe financial crisis and economic stagnation engendered by catering to British imperialism, local capitalism and CPP corruption and mismanagement, adopted the

"Program for Work and Happiness." The program denounced colonialism and imperialism and called for the adoption of "socialism." But this was not socialism as Marx and Lenin thought of it:

"In a Nkrumahist-Socialist state; the farmer will not lose his farm, the landlord will not lose his house, but will not be allowed to exploit the tenant; the employer will not be allowed to exploit the worker nor will the worker be allowed to cheat the employer...."

—Kofi Baako, quoted in "Ghana: End of an Illusion"

As these words of a co-founder of the CPP and close adviser to Nkrumah indicate, Nkrumah's "socialism" was an economic system in which British imperialism continued to get its cut of the cocoa profits; CPP petty capitalists, crooks and bureaucrats lined their pockets and imported Cadillacs; and the best-organized and best-paid workers—the dockers, railroad workers and miners—made one dollar a day.

The 1961 General Strike

Nkrumah's "socialism" may have ignored the class struggle but the class struggle did not therefore elude Ghana. In 1961 indirect taxes on coffee, tea, tobacco, cloth, vegetables and fish were raised 50-100 percent and real wages fell 15 percent. In July 1961 the government announced a 5 percent compulsory savings deduction from wages. As in all underdeveloped countries, Ghana's working class was both small and strategic. It was also well-organized. It was the Trade Union Congress' (TUC) general strike in 1950 which had propelled the British to begin to reform the colonial structure and pave the way for self-government.

Although the trade unions had at first supported Nkrumah and the CPP, Nkrumah's anti-labor policies, especially during the 1951-57 period of direct collaboration with British colonial authorities, managed to alienate most of the CPP's working-class support. As a consequence the CPP and TUC were purged of militant trade union-

made a lot of money you can't keep it."

—"Ghana: End of an Illusion"

At the beginning of the strike Nkrumah was off in Belgrade attending the Conference of Non-Aligned Nations. Afterwards he went as an honored and feted guest of the USSR for a vacation on the Black Sea. The strike dragged on, disrupting the Prime Minister's vacation, and the "Winston Churchill" of Ghana returned to participate in crushing the strike.

The 1966 Coup

It is not at all surprising, therefore, that when Nkrumah was overthrown in the April 1966 coup, there was no mass opposition. The trade unions, which had been in the vanguard of the struggle for independence, remained silent and the rest of the population either remained apathetic or supported the new regime. This lack of support can only come as a surprise to those for whom Nkrumah had been passed off as the savior of the "third world." This included not only anti-communist Pan-Africanists like Padmore, but also the Moscow and Peking Stalinists who held up Nkrumah's Ghana as the road to liberation for those countries still under the yoke of imperialism.

Immediately after the coup, the U.S. Communist Party declared in an editorial in its theoretical magazine *Political Affairs* (April 1966):

"This military coup is not the ordinary one. It is a desperate effort to reverse the path Ghana has chosen to secure its economic independence—the path of non-capitalist development; the path toward socialism. For the path of Ghana symbolized for all the new emerging nations how to break out from the dead-end dependence on the imperialist ravagers of their natural wealth and resources."

There can be no more fitting testament to the bankruptcy of Stalinism than their holding up Nkrumah's Ghana as the path toward "socialism," the "socialism" of Krobo Edusei which "doesn't mean that if you've made a lot of money, you can't keep it," or the "socialism" by which the Cocoa Purchasing Company



Fallen statue of Nkrumah in Accra, Ghana, after 1966 military coup.

ists; in 1954 the latter was forced into formal alliance with the reactionary, anti-communist cold-warrior International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

When workers received their first pay packets in which the 5 percent savings had been deducted, a general strike broke out, centered in Sekondi-Takoradi, which has a tradition of militant class struggle. The Nkrumah government was not in good shape to handle such a situation:

"The first day of the strike, Krobo Edusei, Minister of Communications and Transport, addressed a meeting of railway workers, ordering them to return to their jobs and accept the compulsory wage deductions. From no other man in Ghana would such a speech on austerity have been more inappropriate. Edusei, the owner of a 70,000-pound house in Kumasi, also gained notoriety as the importer of the first solid gold bed in Ghana. He once pointed out that 'socialism doesn't mean that if you've

has financed Nkrumah's personal fleet of Cadillacs.

The Stalinists have answered the question—Pan-Africanism or Communism?—by adopting the program of Pan-Africanism as their own: "peaceful co-existence" between the state and private sector, breaking strikes for the good of "nation-building" and "non-alignment" in foreign policy.

Nkrumah Out of Power

Like a union bureaucrat out of power who is suddenly insightful about the rotten policies of the incumbents, Nkrumah became in his later years a most trenchant critic of "African socialism." In his *Class Struggle in Africa* (published in 1970), he writes:

"For too long social and political commentators have talked and written as though Africa lies outside of the mainstream of world historic development....myths such as "African so-

(Continued on next page)

Pan-Africanism...?

Continued from page 9

cialism' and 'pragmatic socialism' implying the existence of a brand or brands of socialism applicable to Africa alone have been propagated....

"Nothing can be further from the truth. A fierce class struggle has been raging in Africa... it is, as in the rest of the world, a struggle between the oppressors and the oppressed.

"The African Revolution is an integral part of the world socialist revolution and just as the class struggle is basic to the world revolutionary process, so also is it fundamental to the struggle of the workers and peasants of Africa."

The appearance of this book must have made Padmore spin in his grave. But throughout the book there is not a hint of self-criticism, not the slightest acknowledgment that it was Nkrumah who had been the foremost spokesman for "African socialism." His in fact autobiographical remarks are instead directed at some vague "leaders":

"The myth of African socialism is used to deny the class struggle and to obscure genuine socialist commitment. It is employed by those African leaders who are compelled in the climate of the African Revolution to proclaim socialist policies, but who are at the same time deeply committed to international capitalism and who do not intend to promote genuine socialist economic development."

But what was the 1961 CPP "Program for Work and Happiness" if not a false proclamation of "socialist policies" by domestic brokers for international capitalism?

Nkrumah, darling of the Stalinists, apparently remembered something from his brief flirtation in the 1930's with the Trotskyists, for his book is at least an indirect indictment of the Stalinist strategy for colonial and neo-colonial countries:

"...in the revolutionary struggle no reliance can be placed on any section of the bourgeoisie or petty bourgeoisie. ...A 'non-capitalist road' pursued as some suggest [the diplomatic and algebraic 'some'—YSp] is not even practical politics in contemporary Africa. There are two ways of development open to an independent African state. Either it must remain under imperialist domination via capitalism and neo-colonialism, or it must pursue a socialist path by adopting the principles of scientific socialism... It is unrealistic to assert that because industrialization is in its infancy and a strong proletariat is only beginning to emerge, that it is not possible to establish a socialist state. History has shown how a relatively small proletariat, if it is well-organized and -led [but not by its class enemies like the CPP and Nkrumah—YSp] can awaken the peasantry and trigger off a socialist revolution. In a neo-colonialist situation, there is no halfway to socialism. Only the policies of all-out socialism can end capitalist imperialist exploitation."

So speaks not Africa's Leon Trotsky but the man who refused to be part of the leadership of the 1950 general strike and who crushed the 1961 general strike. Nkrumah likewise neglects to mention his former adherence to "constitutional" Gandhism and "positive action," but declares with a rhetorical flourish:

"...the liberation and unification of Africa cannot be achieved by consent, by moral precept or by moral conquest. It is only through the resort to arms that Africa can rid itself once and for all of the remaining vestiges of colonialism, and of imperialism and neo-colonialism."

CPUSA: "Strategy" for a Black Agenda

The U.S. Communist Party (CP) is not unaware of the growing influence of Pan-Africanism within a certain section of the black movement. Henry Winston, CP National Chairman, devotes considerable space in his recent book, *Strategy for a Black Agenda*, to polemicizing against what he calls "neo-Pan-Africanism" and its "father," George Padmore. Winston takes delight at throwing

at Padmore Nkrumah's attacks on "African socialism" from *Class Struggle in Africa*, while failing to mention Nkrumah's equally sharp attack on the "non-capitalist road" and the "united front of progressive forces." But Winston runs into two problems in attacking Padmore and "neo"-Pan-Africanism. First, DuBois, the real founder of Pan-Africanism, eventually found his way into the CP, albeit in his 93rd year. While the CP had denounced DuBois as a "social fascist" in the early thirties and as a disrupter of the "anti-fascist front" in the early forties, it managed to simply forget all DuBois' past sins upon his admission into the party. Secondly, Winston has to confront the Padmore-Nkrumah relationship, especially since the CP held up Nkrumah's Ghana as the "path to socialism" for the underdeveloped countries.

In order to put as much distance between DuBois and Padmore as possible, Winston makes the following peculiar distortion of history:

"For a brief interval—during the period of his work with the Communist International—Padmore's activity harmonized with DuBois' anti-imperialist, internationalist conception of Pan-Africanism. It was only in this three- or four-year interval, ending in 1934, that Padmore appeared to genuinely share DuBois' views."

—*Strategy for a Black Agenda*

But it was during that three- or four-year interval that the Communist International considered DuBois a social fascist. And here is but a sample of what DuBois thought about the Communists during this period. Writing about the CP's "black belt" theory, he states:

"They swear by all that's holy that such a plan of plain segregation is not segregation, but who can predict what they will say tomorrow or next week? Anyway, we maintain that the mere existence of the proposal proves that the idea of separateness is uppermost in the minds of the Red braintrust, and not the idea of oneness. And in advancing this theory of separation, the Communists are hand in hand with the Southern ruling class which they so delight to lambast. But since Moscow masters are opportunists in the matter of war profits [DuBois refers to the USSR's sale of oil to Mussolini when the latter was preparing to invade Ethiopia], who would

dare to criticize the American followers for opportunism in a little thing like race segregation? Who, indeed, except the segregated American Negro."

—*The Crisis*, October 1935

While DuBois never succumbed to the depths of Cold War anti-communist hysteria to be found in Padmore's *Pan-Africanism or Communism*, he never wavered, at least through his attendance at the fifth Pan-African Congress in 1945, from his perspective of the African "talented tenth" working for "broader cooperation with the white rulers of the world, and a chance for peaceful and accelerated development for black folk." Furthermore, by emigrating to Ghana in the last year of his life he lent his personal prestige as well as that of the CP to Nkrumah after the latter had crushed the 1961 general strike and after the corruption within the CPP had become notorious.

Winston has even greater difficulty separating Nkrumah from Padmore, since Padmore was a personal advisor to Nkrumah until the former's death in 1959. Winston tells us, in italics no less:

"But the outstanding qualities that had brought Nkrumah to the pinnacle of his African leadership transcended the influence of Padmore's ideology. Coinciding with his invitation to DuBois to come to Ghana, Nkrumah began to move more decisively to overcome the effects of bourgeois nationalism and anti-Communism within his Convention People's Party. However, by this time it was too late to overcome what Padmore had done to undermine the Left and stimulate the mobilization of reactionary nationalism in concert with international capital to overthrow the Nkrumah government."

One might well ask how it was that Nkrumah's efforts to overcome "bourgeois nationalism and anti-Communism" in the CPP did not result in any manifestation of organized opposition either in the CPP or the trade union movement at the time of the 1966 coup. Why was it that even Nkrumah's closest advisors defected and joined the new junta?

Ironically, Winston holds up as the positive alternative to Pan-Africanism Martin Luther King, "militant non-violent mass struggle" (King's version of "positive action") and the "anti-monopoly coalition." Winston does not tell us how the "anti-monopoly coalition" or "united front of progressive forces" (as Nkrumah called it in *Class Struggle in Africa*) was applied in Ghana.

The fact is that neither Moscow nor Peking Stalinism encouraged the formation of an independent working-class or "Communist" Party there, because this would split the colonial version of the "anti-monopoly coalition." Thus, left-wing and Marxist militants like Anthony Woode and Turkson Ocran, President and General Secretary, respectively, of the TUC, were encouraged to stay in the CPP until they were purged in 1953 by Nkrumah for attending a meeting of the World Federation of Trade Unions, the pro-Moscow international trade-union front group.

After they were purged from the CPP, Ocran and Woode were still not encouraged by the Stalinists to form their own party, based on their working-class support. In fact, in 1961 the CPP was invited as fraternal delegates to the 22nd Congress of the Russian Communist Party.

Pan-Africanism in the U.S.

Pan-Africanists like Baraka and Karenga have drawn their lessons from Nkrumah's Ghana. They seek to set up their own versions of the Cocoa Purchasing Boards in the ghetto and live like "Winston Churchills" in little black "Empires." Or, they absent themselves entirely from the struggle for black equality in the U.S.—as did Stokely Carmichael, who went from campaigning for Robert Kennedy to joining Nkrumah's "court-in-exile" in Guinea.

Pan-Africanist rhetoric often simply covers reformist policies that

seek to put some black faces in the ranks of the political and police agents of capital, policies which can only serve to improve the state's capacity to keep the masses—black and white—in line:

"It [Pan-Africanism] does not require that one put aside demands for constitutional rights or for community control of schools in the black communities to take up the struggle for African independence. It does not require that one neglects efforts to elect a black mayor in the cities largely populated by blacks or to put aside efforts to elect more black congressmen or more black sheriffs. ...It requires that these positions be filled by enlightened black people who understand their role in the larger context of the Pan-African struggle."

—Charles Hamilton, "Pan-Africanism and the Black Struggle in the U.S.," *Black Scholar*, March 1971

Such words also present self-serving black careerist politicians, professors *et al.* with a convenient political veneer—useful in both getting ahead in the "white man's world" and in assuaging their consciences.

Serious would-be black revolutionaries have been attracted to Pan-Africanism out of a sense of solidarity with the heroic guerrilla struggles being waged in Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonies. As a consequence, they have drawn from Pan-Africanism the unfortunate conclusion that they are part of an internal "black colony" and see their struggle divorced from the rest of the American working class.

But there can be no greater act of solidarity with the struggle for national liberation and socialism in Africa than the struggle for the socialist revolution in the U.S. Nor can black liberation be achieved outside of this struggle. American blacks are not a colonized nation, but are segregated as a caste at the bottom of the social ladder and at the same time are integrated into the industrial proletariat. There will either be class war in this country, or race war leading to a genocidal "solution" to racial oppression. There cannot be a "white man's" socialist revolution.

Because of their special oppression and location in key industries such as auto, steel and public transportation, black workers will play a leading role in the struggle for the American socialist revolution. Unless that revolution is victorious, no other revolution will be completely free from the threat of U.S. imperialist economic or military retaliation. And it is as black cadre in a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party of the working class that American blacks will make their greatest contribution to the worldwide struggle for social emancipation. ■

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RCY EVENTS

ANN ARBOR

Class Series— MARXISM AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE

Continuing bi-weekly series. Classes in March-April take place on Wednesdays, 13 March and 10 and 24 April, 7:30 PM. Rm. 4202, Mich. Union, U. of Mich. For more information: (313) 862-4920.

Forum—

FROM FEMINISM TO TROTSKYISM
Speaker: M. Salzburg, SL, former member of East Oakland Women. Thursday, 14 March, 7:30 PM. Faculty Lounge, U. of Mich. For more information: (313) 862-4920.

BAY AREA

Class Series— THE STRUGGLE FOR AN INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

Bi-weekly series begins Monday, 4 March, 7:30 PM. Tan Oak Rm., Student Union, U. of Calif., Berkeley. For more information (415) 653-4668.

Rally—

INTERNATIONAL WORKING WOMEN'S DAY

Thursday, 7 March, 12 noon. Sproul Plaza, U. of Calif., Berkeley. For more information: (415) 653-4668.

BOSTON

Class Series— MARXISM AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE

Continuing bi-weekly series. First class in March takes place on Thursday the 7th, 7:30 PM. Rm. 335, 639 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge. For more information: (617) 492-3928.

BUFFALO

Classes—
RCY classes held on Marxist economics, the woman question and topical issues. For more information: (716) 837-1854, or stop by the SL/RCY literature table in Norton Union, SUNYAB.

Forum—

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY: 1917—WOMEN AND THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION
Speaker: D.L. Reissner, Editor, *Women and Revolution*. Friday, 8 March, 8 PM. Rm. 248, Norton Union, SUNYAB. For more information: (716) 837-1854.

CHICAGO

**Class Series—
BASIC MARXISM**
Continuing bi-weekly series. First class in March takes place on Thursday the 7th, 7:30 PM. Rm. 102, Cobb Hall, U. of Chicago. For more information: (312) 728-2151.

Class Series— STRATEGY FOR THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Bi-weekly series begins Wednesday, 13 March, 7:30 PM. Rm. 3A, Norris Center, Northwestern U. For more information: (312) 728-2151.

Class Series— BASIC MARXISM

Bi-weekly series begins Wednesday, 3 April, 3 PM. Rm. to be posted, Circle Center, U. of Ill. For more information: (312) 728-2151.

CLEVELAND

Class Series— PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION: TASK OF THE VANGUARD PARTY

Continuing bi-weekly series. First class in March takes place on Tuesday, 5 March, 8 PM. Rm. 417, Main Classroom Bldg., Cleveland State U. For more information: (216) 651-4613.

DETROIT

Class Series— MARXISM AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE

Continuing bi-weekly series. Classes in March-April take place on Tuesday, 12 March, Rm. 277; Friday, 19 April, Rm. 272; Tuesday, 23 April, Rm. 277. All at 7:30 PM, U.C.B., Wayne State U. For more information: (313) 862-4920.

Forum—

FROM FEMINISM TO TROTSKYISM
Speaker: M. Salzburg, SL, former member of East Oakland Women. Wed., 13 March, 7:30 PM, Hilberry A, Wayne State U. For more information: (313) 921-4626.

ITHACA

**Class Series—
DRAWING THE CLASS LINE**
Continuing bi-weekly series. First class in March takes place on Tuesday the 5th, 8 PM. North Rm., Willard Straight Hall, Cornell U. For more information: (212) 925-2426 or (716) 837-1854.

LOS ANGELES

Class Series—
Classes in basic Marxism begin in March. For information on location, time and place: (213) 467-6855.

Forum—

AMERICAN WORKERS AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE
Guest Speaker: Gene Herson, Militant-Solidarity Caucus, National Maritime Union. Friday, 8 March, 1 PM. Cafeteria Dining Room A/B, Los Angeles City College. For more information: (213) 467-6855.

Forum—

THE SYMBIONESE LIBERATION ARMY—A COMMUNIST VIEW
Friday, 1 March, 11 AM. Los Angeles City College. For information on room number: (213) 485-1838.

MADISON

**Class Series—
BASIC MARXISM**
Bi-weekly series begins in March. U. of Wisc. For information on date, time, and location: (608) 257-0662.

NEW BRUNSWICK

**Forum—
BRITAIN'S WINTER OF CLASS WAR**
Speaker: Joseph Drummond, RCY National Education Director. Thurs., 14 Mar., 7:30 PM. Conference Room A and B, Tillet Hall, Livingston College, Rutgers U. For more information: (212) 925-5665.

NEW HAVEN

Class Series— LENINISM AND TROTSKYISM: THE BUILDING OF THE VANGUARD PARTY

Continuing bi-weekly series. First class in March takes place on Tuesday the 12th, 7:30 PM. Seminar Rm. 17, Wm. L. Harkness (corner of Wall and College Sts.), Yale U. For more information: (203) 624-7015.

NEW YORK

**Class Series—
DRAWING THE CLASS LINE**
Continuing bi-weekly series. First class in March takes place on Thursday, 7 March, 7:30 PM. Rm. 522, 260 W. Broadway (near Canal St.), Manhattan. For more information: (212) 925-5665.

STORRS

**Class Series—
MARXISM AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE**
Continuing bi-weekly series. First class in March begins on Monday, 11 March, 7:30 PM. JHA 123, U. of Conn. For more information: (617) 492-3928.

Spartacus Youth...

Continued from page 7

Declaration of Rights of American Youth, were enthusiastically supported by the NSL. The *Student Review* quoted President Roosevelt's words—"Therefore I Submit a Message of Confidence: Unite and Challenge!"—and reprinted the two documents in their entirety. The American Youth Act was the AYC's version of the New Deal National Youth Administration, and demanded simply a little more money and representatives of "youth" and "education" on the administrative board of the NYA. A campaign was initiated for the passage of this act by the Congress. The Declaration of Rights of American Youth was modeled after the Declaration of Independence and was identical to it in political content. Later in the 1930's the AYC became the ersatz New Deal youth organization.

The NSL pursued a parallel course. The 7th Congress of the CI adopted the Dimitrov Popular-Front line and extended it to the youth organizations by liquidating the Communist Youth International into the World Federation of Democratic Youth—a fusion of Stalinist and right-wing social-democratic youth groups based on a bourgeois program.

American Student Union Jamborees for "Democracy"

In the U.S., after four years of separation, the NSL and SLID were reunited in December 1935 to form the American Student Union (ASU). This unity was initiated by the NSL itself, in accordance with instructions from the CI that "unity at all costs of the young generation against war and fascism" was to be effected immediately. In 1938 the ASU gave up opposition to compulsory ROTC. Roosevelt's "collective security" was adopted as the ASU line on the war question, with the feeble left cover that support for American imperialism against German fascism was necessary for defense of the Soviet Union. Under the leadership of the YCL, the ASU became a totally social-patriotic organization.

A reporter from the *New Republic* described a 1939 ASU convention in these words:

"...enthusiasm reached its peak at the jamboree in the huge jumbo jai-alai auditorium of the Hippodrome (seating capacity 4,500) which was filled to its loftiest tier. There were a quintet of white flannel cheer leaders, a swing band and shaggers doing the Campus Stomp ('...everybody's doing it, ASUing it')—confetti. There were ASU feathers and buttons, a brief musical comedy by the Mob Theatre and pretty ushers in academic caps and gowns. All the trappings of a big game rally were present and the difference was that they were cheering, not the Crimson to beat the Blue, but Democracy to beat Reaction."

During the same period, the YCL itself liquidated its 16-year-old paper *Young Worker* in favor of *Champion* which featured articles by liberal senators, Farmer-Labor Governor Olson from Minnesota, famous for his savage attempts to crush the 1934 Minneapolis Teamsters strike, and a regular "Miss America" column which gave advice to young female revolutionaries on what kinds of make-up and bathing suits to buy.

The SYL remained intransigent against the growing social chauvinism of the period, directing Leninist anti-war propaganda at students, unemployed youth and young workers:

"How do wars come about? Are they due to 'bad politicians'?"
"We International Communists do not think so. We understand that wars are the logical development of class politics. Capitalist politics have various forms the essence of which is the same: the continuation and development of the system of wage slavery, of exploitation of the many by the few..."
"In such a war the working class can gain nothing by the victory of either

power. They must fight to defeat their own government so that working class victory can really be the outcome of the war....

"By strikes and demonstrations, fraternization with the 'enemy' on the war front, the militant workers' movement can grow until it is in a position, with the majority of toilers behind it, to turn the imperialist war into a civil war and establish a workers' dictatorship which will suppress the former master's class and lead the way for a classless society."

—*Young Spartacus*, March 1934

While remaining critical of certain tactical mistakes made by the SYL, the Revolutionary Communist Youth, youth section of the Spartacist League, holds up as a model the SYL's conception of a correct orientation to students and its history of Leninist intervention into the student anti-war movement. An assimilation of this history is important in politically defeating reformist organizations like the Attica Brigade, the Young Socialist Alliance and SDS and winning over their serious militants to Marxism.■

...Housing, Education

Continued from page 4

the state (New York City postal strike). A successful struggle for these demands requires a political party of the working class to struggle for the overthrow of capitalism, for a workers government to carry out the transition to a socialist society. The unemployed and lumpen by themselves lack social power and cohesion but, in unity with the working class and under its leadership, they will be able to fight their oppressors.

A Quality Education for All

At the same time that much is made by the politicians of UMB as a great expansion of educational facilities for low-income families (much less is said about the giant handout of taxpayers' money to private corporations), the Trustees of the state university system have released their "Master Plan." This plan overall represents capitalist "rationalization" transferred from the factory to the campus. The plan calls for streamlining the degree programs in the state colleges by cutting out various "liberalments" (that's what it calls them!) that working-class youth "don't need" for their future occupations.

Even the relatively low tuition and admission standards of the state schools continue to discriminate on the basis of race and class. Many working-class and poor students cannot afford to work part-time or not at all and attend school. Admissions tests and the capitalist educational system are heavily racially, culturally and class-biased. The RCY calls for open admissions with a full stipend for all students.

Universities as capitalist institutions help maintain capitalism by training the necessary technicians, professionals and skilled workers and inculcating them with the values and prejudices of capitalist society. As part of the struggle for socialist revolution, we seek to take the universities from under the direct control (e.g., private corporations like Harvard and Columbia) or indirect control (e.g., the UMB through the Board of Trustees and State Legislature) of the capitalists; we call for nationalization of the universities under worker-student-teacher control.

"Student power" schemes to make the universities "serve the people" are necessarily utopian and lead to a dead end. Students like the Columbia Point residents lack the social power and organization to win the struggle against capitalist attacks on and domination of the educational system. The demands directed at the educational system put forward by the RCY are part of our overall program for socialist revolution; only in so far as these struggles are linked to the struggle of the working class for socialist revolution are they winnable.■

What Strategy for Black Liberation: Pan-Africanism or Communism?

[This is the fourth part of an ongoing series.]

The key lesson from the collapse of the "blackpower" movement (marked by the Black Panther Party's semi-liquidation into the Democratic Party) should have been the impossibility of formulating a strategy for black liberation independent of the American class struggle. Instead it has produced a rediscovery of "Pan-Africanism," a black Zionist image of a united and strong Africa which is "non-capitalist," but also anti-communist, as the agency of black emancipation.

Thus, the black militant most closely identified with the "black power" slogan, ex-SNCC leader Stokely Carmichael, from his self-imposed exile



ALEX SWESTER/PRAGER PUBLISHERS

George Padmore

in Guinea where he went in January 1969 to study under Kwame Nkrumah, wrote in the first issue of *Black Scholar* (November 1969): "...One of the most important things we must now begin to do, is to call ourselves 'African.' No matter where we may be from, we are first of all and finally Africans. Africans. Africans...." Therefore: "It is now clear that the only position for Black men is Pan-Africanism."

Another strain of Pan-Africanism is the so-called "cultural nationalists" represented by Ron Karenga and Prudential Insurance in the person of Newark's Imamu Baraka. Of them Black Panther Party Minister of Defense Huey Newton said (before finding his way via "dialectical materialism," and with a little help from the Workers League, to black capitalism, the Baptist Church and the Democratic Party):

"The cultural nationalists are concerned with returning to the old African culture and thereby regaining their identity and freedom. In other words, they feel that the African culture will automatically bring political freedom. Many times cultural nationalists fall into line as reactionary nationalists.

"Papa Doc is an excellent example of reactionary nationalism. He oppresses

the people but he does promote the African culture. He is against anything other than black, which on the surface seems very good, but to him it is only to mislead the people. He merely kicked out the racists and replaced them with himself as the oppressor. Many of the nationalists in this country seem to desire the same ends."

—quoted in Foner, *Black Panthers Speak*

More important than such North American "Papa Docs" like Karenga and Baraka is the development, especially in the South, of militant Pan-Africanist organizations like the Republic of New Africa and the Youth Organization for Black Unity which publishes *The African World*. Of special interest is the African People's Socialist Party which represents the unification of the Junta of Militant Organiza-

tions (JOMO) of Louisville, Kentucky, the Black Study Group from Gainesville, Florida, and the Black Rights Fighters from Ft. Myers, Florida, which publishes the *Burning Spear*. Another indication of the growing sympathy for Pan-Africanism is the African Liberation Day demonstrations held for the past two years. The 27 May 1972 demonstration in Washington, D.C., drew 20,000 and a similar demonstration in San Francisco drew 2,500. The 26 May 1973 demonstrations drew several thousands in the cities of Washington, D.C., Oakland and Newark.

Origins of Pan-Africanism

Pan-Africanism was a movement of black intellectuals from the U.S., West Indies and Africa, led by W. E. B. DuBois, who attempted to appeal to the victors of the WWI imperialist bloodbath to apply the "principles" of their robbers' peace—Versailles, Wilson's "14 Points" and the League of Nations Mandate System—to Africa. Pan-Africanism was not a revolutionary movement; it was not even a bourgeois-democratic movement for genuine independence and self-government. Instead, it advocated only that the Afri-

can educated and "civilized" elite (as opposed to the uneducated, "uncivilized" masses) be given an opportunity to work out with the imperialist powers the peaceful and ever-so-gradual transition from colonialism to neo-colonialism. As DuBois said in his earlier (1940) autobiography, *Dusk of Dawn*:

"My plans as developed had in them nothing spectacular nor revolutionary. If in decades or a century they resulted in such world organization of black men as would oppose a united front to European aggression, that certainly would not have been beyond my dreams. But on the other hand, in practical reality, I knew the power and guns of Europe and America, and what I wanted to do was in the face of this power to sit down hand in hand with colored groups and across the council table to learn of each other, our condition, our aspirations, our chance for concerted thought and action. Out of this there might come not race war and opposition, but broader cooperation with the white rulers of the world, and a chance for peaceful and accelerated development for black folk." [emphasis in original!]

Thus at the Second Pan-African Congress, held in London in 1921 and the first presided over by DuBois, the Congress passed a resolution which "demanded" not the dismantling of the colonialist structure, but merely that the "natives of Africa must have the right to participate in the [colonial] government as fast as their development permits...." At the closing session the Congress adopted the *Declaration to the World* drafted by DuBois, which stated in part:

"Local self-government with a minimum of help and oversight can be established tomorrow in Asia, in Africa, America and the isles of the sea. It will in many instances need general control and guidance, but it will fail only when that guidance [of the "enlightened" colonial imperialists—YSp] seeks its own selfish ends not the people's liberty and good.

"Surely in the twentieth century of the Prince of Peace, in the millennium of Mohammed, and in the mightiest Age of Human Reason, there can be found in the civilized world enough of altruism, learning, and benevolence to develop native institutions whose aim is not profit and power for the few...."

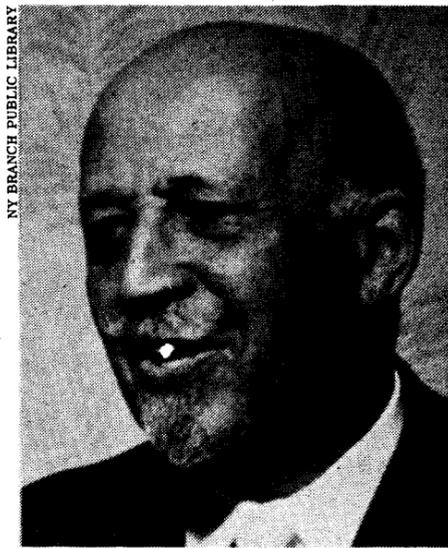
—quoted in Padmore, *Pan-Africanism or Communism*

The *Declaration* then went on to "demand" on behalf of the "Negro race through their thinking intelligentsia" that there be the "recognition of civilized men as civilized, despite their race or color," and called for "local self-government for backward groups, deliberately rising as experience and knowledge grow, to complete self-government under the limitation of a self-governed world," i.e., the world that is "self-governed" through the imperialist powers and their League of Nations. The "demands" of this black "thinking intelligentsia" and the other resolutions passed at this Congress were in their essence incorporated into the League of Nations Mandate System.

Pan-Africanism or Communism?

The West Indian George Padmore, who was the leading ideological spokesman for Pan-Africanism before his death in 1959, quotes extensively from these resolutions in his *Pan-Africanism or Communism*, the bible

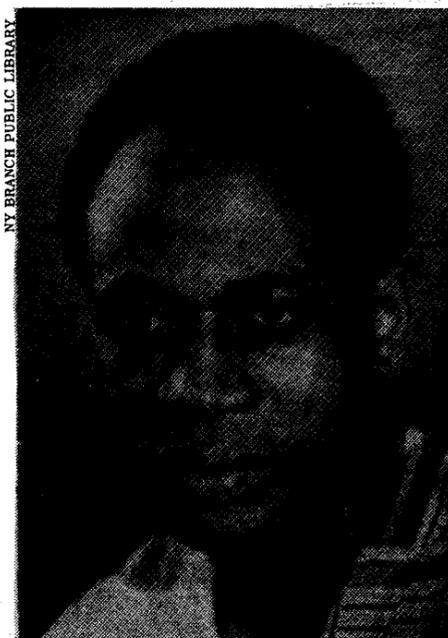
of Pan-Africanists, and asks derisively, "Where was the Communist movement then?" The answer to Padmore's anti-communist remark is succinctly put in the third-worldist but nonetheless generally excellent "Critical Introduction" to the 1972 Anchor-



W.E.B. DuBois

Doubleday edition of Padmore's book, an introduction authored by Harvard Political Science Professor Azinna Nwafor:

"What makes critical judgements of these demands as being essentially moderate most damaging is that they are sustained not from the advantage conferred from historical hindsight, but from the perspective of the era of the Congress. Consider, for instance, what would constitute radical demands at this stage. These were, after all,



Nkrumah

the historical moments when the Bolsheviks had just triumphed in Russia and were exhorting all subject and colonial peoples to rise and overthrow their oppressors, their respective feudal and imperialist regimes, and to 'expropriate all the expropriators.' Such revolutionary principles and appeals were the real radical demands of the epoch—and not a wind of these blew through the civilized halls of the Pan-African Congresses."

Unlike contemporary Pan-Africanists like Carmichael, DuBois at first presented Pan-Africanism as inapplicable to North America and the West Indies, and, especially, as counterposed to back-to-Africa immigration schemes like those advocated by the Garvey movement. Thus, while DuBois

(Continued on page 8)

Black Oppression and Proletarian Revolution/Part 4