

Young Spartacus

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ALL INDOCHINA MUST GO COMMUNIST!

Military Victory to the NLF and FALN! Take Saigon and Phnom Penh!

March 30—During the past several weeks, the military offensives mounted by the National Liberation Front (NLF) and the Cambodian People's National Liberation Armed Forces (FALN) have routed the demoralized puppet armies of the embattled Thieu and Lon Nol cliques.

In South Vietnam the NLF has captured the strategic central highland provinces, and the besieged city of Da Nang, the sole enclave in the north held by the capitalist-landlord regime of Saigon, has just fallen. Thieu's forces are beating a panicky retreat down the central coastal plain, pursued by advancing NLF troops, militarily strengthened by all the weaponry and supplies abandoned by the South Vietnamese army. Large numbers of war-weary civilians throng southward, some fearing Communist reprisals because of their connections with the Thieu regime, but many simply fleeing the battlefronts (*New York Times*, 26 March 1975). As the heroic fighters of the NLF advance, the noose around the venal and isolated Thieu dictatorship tightens. (For a current analysis of the struggle in South Vietnam, see "Take Saigon!," *Workers Vanguard*, 28 March 1975.)

The Cambodian capital bears all the signs of a city about to fall. Foreign missions are clearing out, and the Cambodian elite is packing for France. Since the FALN severed the Mekong River supply line, the Lon Nol regime has led an airlift-to-mouth existence, but even this last life-thread threatens to be snapped by the heavy, though inaccurate, shelling of the Pochentong airport by the insurgents.

The dramatic and exhilarating military advances of the NLF and FALN demonstrate once again that the so-called class "reconciliation" inaugurated by the "Paris Peace Accords" is fundamentally untenable, because *the civil war continues*. Once again, the decades-long struggles of the Vietnamese and Cambodian peasants and workers acutely pose the question: Who shall rule, the toiling masses of workers and peasants or the exploiting capitalists, landlords and usurers represented by the bonapartist Thieu/Lon Nol cabal?

It is the proletarian-internationalist obligation of all socialists and labor militants to draw the class line in Indochina and to call for the total military victory of the NLF and the FALN. On to Phnom



Cambodian puppet troops flee in disorder before advancing FALN (left). Panicky Thieu troops retreating from Da Nang (right).



Penh and Saigon! There is a class war raging in Indochina; we must take sides and call for the victory of the Indochinese socialist revolution. Drive imperialism out of Southeast Asia and smash the rule of the exploiting classes! All Indochina Must Go Communist!

All class-conscious militants must raise the demand that all imperialist aid to the counterrevolutionary stooges and lackeys be immediately and unconditionally withdrawn and that all U.S. military forces get out of Indochina now. We furthermore demand the dissolution of SEATO, the anti-communist military front of imperialism in Southeast Asia.

We call upon the U.S. labor movement, as well as our class brothers abroad, to refuse to handle any military supplies bound for the Indochinese running dogs of imperialism. We demand that the labor bureaucracy counter any moves toward renewed U.S. aggression in Indochina by mobilizing the might of the organized working class for militant, class-struggle protest actions, such as political strikes. The two-day "hot-carguing" of goods to and from the reactionary Chilean junta called by the International Transport Workers Federation last September and actively supported by the Spartacist League/SYL on the West Coast points the way forward (see *Workers Vanguard*, 27 September 1974).

Stalinists Grasp for Political Defeat

Like their Stalinist counterparts in the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam (PRG), the Cambodian Stalinists (often generically called

Khmer Rouge, or Red Cambodians) strive not for socialist revolution, but for class collaboration. Basing themselves on the Menshevik-Stalinist schema of a "two-stage revolution" (first a "people's democratic" revolution led by the "bloc of four classes," then the socialist revolution), the Cambodian Stalinists have politically embraced the deposed Prince Sihanouk, the anti-communist lumpen-monarch sheltered and backed by the Chinese bureaucracy, in the framework of the "Cambodian National Unity Front Under the Leadership of the Royal Government of National Union" (FUNK/GRUNK). In addition to this executioner of Communists, the Cambodian Stalinists have also extended the olive branch of class collaboration to former military officers and representatives of the feudal and business elite under the monarchy. But in the imperialist epoch, the weak bourgeoisies of economically underdeveloped countries are closely intertwined with imperialism and mortally afraid of an agrarian revolution which would sweep away their dominion, and thus they are incapable of carrying out the national and democratic tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. Today these tasks can only be carried out by the proletariat backed up by the peasantry.

The declared goal of the FUNK is the defeat of the "seven traitors" ruling in Phnom Penh and the formation of a coalition government open to all "patriots." In the recent "Declaration of the Second National Congress of Kampuchea," the FUNK and GRUNK "reassert their policy of a broad union of the entire nation, the entire people regardless of social classes,

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**Eritrean
Independence
Struggle
Intensifies . . . p 6**

Letter

Resignations From Yale Caucus For Radical Politics

EDITOR'S NOTE: We reprint below a joint letter of resignation from the Caucus for Radical Politics (CRP) at Yale University. The undersigned activists encountered in the discussions within the politically heterogeneous CRP the politics of the Stalinist Young Workers Liberation League, the reformist Young Socialist Alliance and the social-democratic New American Movement. Since submitting this political statement, which represents a product of their struggle for political clarity, these comrades have joined the Spartacus Youth League.

March 13, 1975

An Open Letter to the Caucus for Radical Politics:

The Caucus for Radical Politics (CRP) is an independent, nominally socialist, student organization at Yale, small in number, effectively even smaller in impact. It coalesced for the dual purpose of radicalizing students and, in the process, clarifying individual political positions. The contradictions inherent in this approach were concretized by an SYL intervention in January.

The simplest and most historically relevant way to explain our leaving the CRP is to contrast the organization with the SYL, with which we are in solidarity. The CRP counterposed to democratic centralism a denial of the necessity of a party to achieve its proclaimed goals. The exercise of internal democracy and a struggle for a correct political program were often victimized by the CRP's lack of clarity as to who was a member, and by peer pressure to expedite a programmatic action. The CRP lacked the program of class-struggle intervention proposed by the SYL. Consequently, the CRP swung indecisively between calls to raise socialist demands (that would require a political cohesion the CRP lacks) and proposals merely to support liberal reforms with the qualification that such reforms were insufficient and only socialist revolution could resolve the problem. This failure to raise a class-struggle program is tied to the CRP's indifference to the Marxist conception that students do not constitute a class. Attempts to win students to socialist revolution without raising a full socialist program which recognizes the working class as the primary revolutionary force is student vanguardism in fact, if not in name.

As Lenin wrote, "Political questions can not be mechanically separated from organizational questions. . . ." In isolating the two questions and analyzing neither, the CRP renders itself ineffectual. This semester most proposals for action have been tabled pending debate upon the larger issues at stake. Long, inconclusive meetings have caused an increasing drop in attendance and in the seriousness and energy of those remaining.

The CRP is, of course, a minute and inconsequential organization. However, in that it represents a common type of radical student group, our quitting the CRP reflects a more fundamental rejection of socialist politicizing with neither principles nor program.

Mark K.
Katie W.

EDITORIAL NOTES

Radicals Arrested—Defend The Left!

In the context of the bombing of the State Department in January and the recently increased public political profile of the Weather Underground, the bourgeois authorities ever more viciously are pursuing their manhunt for those fugitive radicals charged with involvement in terrorist actions against the bourgeoisie and its state. While opposing the strategy of individual terrorism which substitutes self-sacrifice and heroism for the necessary perspective of mobilizing the working masses for the conquest of state power, we nonetheless have always drawn the class line and consistently defended against reprisals by the capitalist state these avowed radicals charged with the "crime" of attacking targets symbolic of bourgeois authority.

On March 12 the Federal authorities nabbed Patricia Swinton, who is accused of involvement in a Weatherman-type collective which in 1969 allegedly bombed eight New York City buildings—including corporation headquarters, banks and military induction centers—in protest of U.S. imperialist intervention in Southeast Asia. The collective had also included Jane Alpert, who last November turned herself in and with apparent great satisfaction squealed on her former associates. The despicable stool pigeon and renegade Alpert very likely provided information which led the cops to Swinton, who was working in a health food store in bucolic Brattleboro, Vermont.

Within a few hours of the capture of Swinton, FBI agents in Rhode Island swooped down on Cameron David Bishop. On the "Ten Most Wanted" list since 1969, Bishop was charged with bombing Defense Department power transmission towers in Colorado.

Still sought by the cops are Weathermen Bernardine Dohrn, Mark Rudd, Kathy Boudin and Cathlyn Wilkerson, all of whom have successfully eluded the FBI's dragnet for years. Dohrn and Rudd are wanted on charges stemming from their alleged role in the 1969 "Days of Rage" antiwar protests in Chicago; Boudin and Wilkerson are charged in con-

nection with the tragic accidental bomb detonation that claimed the lives of three Weathermen and destroyed a Greenwich Village townhouse in 1970.

These arrests are an ominous indication of the bourgeoisie's preparation for increased political repression. These radicals are part of the left and must be defended by all who claim to stand for labor solidarity. Socialists, working-class militants and all who oppose the frame-ups and repression of the government's "law and order" campaign must demand that all charges against Swinton, Bishop and the still-fugitive Weathermen be dropped immediately and that Swinton and Bishop be released now!

Treacherous Stalinist Slander



CP cartoon despicably slanders Weathermen as CIA agents.

SYL Protests Against Thug Kahane

Meir Kahane, the leader of the para-military, anti-communist reactionary-Zionist Jewish Defense League (JDL), has been appearing at numerous East Coast college campuses recently. Kahane's speaking engagements coincide with what appears to be an increase in anti-semitism, reflected, for example, in the appearance during the past few months of a rash of new pro-Nazi publications. Uniformed Nazis have demonstrated in several U.S. cities (see article this issue), and in Toronto the fascist Western Guard,

which publishes *The Aryan*, has made death threats and carried out physical attacks on leftists.

The JDL uses the historic persecution of Jews as the justification for its racist and anti-communist hooliganism. The current deep capitalist crisis has exacerbated racial and ethnic tensions, resulting in an increase of anti-semitism, racism and national chauvinism. With its bravado, thuggery and demagogic slogan of "Never Again!", the JDL now seeks to capitalize on the frustrations and economic insecurity of the Jewish working class and petty bourgeoisie.

The increasing receptivity to the JDL's reactionary poison is indicated by the large turnout of over 1,000 which Kahane drew at the State University of New York at Buffalo (SUNYAB) on March 4. It is the task of communists to attempt to defuse the increasing racial and ethnic tensions by struggling to turn racial and ethnic polarization into sharp manifestations of class struggle against the capitalist system. While communists struggle against every manifestation of racism, anti-semitism and national chauvinism, we always explain that the divisions within the working class are based on material oppression which can only be destroyed through socialist revolution.

The Maoist Revolutionary Union/Revolutionary Student Brigade (RU/RSB), which has uncritically embraced petty-bourgeois Arab nationalism and acts as cheerleaders for the reactionary Arab ruling classes, is completely insensitive to the danger of increased anti-semitism. The SYL recognizes the democratic right of self-determination for the Hebrew-speaking nation in the Near east, while the RU/RSB condemns the Hebrew-speaking people for the reactionary rule of the Israeli Zionist leaders.

On the night of Kahane's speech at the SUNYAB, the RSB set up a protest picket. When several supporters of the SYL arrived and joined the picket line, the RSB attempted, without success, to exclude our comrades, because the SYL placards carried such slogans as "No to the Thug Kahane, Smash Anti-Semitism Through Socialist Revolution!" and "Not Jew Against Arab, But Class Against Class!" The RSB refused to join in any of the SYL's chants against anti-semitism.

Indian Peasants, Trotskyist Leader Persecuted

Defend Jagadish Jha!

The Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), legal defense arm of the Spartacist League, is launching a campaign to generate international support for the persecuted veteran Indian Trotskyist, Jagadish Jha. Comrade Jha and a large number of fellow militants in the West Bengal Village Workers and Tillers Union have been subjected to five years of vicious government prosecution for their courageous efforts in 1969-70 to organize peasants and agricultural workers in Bankura District. (For a full account of Jha's struggle and the savage repression from the popular-front "United Front" government—which included the pro-Moscow Communist Party, the so-called "Left" Communists of the Communist Party [Marxist] as well as the bourgeois Bangla Congress Party—see *Workers Vanguard*, 28 March 1975.)

Jha and the other defendants have accumulated staggering legal debts which absolutely cannot be met from the at best subsistence-level earnings of these chronically under-employed and unemployed agricultural workers. Those who are not simply destitute have been forced to sell their livestock and implements. The present famine in West Bengal now makes the precarious condition of these militants alarmingly critical. As a result of the persecution Jha, who must support a family of six, is seriously ill and presently

hospitalized.

Jagadish Jha is a leading member of the Communist League of India, section of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat. He and the other defendants, however, have been despicably abandoned by his "comrades" of the CLI and USec, including the relatively financially well-off Socialist Workers Party, the USec's fraternal group in the U.S.

The Spartacus Youth League will devote efforts to publicize comrade Jha's case, collect money for the defense and solicit from students, faculty and campus groups statements of solidarity with the PDC's campaign for this embattled but valiant fighter in the cause of the downtrodden and exploited.

We strongly urge our readers to contribute to the defense of Jagadish Jha through the PDC. Look for the SYL table on campus or contact the PDC directly to obtain literature on Jha's case and to make contributions. Checks should be made payable to "Partisan Defense Committee," and contributions for the defense of Jha should be so marked. All correspondence should be sent to:

PDC
Box 633, Canal Street Station
New York, New York 10013
U.S.A.

SYL Confronts Administration at ROTC Hearings

BERKELEY, March 10—The Spartacus Youth League assumed a leading role in turning today's Academic Senate deliberations on reaccrediting ROTC at this campus of the University of California into a platform for opposing the reintroduction of imperialism's ROTC and building support for the anti-ROTC movement on campus. Supporters of the Committee to Stop ROTC (CSROTC), a united front initiated by the SYL, dominated the open hearing with ringing denunciations of U.S. imperialism. Of 18 speakers, only three supported the reaccreditation of ROTC.

ROTC was stripped of academic status at Berkeley as a result of the massive and militant anti-war demonstrations sparked by the U.S. invasion of Cambodia in 1970. Under pressure from the Board of Regents, the Academic Senate recently has established a subcommittee to "review" the status of ROTC. These closed hearings ostensibly discussing the "propriety" of reintegrating military training on campus have been met with anti-ROTC agitation and demonstrations initiated by the SYL (see "ROTC Off Campus!", *Young Spartacus*, March 1975).

One tactic which the CSROTC has actively pursued to build support for the anti-ROTC campaign has been circulating a petition demanding that the ROTC hearings be opened up and that ROTC be thrown off campus. On February 25 the CSROTC organized a demonstration that marched to the office of the head of the Academic Senate subcommittee and presented the anti-ROTC petition bearing over 1400 signatures. As a result the Academic Senate was forced to call its first open meeting today.

One of the first speakers at the hear-

ing, Martha Phillips of the SYL, pointed out that while the open hearing was a significant concession, the status of ROTC would not be conclusively settled in such hearings. Already the Chairman of the Chancellor's "Advisory Committee on ROTC" had indicated that the regents and administration have decided that ROTC will be reaccredited at Berkeley and "they are not going to be overruled no matter what the senate does" (*Daily Californian*, 28 February 1975). The SYL speaker stressed that the abolition of ROTC on campus could be insured only through militant and determined student demonstrations and other mass actions, the most powerful of which would be labor struggles against imperialist militarism, interventions and wars.

The Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB), the self-proclaimed "anti-imperialist" youth front group of the Maoist Revolutionary Union, made a quite unexpected debut at this first open hearing. During the previous seven weeks of anti-ROTC activity on campus, the RSB cowardly abstained from these anti-imperialist actions rather than enter into principled united-front demonstrations with the Trotskyist SYL.

The leaflet distributed today by the RSB proclaimed with typical Stalinist aplomb the need to *begin* "building a fighting movement not only to prevent the reaccreditation of ROTC but to get it off campus permanently." But the "fighting movement" against ROTC began two months ago in a demonstration of 250 students initiated by the SYL on a united-front basis around the demands, "Stop the Accreditation, ROTC Off Campus!" The supposedly anti-imperialist RSB tried to wreck the CSROTC by its ill-fated attempt to es-

tablish a competing "united" front which would have excluded the Trotskyist SYL. Discredited by its subsequent pouting sectarianism, the RSB is now attempting to ignore the "fighting movement" which for two months has been a center of attention and controversy at Berkeley.

The RSB speaker opposed ROTC as a tool of U.S. imperialism, but sharply denounced "Soviet social-imperialism" as the "number one enemy." The thrust of the RSB intervention was so anti-communist that even the local press report of the hearing characterized the RSB as viewing "the Soviet Union as 'another capitalist country'" (*Berkeley Daily Gazette*, 11 March 1975). Furthermore, the RSB speech prompted the very next speaker, who supported the reaccreditation of ROTC, to declare that he too was concerned with the strength of the U.S. military machine, but like the RSB he was more fearful of the military strength of the USSR. The deeply anti-communist character of Maoist anti-Sovietism was clearly revealed as the anti-ROTC RSB and the pro-ROTC speaker found themselves united around Mao's "fundamental contradiction."

The next SYL speaker came forward to place our principled opposition to imperialist militarism in the programmatic context of our unconditional defense of the Soviet Union, China and the other deformed workers states from imperialist attack. He stressed that the Sino-Soviet states must maintain strong military forces, including atomic weapons, to defend the historic gains of the proletarian property system from the counterrevolutionary designs of imperialism in its death agony. The reaction-

ary foreign policy of the Soviet Union and China flows not from a mythical "state capitalist" imperialism, but rather from the class-collaborationist appetites of the Stalinist bureaucracies ruling in the place of the politically expropriated proletariat. For proletarian internationalism and communist unity against imperialism these Stalinist bureaucracies substitute "peaceful co-existence" and "building socialism in one country," bought at the price of promoting counterrevolutionary betrayals. Thus, these petty-bourgeois bureaucracies must be overthrown by a political revolution led by the proletariat.

The SYL speaker warned that should the Chinese Stalinists actually join forces with the imperialists in a major military conflict with the "number one enemy," the RSB would find itself called upon to build a "fighting movement" to bring ROTC onto every campus in the country! The SYL speaker concluded by challenging the RSB to join the CSROTC, build future anti-ROTC actions and issue anti-ROTC agitation—none of which the RSB to date has done.

The present anti-ROTC campaign led by the CSROTC will continue to raise the issue of military training on campus and has every possibility for growing, especially given the Ford administration's hysterical cries for military aid that will prevent the collapse of its puppet regimes in Cambodia and Vietnam. Students at Berkeley must act now and thwart the decision of the capitalist lackeys of the Board of Regents to bring this training arm of U.S. imperialism back on campus. ROTC off campus! ■

Indochina...

Continued from page 1

political tendency, religious beliefs and regardless of the past, with the exception of the seven traitors."

—quoted in *L'Humanité*, 3 March 1975

The FUNK agrarian program makes no mention of land reform, but rather calls for a "fair system of land rents and rates of interest on loans" and a "fair solution of unreasonable debts." The big landowners and usurers are assured that any confiscations would be strictly limited to the "handful of traitors" and "active accomplices in the pay of the American imperialists" ("Declaration" of the FUNK/GRUNK, 23 March 1975).

The FUNK categorically defends the right of private property, assuring the bourgeoisie of conditions for "uninterrupted [by strikes?] sale of manufactured goods." For the workers, the FUNK speaks of "reasonable remuneration," but not the end of wage-slavery.

Turning to the parasitic Buddhist establishment, the FUNK declares that "Buddhism is and will remain the State religion," and the FALN is exhorted to "develop the spirit of patriotism" and to fight for "the inestimable national patrimony of Angkor." Aside from fostering the reactionary grip of the Buddhist clergy who suck millions of *riels* in tribute out of the national economy and who provide a powerful prop to feudal social relations, this extreme national chauvinism appeals to the most backward sentiments of the peasantry and has been used to whip up bloody jingoistic campaigns against the Vietnamese who live in Cambodia and comprise a significant sector of the industrial proletariat and rubber plantation workers.

The Origins of FUNK/GRUNK

No significant Communist movement

developed in Cambodia prior to World War II. French imperialism was content to let Cambodia remain a backwater buffer zone between Vietnam and Siam. Thus, Cambodia remained a relatively stable and prosperous peasant-based kingdom, dependent upon the French imperialists for a guarantee of its territorial integrity against Thai and Vietnamese annexations.

Under the impact of WWII and the Viet Minh struggles against the Japanese and later the French, a Kampuchean (Cambodian) nationalist movement, the Khmer Issarak (Free Khmers), developed. The nationalist Khmer Issarak soon split into the reactionary Khmer Serei (special forces still believed to be backed by the CIA) and the pro-Viet Minh Khmer Rouge. In 1951 the Khmer Rouge founded the Pracheachon (People's Revolutionary Party), the nucleus of the Cambodian Communist Party.

Under Viet Minh tutelage the Pracheachon formed the "Government of National Resistance," which sought seating at the 1954 Geneva "peace" conference as the legitimate representative of Cambodia. Both the Moscow and the Peking Stalinist bureaucracies, for the utopian cause of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism, betrayed the Cambodian Communists (as well as the Viet Minh), enabling Sihanouk to return to Cambodia as the liberator monarch. Sihanouk's first act was to rid the country of Viet Minh and Cambodian Communist cadres. Many of the Khmer Rouge cadre fled to North Vietnam with the Viet Minh at this time.

In the late 1960's Sihanouk came under increasing pressure from rightists to open the economy for foreign investment, increase the exploitation of the peasantry and exterminate or drive out the Communists. Sihanouk purged his cabinet and Sangkum Party (People's Socialist Community) of leftists and ordered the execution of the "leading communist conspirators."

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Demonstrate Against Imperialist Chief Gerald Ford!

—Immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops and aid from Southeast Asia!

—Military Victory to the NLF and Cambodian FALN!

—All Indochina Must Go Communist!

Faced with the impending military defeat of the U.S.-supported regimes in South Vietnam and Cambodia, Ford has raised the Cold-War spectre of falling "dominoes" threatening "U.S. security" and hysterically demands increased aid to the venal puppet governments. The policies of this counterrevolutionary jackal and the capitalist class he politically represents mean the slaughter of the heroically struggling workers and peasants in the interests of the reactionary capitalists and landlords of Indochina.

On April 25 Ford will speak on behalf of the U.S. imperialists at the "150th anniversary celebration" of the Yale Law School. Ford's imperialist policies must not go unchallenged! The Spartacus Youth League is calling for a mass demonstration at Yale to protest the murderous policies of Ford and the U.S. imperialists. Join us!

LAW SCHOOL, YALE UNIVERSITY,
corner of Wall and High Streets
NEW HAVEN

FRIDAY, APRIL 25th at 6 pm

For further information on details of demonstration or transportation, call:

Boston SYL: (617) 661-1137
Ithaca SYL: (607) 277-3211
New Haven SYL: (203) 432-1170
New York SYL: (212) 925-5665
Philadelphia SYL: (215) 848-5016

Marxism & the American Indian Question

By Gracinha Soares
and John Perkins

Part 3/Conclusion

The American Indian "nationalism" that has arisen since World War II represents an expression of the oppression and despair which Indians have experienced in urban centers, where nearly half of the Indian population now lives. Relocated in cities through government "economic opportunity" programs, military service, the termination of tribal status on the reservation or the pressure of rural unemployment, Indians have organized against particular manifestations of their special oppression beyond tribal lines into pan-Indian organizations. But Indian "nationalism" has never succeeded in formulating a genuinely nationalist program and perspective for struggle, ultimately because the American Indian tribes were dismembered and destroyed by rising American capitalism before they could enter the historic process of national consolidation (see discussion in "Marxism and the American Indian Question," *Young Spartacus*, December 1974 and January 1975).

The National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) was originally established within the government's Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) to contain dissent among Indians. The NCAI subsequently broke away from the BIA to become a respectable, liberal Congressional pressure group. Today Vine Deloria, NCAI leader and influential author, typically proposes petty-bourgeois "corporate tribalism," in which the reservations would start "buying up all the gas stations along the highway, and the motels, and the cafes" (quoted in Steiner, *The New Indians*).

Deloria settles for a slice of the service sector to the tribes, while falsely attributing the special oppression of Indians to a general "religious crisis," where traditional communal values confront the "materialistic" decadence of bourgeois individualism. This sense of the Indians' unique spiritual mission—which is more a sentiment of cultural revivalism than nationalism—characterizes much of the mood and impulse of the contemporary Indian movement. The despair of lumpen ghetto life, the pervasive culture shock of relocation and the deracination of young Indian intellectuals have combined to lead numerous Indians back to their "roots" and to

dreams of a refuge where the virtues of idealized traditional life can be emulated without the agonies of capitalism.

Implicit in the retrogressive turn toward the reservations is an acceptance of American class society and the economically marginal, socially isolated position of Indians. But the fact that an independent nation-state and separate Indian economy objectively cannot be realized gives the Indian movement its peculiarly utopian quality.

American Indian Movement

Urban Indians formed the American Indian Movement (AIM) in 1968 to fight police harassment in the Minneapolis Indian ghetto. Their original activities, like police surveillance squads and demanding Indian control of OEO projects, inevitably reached the dead-end of reformism, ethnic politics and the Democratic Party. The official "War on Poverty," as well as unofficial white-guilt shakedowns of church and liberal organizations, provided no lasting changes. Whatever small gains were made were quickly reversed by the economic crunch of inflation and rising unemployment.

Confronted with the failure of urban poverty program politics, AIM withdrew from the cities to turn back to the tribal past. AIM's vision of itself as a reborn warrior society guided by tribal soothsayers and medicine men deflects the class hatred that simmers in urban ghettos away from any recognition of the crucial need to link the struggle against special oppression to the labor movement. Instead, AIM attempts to substitute the bravery of AIM activists for the political power of a class-conscious labor movement.

Uprisings like that at Wounded Knee, even with significant reservation-wide backing, hold little chance of success given the state's preponderant military forces. Despite the modesty of the three Wounded Knee demands—suspension of tribal council president and government lackey "Dickie" Wilson, Congressional investigation of the BIA and Senate review of Indian treaty violations—the state reacted decisively to the armed challenge to its authority, condoning the "cowboy" vigilantism that left five Indians dead and mounting a vicious wave of legal repression against the AIM militants. While we may consider a specific action tactically unwise and seek to dissuade Indian militants from engaging in self-

destructive confrontations, we unconditionally defend the Indian militants, once the action has been taken, from capitalist reprisals.

AIM shares the view, graphically presented by traditionalist Rarihokwats, that "consumer addiction" is the fundamental plague of Indians turned into "junkies" by the "corporate pushers."

"It is fashionable to blame corporations for consuming Indian land and water, and while it is true they do, we fail to realize that the European-

any struggle for leadership in the black movement to Malcolm X and a generation of black nationalists, so these petty-bourgeois radical enthusiasts capitulate to Indian nationalism, uncritically reporting the Indian movement in the *Militant* and setting up forums and defense rallies to "reconcile" pan-Indianism and Marxism.

By way of a pseudo-theoretical cover, the SWP/YSA discovers that Indian religion, "unlike religion in capitalist society," can play a "progressive role... in the Indian effort

WORKERS WORLD



Indian militants on guard during Wounded Knee occupation.

American life-style is the ultimate consumer—the corporations are the harvesters. By adopting European life-styles, Indians place themselves at the mercy of the very corporations they condemn."

—Akwasasne Notes, Late Spring 1974

Commodities themselves, and not the oppressive and exploitative system of capitalist production, become the main enemy for the traditionalists. By misplacing the fundamental contradiction of capitalism (socialized production fettered by private property) AIM advises Indians to consume less rather than fighting the bourgeois reign of private property which enforces scarcity.

The spuriousness of AIM's endeavor to regenerate tribal life shows in an inability to formulate a program of struggle beyond symbolic displays—albeit to the point of death—that call public attention to the plight of Indians. During the occupation of Mt. Rushmore in August 1970, for example, AIM and other militants combined symbolic demands (for an end to the sale of postcards depicting the Sioux slaughtered at Wounded Knee and for the renaming of the peak "Crazy Horse Mountain") with demands indistinguishable from Deloria's brand of liberal-reformism (for the return of a gunnery range to the Pine Ridge reservation, for more Indians hired as park rangers and more concession space for Indian arts and crafts).

AIM thus calls on the capitalists and their government to undo the destruction of the aboriginal tribes of North America, a clear impossibility. Neither reviving treaty relations, as proposed by the "Trail of Broken Treaties" caravan to Washington, nor seeking admission to the United Nations, raised at the recent AIM-organized International Treaty Conference, speaks to the needs of the remnants of the conquered tribes.

SWP Polyvanguardism—Always Room for One More

For the opportunist Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA), Indian nationalism is enough. Just as the SWP/YSA abdicated

for self-determination. It is something that can unify many Indians and at the same time re-enforce tribal values, which often challenge the accepted values of the dominant society" (*Young Socialist*, November 1969).

Marx observed that the "ancient conception" of aboriginal culture "in which man always appears (in however narrowly national, religious or political a definition) as the aim of production seems very much more exalted than the modern world, in which production is the aim of man." (*Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations*). But Marx nonetheless pointed out that the ravages of capitalism are what rendered such a conception ancient by disrupting forever the pre-class harmony of tribal life. The tribal values expressed in religion, ritual, myth and lore retain a great poetic power, but they left the tribes quite unprepared to resist the expansion of the bourgeoisie.

The SWP's uncritical praise for Indian religion presents the old romantic image of the Indian as the antithesis of capitalist depravity and plays to the enormous (and faddish) popularity of Indians on campuses, in the radical milieu and among "radicalized" movie stars like Marlon Brando and Jane Fonda.

Looking backward to the tribal past only "challenges the accepted values of the dominant society" in the most oblique and frequently reactionary ways and certainly does not indicate a way out of the historical impasse to which capitalism has assigned Indians. The suffering of the oppressed Indian translates politically into a utopian separatism based on the understandable, but destructive wish to be left alone.

The SWP courts Indian nationalism by subscribing to the fiction of a pan-Indian nation based on a "common national heritage" and a "common national oppression." The SWP tries to conceal behind a supposedly Marxist "preference" for the nationalism of the oppressed their own opportunism and the utopian reformism of the Indian movement. The Bolshevik's criteria for nationhood—common territory, language, culture and material basis for

continued on page 10

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The Quiet Demise of the "Energy Crisis"

The sensational "Energy Crisis" newspaper headlines and television specials have vanished. The oil "shortage," which according to gun-boat diplomat Kissinger pointed to some impending "strangulation" of the advanced capitalist economies, has now become an oil glut. Oil tankers filled to capacity lie at anchor in the Persian Gulf, because there are no customers. Those which do set out from port dawdle at half speed, not to reduce fuel costs, but to buy time for the oil producers in the Near East to find buyers somewhere. Petroleum production of the 13 countries represented in the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) has plummeted from a high of 32.8 million barrels a day to 27 million. "Shut-in capacity"—oil available but not being produced for want of markets—has sharply risen to 11 million barrels a day.

None of the revisionist and impressionistic left organizations that eagerly swallowed last year's bourgeois propaganda on the "energy crisis" has yet ventured an "explanation." The Maoists have generally enthused over the "anti-imperialist" OPEC and embraced the vernal and reactionary Arab and Iranian bourgeoisies in the Maoist "united front against the super-powers." Crisis-mongering centrists such as the counterfeit-Trotskyist Workers League and the Shachtmanite Revolutionary Socialist League lunged for and still cling to the "energy crisis" myth to support their revisionist view that world imperialism is irreversibly collapsing in its "Final Crisis." Such anti-Marxist objectivism, which implicitly denies the historic crisis of revolutionary leadership, comes precisely from organizations like the WL and RSL which are wracked by internal crises and have all but collapsed.

Behind the Myth: Protectionism and Inter-Imperialist Rivalries

The current downward pressure on oil prices has forced the American oil giants and their government into the position where they can no longer blame the OPEC for the high oil prices which they too desire. Precisely to prevent the foreign undercutting of higher-cost domestic sources, Kissinger has been attempting to wrangle an agreement with the other major oil-consuming nations that will prevent any negotiated oil price from being set too low. This is the background of the recent inconclusive OPEC summit and the upcoming consumer-producer "dialogue" hosted by the French government.

The drive toward self-sufficiency in energy sources launched by the Ford administration under the Red-White-and-Blue slogan of "Project Independence" is not simply reducible to direct economic motives. Behind the declarations of economic protectionism—"independence from foreign sources by 1985"—is the gearing up for increased inter-imperialist rivalry and possible outbreak of a third world war.

The policies advocated by Ford, which were first set forth in his "State of the Union" address, are not primarily designed for increasing the bargaining

power of the U.S. capitalists vis-à-vis the OPEC countries, but signify the beginning of preparations for bearing the "disruption" in supplies that will be produced by an imperialist war. Thus, Ford likened the present "crisis" to that of 1942:

"President Franklin D. Roosevelt said this country would build 60,000 aircraft. By 1943, production had reached 125,000 airplanes annually."

The disagreement between Ford and Congress on the means for achieving this protectionist "self-sufficiency" is only a difference over which policies will best serve the interests of the bourgeoisie. The Maoists, however, have yet to explain how this "self-reliance" is progressive, but (with the exception of the Revolutionary Union) have cheered the protectionist boycott of coal supplies from South Africa.

This reactionary tendency toward autarky and protectionism has been accompanied by an ever more shrill campaign of national chauvinism. The bourgeois media and government sources have been spewing propaganda that "the Arabs" are gobbling up America and "illegal aliens" are the cause of the deepening recession. One typical press story reported that an oil sheikh wanted to buy the Alamo for the amusement of his son. (One can imagine the affront to the public ego of the Texas oil tycoons!)

Even before the rapid price hikes and October War boycott of 1973, oil industry advisor Walter Levy was sounding the alarm:

"Not the least of the dangers posed by this extreme concentration of oil power and 'unearned' money power is the pervasive and corruptive influence which this will inevitably have... in both the relatively primitive and unsophisticated societies of the producing countries and the advanced societies of the dependent [!] industrialized countries."

--Foreign Policy, Summer 1973

Similarly, the *New York Times* (11 November 1974) editorialized that money "draining" out of the advanced capitalist countries to the OPEC because of the higher oil prices would soon result in a full-blown financial crisis:

"The problem is that the oil-producing countries cannot spend more than a fraction of their earnings. They are piling up unspendable claims on the rest of the world so fast that by the end of the next year they are expected to total more than \$120 billion, twice the net U.S. foreign assets at the end of last year."

This is simply fictitious. The financial reserves of the OPEC countries are generally not directly held, but instead substantially invested in foreign currencies deposited in Western banks or held as marketable securities of Western governments. So much for the myth of the Arab-induced depression.

OPEC: A Weak Sales Cartel

The economic turnabout from oil "shortage" to oil glut is the result of basic economic forces working through

the structure of a cartel. Lenin provided the following characterization of the cartel:

"Cartels come to an agreement on the conditions of sale, terms of payment, etc. They divide the markets among themselves. They fix the quantity of goods to be produced. They fix prices. They divide the profits among the various enterprises, etc."

—Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism

An association of producers into a cartel requires more than an agreement to fix prices in order to obtain a greater share of the surplus value realized. Control over production is crucial if the inflated price floor is to be maintained.

The pre-eminent cartel in oil has long been not the OPEC, but the so-called "Seven Sisters," the seven major oil conglomerates which dominate world oil production and distribution (five of which are American). The OPEC was formed in 1959 to fight a cut in the "posted price" of oil produced by the "Seven Sisters" and managed only to hold posted prices and royalty shares even. This signified, however, a decline in real income per barrel given the rampant inflation throughout the capitalist world.

Until the 1973 October War in the Near East, the OPEC had never succeeded in anything more than a holding or defensive operation. Initiated by the boycott, the spectacular increase in oil prices in 1973 marked the beginning of a more successful OPEC operation. While too rapid to be comfortable for the Western bourgeoisies, the rise in oil prices did coincide with the economic aims of the major American oil companies. More than by the increase in prices the U.S. imperialists were provoked by the recourse to political means.

There is, however, considerable speculation as to what extent the OPEC boycott of 1973-74 was fact and to what extent artifact. While the Federal Energy Administration's "Project Independence Report" claims that despite some "leakages" the oil embargo was successful, the British *Economist* is frankly skeptical. These perceptive bourgeois analysts insist that their contention that there was never an effective boycott can be supported by the "simple expedient of checking the insurance coverage at Lloyd's of oil shipments from the Gulf" (*Economist*, 8 March 1975).

The Bottom Drops Out

The problem which the OPEC now faces is maintaining the dizzying price levels in the conditions of a growing oil surplus. This endemic problem of a cartel is exacerbated by the fact that OPEC enjoys nothing approaching a complete monopoly on the development of present or future energy sources. In comparison with the "Seven Sisters," the OPEC is a weak cartel. While their natural resources are enormous, the Arab and Iranian oil bourgeoisies are fundamentally dependent upon imperialism. The weak bourgeoisies of the economically underdeveloped countries dominated by imperialism cannot carry out the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution and inaugurate industrial revolutions. History has confirmed that this task falls to the proletarian revolution.

While the bloated prices certainly contributed to the problem oil surplus, the economic contractions marking the recession throughout the capitalist world have resulted in a declining demand for petroleum. Even climatic conditions have worked to the disadvantage of OPEC. Winters in the U.S., Europe and Japan were all unusually mild, with the result of a drop in the demand for home-heating oil.

In this context, the March OPEC summit attempted, without success, to hammer out a united front to present at the April meeting with the major oil-consuming nations. Proposals to coordinate production cutbacks were shelved, and differences were as apparent as agreement. As the summit was in session, the Iranians shocked the "radical" wing of OPEC by announcing its \$15 billion trade agreement with the U.S. Most perturbed were the Iraqis, who are now disputing the Shatt-al-Arab estuary with Iran. Since the announced Iranian-American deal included a \$5 billion arms package, the Iraqis wondered out loud why Iran wanted all those weapons.

The softening oil market has already resulted in price shaving by a number of OPEC countries, notably "radical" Algeria and Libya. Some of the more obtuse bourgeois commentators have puzzled why the U.S. government should be so concerned about setting up a "safety net" under the OPEC. For example, the *Los Angeles Times* (7 March 1975) editorialized, "Under the circumstances it is indeed strange to see the Ford Administration trying to arrange what would amount to a price support program for Arab oil."

The reason for the "paradox" is quite simple: keep the oil prices high enough to protect the more expensive domestic oil. The concern of the U.S. bourgeoisie in going into the Paris "dialogue" with the OPEC is not a

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ceiling, but a floor for oil prices. This change in the market situation has produced corresponding shifts in public opinion manipulation. Thus, the *New York Times* (21 March 1975), in step with the new strategy of the bourgeoisie, warns that OPEC "might manipulate prices downward to preserve their markets in the West."

Down with Protectionism! For International Labor Solidarity!

In the twentieth century the history of oil has been very closely linked to the history of imperialist wars. Behind the statistics of oil prices and profits is the all-important question of the control of vital raw materials. While the sabre rattling has somewhat subsided for the moment, Kissinger's threats that the U.S. imperialists are prepared to go to war to protect "their" Near Eastern oil sources are an ominous warning. And any imperialist conflict in the Near East poses the danger of an imperialist attack on the soft underbelly of the Soviet Union, the world's greatest oil producer. In every regard, the Near East could well be the point of ignition for World War III. The left and labor movement must vigorously oppose all manifestations of national chauvinism, economic protectionism and imperialist militarism. ■

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Eritrean Independence

The flare-up of the war in Eritrea over the past three months and the recent shifts within the unstable and faction-ridden Ethiopian junta indicate that the 13-year Eritrean secessionist rebellion in Ethiopia is rapidly coming to a head. A military victory of the Eritrean independence forces could well precipitate the rapid dissolution of the multiplicity of well-armed and seriously disaffected racial and ethnic minorities which comprise the Amharic-dominated Ethiopian state.

Since the end of January, the avowedly "socialist" Ethiopian junta has been fiercely prosecuting its murderous policy of suppressing "bandit elements." The daily attacks on Asmara and the villages surrounding the Eritrean capital are clearly intended to terrorize by bloodbath the civilian Eritrean population into submission. Ethiopian jet fighters have leveled at least six villages, and more than 550 civilians have been reported killed in Asmara alone. An estimated 2,300 Eritrean guerrillas have been slain since February 1.

The Ethiopian army has carried out at least two My Lai-type massacres—in the village of Woki Deba, where 100 civilians were butchered, and in Um Hagar, where 250 villagers were executed in reprisal for the killing of an Ethiopian officer. In addition, 19 Asmara students as well as an entire family of five have been garroted for being suspected guerrilla sympathizers.

This indiscriminate terror predictably has only further alienated a population long hostile to Ethiopian domination. A correspondent who recently spent five days in Asmara reported encountering not one person who was not in favor of independence for Eritrea (*New York Times*, 3 February 1975). Students have been flocking to join the guerrillas at the rate of about 50 a day. The chief of police of Asmara, along with 200 armed men and 35 marines, defected to the guerrillas in late January. Relations between the army and the police are rapidly deteriorating; the 5,000-man police force is solidly behind the secessionist movement, remaining at their posts reportedly only to protect the civilian population from the rampaging Ethiopian army. The Ethiopian regime is driving the Eritreans into the independence struggle in much the same fashion that the West Pakistani army drove the East Bengalis solidly behind the Awami League in 1971.

A History of Oppression

The present war is the culmination of a long history of Eritrean oppression. The region now known as Eritrea was under the domination of the Turkish Ottoman Empire from the 16th to the 19th century. The creation of the territorial entity of Eritrea came with the Italian colonial domination, which lasted from 1889 until 1941.

The Italian occupation radically altered the economy, social fabric and culture of the colony. Eritrea became a staging and supply area for Italian expansionism in North Africa, and the Italian imperialists developed Asmara and the ports of Massawa and Assab, established a relatively advanced network of roads and rail connections, and stimulated the growth of industry.

As a result of Italian colonization, Eritrea developed an economy and social infrastructure qualitatively more advanced than Ethiopia. The rate of literacy was four times that of Ethiopia, and the Eritrean proletariat was among the most culturally advanced in black Africa. Thus, despite the claims of the Ethiopian junta that "Ethiopia and Eritrea are one," Eritrea has a political and economic history distinctly separate from that of Ethiopia.

With the breakup of the Italian East

African Empire in 1941, Eritrea became a British "protectorate" and remained under British imperialist domination until 1952. In 1950 the U.S. introduced a resolution in the United Nations which would establish a federated relationship between Eritrea and Ethiopia for the period 1952-1962, after which a plebiscite to decide Eritrea's future would be held. The resolution passed, and the feudal Ethiopian Empire of Haile Selassie kept its end of the bargain, granting the U.S. imperialists the right to establish a military base replete with an elaborate counter-insurgency surveillance operation in Asmara and a naval presence in the strategically located port of Massawa.

No sooner had the federal government of Eritrea been established than Haile Selassie began a drive to annex Eritrea. As early as 1953 Selassie suspended freedom of the press in Eritrea, and soon after Ethiopia imposed special taxes which forced Eritrean industries either to close down or to move to Addis Ababa. The Eritrean proletariat, which was the core of the organized opposition to the feudal regime, was consequently driven to Addis Ababa or into unemployment.

In the late 1950's, the feudalist Selassie regime stepped up its drive to dismember its opposition in Eritrea. Political parties and trade unions—neither of which existed in Ethiopia—were summarily abolished in Eritrea in anticipation of the approaching plebiscite. In response, the Eritrean working class staged throughout Eritrea in 1958 a general strike demanding independence. The strike was brutally suppressed by the military, killing or wounding 550 of the unarmed strikers.

In 1962 Ethiopia removed the plebiscite from the agenda and militarily occupied Eritrea, annexing the region as the 14th province of the Ethiopian Empire. The Ethiopian regime began shutting down factories and prohibiting the building of new industries, abolished the official languages of Eritrea and imposed the exclusive use of Amharic, and attempted to obliterate the cultures of Eritrea through a forced Amharization.

Eritrea and the National Question

The Russian Bolsheviks recognized three types of countries with regard to the self-determination of nations (see Lenin, *The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination*). First, the advanced capitalist countries where national unification had been one of the fundamental tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution against the feudal order. Second, Russia and the Eastern European countries where the formation of a centralized state for defense against the invasions of the Huns, Turks and Mongols proceeded more rapidly than national consolidation, resulting in the multi-national state. And third, the colonial and semi-colonial countries where bourgeois-democratic development is arrested by the yoke of imperialism. Thus, in most of the countries under imperialist domination the process of national unification either is only in its infancy or has not yet even begun.

Especially under the impact of the first imperialist world war and the historic split with the Social Democrats, the Bolsheviks and the Communist International insisted that for the vast areas of the world under imperialist domination the national question becomes merged with the general colonial question. Stalin, the Bolshevik Party expert on the national question, was merely repeating the decisions of the Second Congress of the Communist International when he declared:

"the vague slogan of the right of nations to self-determination has been replaced by the clear revolutionary slogan of the right of nations and colonies to political secession and the formation of independent states."

—*The National Question Presented* (1921)

The Bolsheviks' slogan for the unconditional and immediate liberation of the colonies from imperialist domination "in its political expression signifies nothing else than the recognition of the right to self-determination" (Lenin).

The Bolsheviks even recognized the right of secession for many of the pre-national peoples and tribes of Central Asia

"who have not passed through a capitalist development, who do not, or practically do not, possess an industrial proletariat of their own, who in the majority of cases preserve the pastoral and patriarchal tribal form of life... or who have not yet progressed beyond a primitive semi-patriarchal, semi-feudal form of life."

—*Theses on the Immediate Tasks of the Party in Connection with the National Problem*, 1921

Like most of the states which have emerged in Africa under the auspices of "neo-colonialism," Eritrea is not yet a nation. The population of Eritrea is divided almost equally between Coptic Christians and Muslims, and historically communal differences have been rife. For instance, as early as 1946 the Christian-based Unionist Party favored some form of unity with Ethiopia, which is predominantly Christian, while the Moslem League advocated union with neighboring Sudan.

The communal divisions are reinforced by linguistic differences. The two most prevalent languages—there are seven less widespread languages in Eritrea—are Tigigna, spoken mostly by Christians of the central highlands and by the inhabitants of the northern province of Tigrai, and Tigre, spoken chiefly by Muslims in the west and northeast as well as by many Sudanese.

At the hands of the Ethiopian feudalist overlords the Eritreans suffer an oppression which has a national character. The Eritreans have been forced into a life-and-death struggle for independence before they have historically been consolidated into a nation. The continued enforced union with Ethiopia can only result in the further devastation of Eritrean society through brutal economic, linguistic and cultural oppression.

While in general Leninists do not favor Balkanization which divides up areas into small, often hostile states which are even more subject to imperialist domination, we recognize that the annexation of Eritrea to Ethiopia is itself a product of imperialism. Thus, we support the democratic right of Eritrea to secession. We call for military victory to the Eritrean independence forces, while placing absolutely no political confidence in their petty-bourgeois and communalist leaderships. We also call for an end to all U.S. aid to the reactionary Ethiopian junta, and demand that all Ethiopian troops be withdrawn from Eritrea.

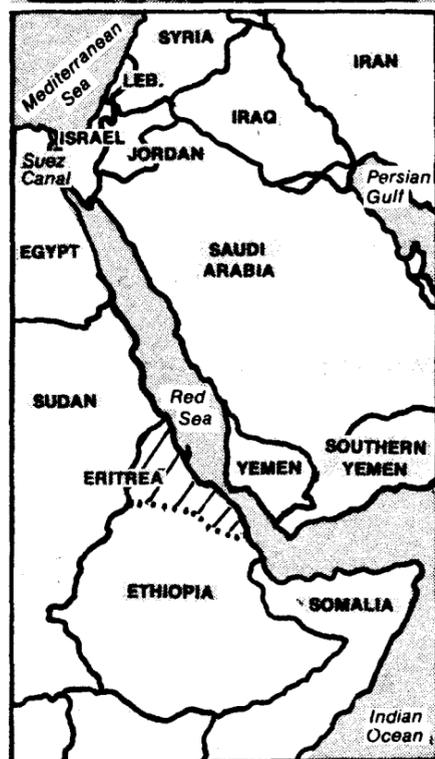
The Secessionist Forces

The organized Eritrean independence movement began with the formation of the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) in response to Ethiopia's drive to end Eritrea's federated status in 1961. The ELF was based on Muslim regional chieftains and maintained its headquarters in Damascus. The independence struggle proceeded sporadically over the next ten years, but

declined with the end of the civil war in the Sudan in 1972. In exchange for Selassie's support, the Nimeiry regime of Sudan closed its borders to the Eritrean rebels, thereby denying them a relatively secure base of guerrilla operations into Ethiopia.

In 1970 the Eritrean People's Liberation Forces (EPLF), predominantly Christian and purportedly "Marxist," was formed in opposition to the Muslim-communist ELF. During the past five

DER SPIEGEL



L'EXPRESS

Army of "socialist" Ethiopian junta which guerrillas organizing Eritrean villagers (below)

years the sharp antagonism between the ELF and the EPLF has frequently erupted in violent confrontations; hostilities between the two wings of the secessionist movement in 1970 alone claimed the lives of 1500 guerrillas and 300 civilians. The present ELF-EPLF alliance is largely the product of the ferocity and scale of the junta's attacks, popular pressure for unity, and the recognition by the guerrillas that the present political instability of the junta provides a rare opportunity to bring about the collapse of the military regime and the independence of Eritrea.

The Character of Ethiopian "Socialism"

The present bonapartist ruling junta came to power riding the wave of massive discontent with Selassie's ineptitude and insensitivity to the mass starvation and the large landowners' criminal profiteering with the famine. The junta is but the most recent in a long series of regimes, beginning with Leopold Senghor's Senegal in the late 1950's, that have declared themselves to be "African Socialists." Given the history of imperialist exploitation and plunder in Africa, no petty-bourgeois authoritarian regime can hope to gain much support by declaring itself "cap-

ce Struggle Intensifies

talist." Furthermore, the Ethiopian junta seeks to undercut the appeal of the Eritrean Fronts: "We [the junta and the ELF-EPLF] are all revolutionaries and our divisions and our fight do not make sense" (*Afrique Asie*, 24 February 1975).

The "socialist" junta has banned all strikes and political demonstrations, suspended the few freedoms won during the massive uprisings of workers, students and soldiers last spring, and

this change of form is no blessing to the people of a colonial country. The ability of a private corporation to repatriate profits is limited by the market and thus subject to wide cyclical fluctuations. Payments of principal and interest on government bonds, on the other hand, must be met in both good and bad years, even if it requires great sacrifices from the native population. Compensation payments thus have the effect of transforming the national government into a medium for the extrac-

resistance, which is the last thing the junta wants. Such armed resistance could well prompt the "revolutionary socialist" government of Somalia to pounce on southeastern Ethiopia, fulfilling its irredentist policy toward the Somali-speaking minority of the area. In the other provinces there is some capitalist farming alongside extended family holdings. The threat of nationalization in these areas has aroused the wrath of some non-commissioned officers in the junta and has led to the arming of local populations by renegade aristocrats and village chiefs (*Manchester Guardian*, 22 February 1975).

Any illusions concerning the "socialist" possibilities of the junta's land reform can be dispelled by comparison with the "model" land reform of 1952 in Egypt. Following the coup, the Free Officers Movement nationalized some land with the compensation in state-issued, interest-bearing bonds. The state administered some of the nationalized lands, taking the place of the landlords in exploiting the peasants and agricultural workers. Much of the state's profit, however, went to paying the former owners the debts incurred through the nationalization. In 1962, ten years after the military junta had embarked on land reform, only ten percent of the land under cultivation had been redistributed, and those few peasants who did receive land were found to be spending more on its maintenance than they were receiving in land-derived income. Although more "radical" than that of the Ethiopian "socialists," the Egyptian junta's land reform program accomplished virtually nothing for the toiling masses.

The leaders of the ELF and EPLF earlier this year went to the United Nations to seek support for their struggle from the Organization of African Unity (OAU). Apparently they were unsuccessful, as no statement by the OAU subsequently has been issued. Rather, at the height of the February attack on Eritrea which had all the ferocity of a genocidal war, the OAU rolled into Addis Ababa to hold its annual meeting! While the OAU has totally ignored the war in Eritrea under the pretext that it is an "internal affair," many of these same OAU leaders did not ignore the execution of some of Haile Selassie's lackeys just two months earlier and were quite vociferous in expressing their horror and outrage.

The Charter of the OAU declares all state boundaries in Africa to be sacrosanct. For the OAU to support the particular legitimacy of the Eritrean independence struggle would open a Pandora's box for its more than 40 member states. The boundaries of nearly every state in black Africa have been largely determined by the interests of imperialism, often arbitrarily drawn by colonial powers on the basis of the balance of forces existing in Europe. Almost every state in black Africa (Somalia being the outstanding exception) is comprised of a conglomerate of disparate ethnic, religious, and linguistic groups.

National Liberation Through Permanent Revolution!

Unlike Stalinists and Pan-Africanists, Trotskyists realize that in the epoch of imperialism the weak bourgeoisies, the bonapartist military cliques, the feudalists and the tribalists of Africa are incapable of carrying out even the essential bourgeois-democratic tasks of achieving genuine independence, bourgeois democracy, national unification, agrarian reform and rapid industrial development. These petty-bourgeois strata on the one hand are tied to foreign capitalists and the native ruling elites (be they capitalists, feudalists or tribalists), and on the other hand stand in fear of the toiling masses.

Only the proletariat in a revolutionary alliance with the downtrodden peasants and tribal peoples can solve these tasks, but the proletarian power in so doing passes over into the anti-capitalist struggle which is the beginning of the socialist revolution. But for an isolated workers government to survive without either counter-revolution or internal bureaucratic degeneration it must break out of its national integument. As Trotsky stated (*The Permanent Revolution*):

"in a country where the proletariat has power in its hands as the result of the democratic revolution, the subsequent fate of the dictatorship and socialism depends in the last analysis not only and not so much upon the national productive forces as upon the development of the international socialist revolution."

At the same time, independence struggles in Africa can profoundly shape the relationship of class forces within the imperialist countries. The independence of Guinea-Bissau and the impending independence of Mozambique have been a powerful impulse in the unfolding of a pre-revolutionary situation on the Iberian peninsula. Thus, while the powerhouse of the African revolution is the strong proletariats of Johannesburg and Cairo, the more backward areas, such as Eritrea, are by no means historically consigned to being dragged behind proletarian revolutionary upheavals in the large industrial centers. For the building of Trotskyist parties in black Africa! Forward to the united socialist federation of Africa! ■



AFRIQUE-ASIE



LAURENT-GAMMA

... which deposed feudalist Selassie (top left) now occupies Eritrea (top right). ELF fighters (below right).

ejected 60,000 troublesome students to the hinterlands "to teach the peasantry." The regime's prisons have been filled with labor leaders and student activists, and three concentration camps have been constructed in anticipation of the internment of the tens of thousands of Eritrean inhabitants of Addis Ababa.

The junta has touted its "socialist" nationalization of 101 corporations, 29 of which (mainly the multinationals) will retain minority interests. These nationalizations, however, involve the commitment of the junta to enormous compensation to the former capitalist interests (*Africa*, March 1975).

Assorted Pan-Africanists and Stalinists maintain that such nationalizations reflect the "revolutionary suicide of the petty bourgeoisie," described by Amilcar Cabral as the road to socialism in the economically underdeveloped countries. While still a Trotskyist, Shane Mage described succinctly and lucidly the actual significance of such nationalizations by petty-bourgeois bonapartist regimes:

"If reasonably full compensation is paid, this amounts to mortgaging the future of the country to foreign capitalists. Instead of profit and depreciation, the tribute to imperialism is now called interest and amortization. And

tion of surplus value from the native working class and its transfer to foreign capitalists." [original emphasis]

—"The Colonial Revolution—Capitalist or Socialist?," *International Youth Bulletin* [YSA], No. 1, 1960

Concerning the minority interests granted the multinationals by the junta, the imperialists have long recognized the benefits of such an arrangement. As the prestigious *Economist* (23 August 1969) sagaciously observed:

"The shrewdest businessmen in that part of the world have argued for some time that a 49 percent stake in a business whose success is underwritten by government participation may be more valuable than 100 percent of a concern exposed to all the political winds that blow."

The junta, under the pressure of the mass hatred for the landlords who last year extracted their exorbitant rents while peasants harvested dust and who sold their grain at inflated prices while 200,000 starved to death, has declared a "radical" land reform promising nationalization. The southern provinces have a feudal land tenure system dominated by absentee landlords. Since these feudal lords maintain their own substantial private armies, an attempt to carry through any significant land reform would surely provoke armed

Stalinists, Pan-Africanists Line Up to Fawn Over Junta

The Stalinist bureaucracy of the Soviet degenerated workers state can be found opposing Eritrean independence ... once again. The Stalinists called for the return of Eritrea to Italy after WWII in an effort to curry favor with the Italian bourgeoisie and thus secure ministerial portfolios for the Italian Communist Party in the bourgeois government. So today the Stalinists hail the "progressive" junta and its "non-capitalist development," while denouncing so-called "imperialist lies" about the junta's barbarous Eritrea policy (*Daily World*, 3 January 1975).

The Maoist bureaucracy has likewise rolled out the carpet of class-collaborationist "peaceful coexistence" for the junta in an effort to outmaneuver the Soviet Union in the area. One French journalist, who has conducted extensive interviews with leaders of both the ELF and EPLF, has commented, "The penetration of the Chinese in Ethiopia and the growing kindness which they enjoy from the military in power disquiet the Russians" (*L'Express*, 3-9 February 1975).

In 1971 the Chinese Stalinists discontinued their aid to the Eritrean rebels and established friendly relations with Selassie, who was warmly received in Peking as an "anti-imperialist." The Maoists saluted Selassie, who had provided Ethiopian troops for the imperialist interventions in the Congo and Korea, for his contributions "to the promotion of the cause of anti-imperialist unity in Asia and Africa" (*Peking Information*, 20 October 1971). At a time when Selassie's feudal regime had brought about the death of more than 100,000 from starvation, the Chinese bureaucracy toasted Selassie's "great social advances," such as the "Ethiopianization of industry" and the "tapping of agricultural production" (*Peking Review*, 28 December 1973)! (Agricultural production in Ethiopia has actually declined at the rate of 0.5 percent per year over the last 20 years.)

All Indochina Must Go Communist!

Continued from page 3

When the government attempted to deprive the peasants of their small plots of land, the peasants revolted and sacked Sihanouk's party headquarters. Returning from the flesh-pots of Paris Sihanouk ordered the bloody slaughter of the peasants.

The vicious repression drove hundreds of peasants into the southern hills, where they were met and organized by the small bands of old Khmers Rouges. Similar state repression likewise drove many of the hill tribesmen of the northeast provinces (the Khmer Loeu) into the ranks of the Khmer Rouge. The left-wing intelligentsia and politicians purged by Sihanouk also fled to the jungles to begin organizing. The political relationship between the old, generally pro-Hanoi Khmer Rouge and this second generation of Cambodian-nationalist "Khmers Rouges" remains to this day murky.

The last years of Sihanouk's rule were distinguished by anti-Vietnamese and anti-Communist campaigns as Cambodia drew closer into the U.S. orbit. In 1969, Sirik Matak, Sihanouk's right-hand man, began the denationalization of state enterprises, and private interests regained control of foreign commerce and banking. As the Vietnam war spread to Cambodian soil, Sihanouk's "neutrality" became all the more untenable to the U.S. imperialists. Sihanouk was finally dumped by Sirik Matak in the 1970 CIA-backed coup.

Bounced off the throne, Sihanouk winged his way to Peking, where he was knighted the "patriotic Prince" and threw his lot in with the other "patriotic" forces, the Khmer Rouge

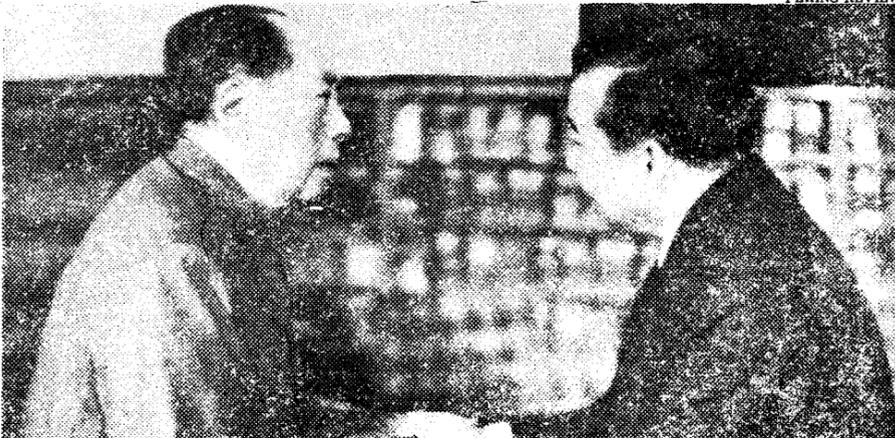
ing a coalition.

But no coalition government can resolve the fundamental class conflict that has thrown Cambodia into civil war. Although in a qualitatively deformed way, the Cambodian Communists represent and are based upon the exploited peasants and workers. They must either lead the struggle forward to a revolution that smashes the social rule of the capitalists and landlords, or themselves be crushed by the counterrevolutionary reaction. To open the road to the crystallization of a revolutionary leadership in Cambodia, the class collaborationism of the Cambodian Stalinists must be exposed in struggle. As proletarian-internationalists, we demand that the Cambodian Communists break with their program of class collaboration and take power now in their own name on a proletarian socialist program.

Already the "patriotic Prince" has begun maneuvers within the FUNK designed to bring into the proposed coalition government intact decisive sections of the present government, thus providing for a power-base on the right. While the Communist-dominated FUNK organization inside Cambodia continues to reject any reconciliation with the "Seven Traitors," Sihanouk has indicated that he has sent out feelers to the top "Traitors" Sosthene Fernandes and Sirik Matak, both of whom "send me messages secretly and through friends that they are ready to join us" (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 7 February 1975). He moreover declares in the same breath:

"Lon Nol and his group should be persuaded to ask for a pardon so that they may join their head of state—myself.

PEKING REVIEW



Mao embraces butcher Sihanouk (above), while Cambodian Communists battle Sihanouk's class brothers in Phnom Penh (below).

and the nationalist Khmer Rumdos. Sihanouk proclaimed this uneasy coalition the FUNK/GRUNK in 1970.

Break with Class Collaboration!

The search for a multi-class coalition government through the popular-frontist FUNK/GRUNK, to which the Cambodian Stalinists have politically subordinated themselves, is a strategy for defeat. The FALN forces are apparently delaying their capture of Phnom Penh in an effort to create conditions that will further isolate the "Seven Traitors" from those proto-"patriots" whom the FUNK/GRUNK is desperately seeking to woo into form-

We may enlarge our government to include some rightists, but we cannot negotiate as equal partners with rightists who are also traitors."

With the support of military strongman Fernandes and powerful rightist political leader Matak, Sihanouk would have a strong base of "pardoned-traitors" for organizing a counterrevolutionary slaughter of the Communist left.

USSR, China: Partners in Betrayal

Phnom Penh could have been taken years ago had a class-struggle perspective been supported by adequate military supplies and political support from the deformed workers states of

Russia, China and North Vietnam. Neither the Soviet Union nor China wishes to jeopardize its tender détente with U.S. imperialism by fully backing the Cambodian insurgents politically and militarily. Anxious to topple the

The Chinese Stalinists are willing to strangle the Cambodian revolution to avoid a Communist Indochina under Vietnamese, that is, pro-Moscow, leadership. The Maoists freely dispense their meaningless goodwill mes-

YOUNG SPARTACUS



Only SL/SYL-organized contingent raised class-struggle demands in Maoist-March 29 demonstration in New York City.

U.S. puppet Lon Nol, Sihanouk candidly, and sourly, observed:

"There is also the détente between the communist powers and the Americans, détente between the East and the West. Nobody can help us in a very efficient way."

—*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 7 February 1975

With Sihanouk snugly in the obliging Maoist camp, the Soviet Stalinists have openly turned their backs on the Cambodian Communists and the FUNK/GRUNK in hopes of thwarting Chinese influence in Indochina. Even the NLF's inadequate Soviet-supplied weaponry is unavailable to the FALN. Moreover, the USSR until last fall refused to recognize the FUNK/GRUNK, and even now continues to maintain its embassy in Phnom Penh.

The North Vietnamese likewise have refused to aid their "comrades" in Cambodia. After signing the sellout "Paris Peace Accords," the North Vietnamese Stalinists withdrew their military personnel and caches from Cambodia. Sihanouk bitterly recounts that the inferior weapons which the Chinese supply often are not delivered by the North Vietnamese:

"We have had to do without their [North Vietnam's] active support since June 1972. They are not even helping us to get supplies anymore. They want us to negotiate with the Americans the way they negotiated with Nixon and Thieu."

—*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 1 October 1975

The Chinese Stalinists are treacherously backing the "anti-imperialist" Sihanouk, preferring a friendly bourgeois regime in Cambodia to the uncertainties of socialist revolution. The Chinese are even supporting Sihanouk's maneuvers to secure an alliance with Fernandes and Matak (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 7 February 1975).

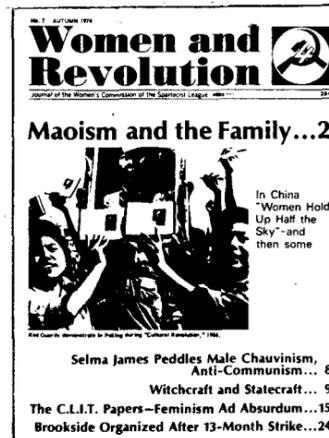
sages to the "Cambodian people," but turning to the U.S. imperialists they advocate a strong U.S. military presence in Thailand as a deterrent to the Soviet build-up in the Indian Ocean (*Le Monde*, 16 January 1975). From these bases the U.S. imperialists fly supplies and CIA "advisors" into Cambodia to prop up the Lon Nol army!

International proletarian solidarity demands that the Soviet Union and China immediately provide the struggling insurgents of Vietnam and Cambodia with aid and weapons adequate to defeat militarily U.S. imperialism in Indochina. But Communist unity against imperialism requires political revolution by the working class to oust all the Stalinist bureaucracies, which ultimately represent the pressure of imperialism within the bureaucratically deformed workers states. Since these states preserve collectivized property corresponding to the social base of proletarian rule, we simultaneously call for the unconditional defense of the deformed workers states from imperialist attack. If the struggle of the Indochinese workers and peasants is to be victorious in a socialist revolution, Trotskyist parties must be constructed in Indochina as sections of a reborn Fourth International.

RU and SWP: Clinging to the Bourgeoisie—At Home and in Indochina

Just as before in the now-defunct antiwar movement, the fake-lefts in this country have failed to meet even the most elementary obligations of working-class solidarity with the struggling masses of Indochina. The Maoist Revolutionary Union/Revolu-

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tionary Student Brigade (RU/RSB) cheered itself hoarse in support of the "Paris Peace Treaty," that robbers' "peace" extorted by the American bourgeoisie from the Hanoi bureaucrats at the cost of hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese lives. Still pushing the Vietnamese Stalinists' line that the Treaty is a "great victory," the RU/RSB is now loudly yelling, "Implement the Peace Agreement!" (This was the main slogan of the RU/RSB-sponsored demonstration in New York City on March 29.)

But in the present situation of a full-scale NLF and FALN military offensive and a possible military victory close at hand, recognizing two governments in South Vietnam, calling for "reconciliation" with the Thieu regime, calling for the enforcement of the old *in situ* cease fire, and granting Thieu's right to send aid to Phnom Penh—precisely the stipulations of the Paris Treaty—is *objectively counterrevolutionary!*

The reformist Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA) once again is presenting itself simply as the most "consistent" doves. These yellow "socialists" built their pacifist antiwar coalitions around social-patriotic slogans—"Out Now" and "Bring the Boys Home"—precisely in order to effect an alliance with bourgeois politicians representing the defeatist wing of the U.S. bourgeoisie. For this reason, these ex-Trotskyists condemned the slogans raised by the Spartacist League in the antiwar movement: "Victory to the Vietnamese Revolution!," "All Indochina Must Go Communist!" and "For Labor Political Strikes Against the War!"

**NYC Antiwar Demonstration
RU/RSB
EXCLUDES
COMMUNISTS,
PROVOKES COP
INTERVENTION**

Enraged by the SL/SYL's class-struggle demands, RU/RSB goes attempt to prevent large SL/SYL-organized contingent, as well as union militants of the United Auto Workers and the National Maritime Union, from marching in Cambodian demonstration (top). Stalinist exclusionism opened up march to cop intervention (bottom).



Today, the SWP/YSA likewise carefully formulates its demands on Indochina entirely within the political framework of the liberal wing of the defeatist bourgeoisie, which now comprises a majority of capitalist politicians. Thus, our "consistent" doves coo, "Not one more cent for the dictators in Saigon and Phnompenh! U.S. Out of Southeast Asia now!" (*Militant*,

4 April 1975). Not once do these "socialist" aspiring Congressmen call for the military victory of the Vietnamese and Cambodian insurgents or for the victory of the Indochinese revolution.

The SWP/YSA's factionally estranged "fraternal co-thinkers" in the so-called United Secretariat (Usec) sport a different line entirely. While the SWP/YSA seeks to find its social-democratic niche in the bourgeois order, the centrist Usec majority currently is adapting to the "new mass vanguard," vaguely (how else!) defined as all those forces standing to the "left" of and independent of the Stalinist and Social-Democratic parties.

Having long ago diagnosed the Vietnamese and Cambodian Stalinists as not really Stalinists, the Usec has consistently called for not simply military support, but also *political* support to the NLF and FUNK. By this capitulation, the Usec liquidates Trotskyism by implicitly denying the need for a Trotskyist leadership to create a workers state in South Vietnam through socialist revolution and in North Vietnam through political revolution. Thus, the Usec lavishes adoring praise on the class-collaborationist FUNK/GRUNK, quoting every possible reference to "struggle" in the FUNK program, while meticulously editing out all references to unity with Buddhists, capitalists and feudalists (*Inprecor*, 13 March 1975).

All Indochina Must Go Communist!

Having in the past failed to push military advantage to a decisive victory, the NLF and FALN may once again use their threatening proximity to the capitals and their military strength to pressure for a return to the bargaining table to haggle for a coalition government. But the native ruling classes may prove too unwilling or disintegrated to enter into a popular-front coalition government with the Stalinists. Forced to rely on the workers and peasants, the Vietnamese and Cambodian Stalinists may be forced to cast aside their popular-front goal and instructions from Moscow and Peking and to take power themselves. Where the nationalist bureaucrats in Moscow and Peking are content to sell out someone else's revolution, for the equally nationalist Hanoi bureaucracy, and especially for the Viet Cong and Khmers Rouges, this would mean cutting their own throats.

But should the Stalinists be forced to trample upon their program for continued capitalist rule in Indochina and to smash capitalism, the state

which they will establish will be a deformed workers state. The path to the socialist future for which the Indochinese masses have fought, suffered and perished for so many decades can only be cleared of its capitalist and Stalinist roadblocks by Trotskyist parties. Victory to the Vietnamese and Cambodian Socialist Revolutions! All Indochina Must Go Communist! ■

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Monthly newspaper of the Spartacus Youth League

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**Rally
Take Saigon!
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Los Angeles

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American Indians...

Continued from page 4

a unified economy—clearly do not exist for the scattered reservations.

There exists, moreover, no "national heritage" shared by all Indians. Pan-Indianism is the ideological product of urban Indians, and the social history of the tribes shows wide variance and the absence of a developed common culture. Such departures from Marxism are contrived to reduce the Indian question to a moral one, so the SWP/YSA may chase after Indian traditionalists and pander to white guilt. Above all, these fake-Trotskyists refuse to raise a perspective and program of class struggle for Indian militants.

"Anti-Monopoly Coalition" Bandwagon

The arch-reformist Communist Party sees the Indian question as the product of what William Meyer (Burning Bear) calls "near-sighted colonialism" (*Native Americans: The New Indian Resistance*). Confronted with nothing more than the political myopia of the bourgeoisie, the CP finds no reason why Indian problems cannot be solved under capitalism.

All reformists assume the capacity of capitalism to meet the needs of the oppressed in one way or another. To this end, the CP applies the old "guns and butter" formula to the Treaty Demands of the "Trail of Broken

Treaties":

"Clearly acceptance and implementation of these demands are economically feasible for a government that squandered several billion dollars on an attempt to beat and bomb the Indochinese people into submission"

—"Wounded Knee and the Indian Future," *Political Affairs*, July 1973

The tired liberal pablum of "less guns, more butter" sets the CP on their favorite perch, just to the left of the Democratic Party doves.

The CP merely pushes its revisionist notion that "monopoly capitalism" is merely a policy that can be traded in for something better if you know the right liberal to pressure. Revolutionaries must expose the illusion of bourgeois democracy and place democratic demands—unlike the robber treaty relations—in a class-struggle program and perspective. The CP's "anti-monopoly coalitions" with liberals on programs limited to democratic demands, like the "Trail of Broken Treaties," prevents the development of independent class-struggle politics.

Muddled Maoism

Within the Maoist left, the Communist Labor Party (CLP) has published the most developed position on the Indian question in a pamphlet, *Regional Autonomy for the Indian Peoples!* The mechanical application of regional autonomy, employed successfully by the Bolsheviks in their relations with bordering tribal peoples, proposes that the surviving tribes settle for whatever land constitutes the reservations. The reservations, the CLP

AIM leaders Russell Means (left) and Dennis Banks (right).



fails to understand, are the final bourgeois solution to the Indian problem, artificially created enclaves cut out of the most marginal lands of the former communal holdings.

The CLP's gimmickry, also revealed in their call for an independent Negro Nation in the southern U.S., is an attempt to impose Maoism on an advanced industrial country without national minorities whose national aspirations have been suppressed. Culturally, economically and socially the Indian tribes have disintegrated, and what remains is but a relic people,

largely segregated onto the marginal existence of the reservations. Voluntary integration into society, and not institutionalizing the Indian's isolation through regional autonomy, is the path that Marxists must advocate! Regional autonomy not only would accept the abominable reservation lands, but also would fail to recognize inter-tribal disputes that arise from the artificially created reservations.

Inter-Tribal Disputes

The Hopi reservation is an island completely surrounded by the Navaho reservation, and the tribes' competition for the limited arable land has led to rival claims to unassigned land bordering both reservations. Because of the population difference—the Navahos outnumber the Hopi 137,000 to 5,000—the Navahos constantly end up encroaching on the Hopi.

The pat formulas of the SWP, CP and CLP cannot resolve this conflict. The correct socialist program for the Indian question must consider the historically evolved particularities of each tribe to meet the special needs created by over a century of oppression. Thus, in the case of the Hopi-Navaho dispute, where land suitable for Hopi agriculturalists comprises less than 10 percent of their reservation and Navaho grazing land is limited by erosion, the legitimate need of each tribe can only be fulfilled at the expense of the other. Congressional legislation to allot the disputed land, half to each tribe, would merely redivide a clearly inadequate land base. But a workers government, freed from the restrictions imposed by private property, could easily overcome the conflicts inherent in the present system of land distribution within the reservation by making possible voluntary population transfers to another area which would provide suitable land for the Hopis to cultivate or, if the Hopis would not wish to move, developing irrigation for Hopi crops and shifting Navaho grazing to pasture areas near the reservation.

Revolutionary socialists must devote attention to the Indian question in the U.S. out of a commitment to functioning as the "tribune of the people." Oppressed national and racial minorities throughout the world will look to the future workers state in this country to measure the commitment of the American proletariat to provide for the social emancipation and voluntary assimilation of Indians into society. This will require the well-rounded social development of the areas that are now reservations to guarantee Indians full equality and a real choice in their future.

Indians represent a significant part of the historical development of mankind, and revolutionary socialists understand their cultural uniqueness and share a mutual interest in preserving aspects of the Indians' cultural heritage. This knowledge will help correct centuries of cultural erosion and social stagnation, to overcome the backwardness of reservation life and at the same time allow Indians, if they choose, to maintain their social identity. ■

syl events

[To contact local chapters for more information, see Directory.]

Boston

Class Series—
MARXISM AND WORLD
REVOLUTION
Thursdays, April 3 and 17, 7:30 p.m.,
room 310-11, GSU, Boston U.
Wednesdays, April 23 and 30, 7:30
p.m., Phillip Brooks House, Leighton
Hall, Harvard U.

Chicago

Class Series—
STUDENTS AND THE NEW LEFT
Date and time to be announced,
Circle Center, U. of Illinois.

Forum—
CURRENT WORLD ECONOMIC
CRISIS: THE MARXIST RESPONSE
Speaker: Judith Sinclair, SL Central
Committee. Tuesday, April 15,
noon, room 509-10, Circle Center,
U. of Illinois. Wednesday, April 16,
7:30 p.m., room 2E, Norris Center,
Northwestern U.

Cleveland

Class Series—
CRISIS IN CAPITALISM: THE
MARXIST SOLUTION
Alternate Wednesdays. Next class:
April 9, 7:30 p.m., room 203, Thwing
Hall, Case Western Reserve.

Houston

Forum—
COMMUNITY CONTROL: DEAD
END FOR BLACK LIBERATION
Monday, April 7, 7:00 p.m., room
208, Agnes Arnold Hall, U. of
Houston.

Forum—
MYTHS OF MAOIST CHINA
Monday, April 21, 7:00 p.m., room
208, Agnes Arnold Hall, U. of
Houston.

Ithaca

Class Series—
MARXISM AND THE CLASS
STRUGGLE
Wednesday, April 9, 8:00 p.m., North
Room, Willard Straight Hall,
Cornell U.

Los Angeles

Debate—
MIDDLE EAST CRISIS: WHAT
IS THE SOLUTION?
Judith Sinclair, SL Central Commit-
tee vs. Ehud Kofman. Tuesday, April
2, noon, AU Women's Lounge, UCLA.

Rally—
AGAINST MOSHE DAYAN
Monday, April 7, noon, Meyerhoff
Park, UCLA.

Demonstration—
AGAINST MOSHE DAYAN
Monday, April 7, 7:00 p.m., Pauley
Pavilion, UCLA.

Forum—
ECONOMIC CHAOS 1975: A
MARXIST ANALYSIS
Speaker: Judith Sinclair, SL Central
Committee. Wednesday, April 9,
noon, Student Faculty Lounge,
Los Angeles Community College

Rally—
TAKE SAIGON! U.S. IMPERIALISTS
HANDS OFF INDOCHINA!
Wednesday, April 16, noon, Los
Angeles Community College.

Madison

TOWARD THE WORLD SOCIALIST
REVOLUTION
Alternate Thursdays. Next class:
April 10, 7:30 p.m., room to be
posted, Memorial Union.

New Haven

Class Series—
MARXISM, TROTSKYISM AND
THE SPARTACIST LEAGUE
Alternate Wednesdays. Next class:
April 9, 7:30 p.m., room WLH 15,
Yale U.

Demonstration—
AGAINST IMPERIALIST CHIEF
GERALD FORD
Friday, April 25, 6:00 p.m., corner
of Wall and High streets.

New York

Class Series—
THE LENINIST PARTY AND
PROGRAM FOR REVOLUTION
Alternate Wednesdays. Next class:
April 16, 7:30 p.m., room 304,
Hamilton Hall, Columbia U.

Forum—
WHAT'S AHEAD: REVOLUTION
OR COUNTERREVOLUTION IN
PORTUGAL? A TROTSKYIST
ANALYSIS
Speaker: Jan Norden, SL Central
Committee, editor, *Workers Van-
guard*. Saturday, April 12, 7:30
p.m., room 306, Barnard Hall,
Barnard College.

Forum—
NEAR EAST: NATIONAL
LIBERATION AND PERMANENT
REVOLUTION
Speaker: Reuben Samuels, SL Central
Committee. Wednesday, April
23, 7:30 p.m., room 306, Barnard
Hall, Barnard College.

Philadelphia

Forum—
WHY INDOCHINA MUST GO
COMMUNIST
Speakers: David Cooke and John
Perkins. Thursday, April 3, 8:00
p.m., Student Center, room to be
posted, Haverford College.

Washington, D.C.

Class Series—
TROTSKYISM: THE STRUGGLE
FOR WORLD COMMUNISM
Alternate Saturdays. Next class:
April 5, 1:00 p.m., room to be
posted, Hurst Hall, American U.

Anti-Nazi Demonstration

Continued from page 12

cialist Alliance (SWP/YSA) crowd about opposing racism and fighting for civil rights, these cynical ex-Trotskyists are presently interested only in organizing respectable, pacifist conventions and desultory rallies for liberal politicians and bourgeois-legalistic organizations such as the NAACP. In the past the SWP/YSA liquidated into the various petty-bourgeois radical protest movements, declaring that "consistent" studentism, feminism and nationalism equal socialism. Lately, however, the line of the SWP/YSA appears to be that "consistent" Uncle Tom liberalism equals socialism!

Thus, it should come as no surprise that these "socialists" simply ignored the campaign against the Nazis, the most vicious killers of black people. The problem with the "ostrich position," comrades of the SWP/YSA, is that when you stick your head in the sand, another part of your anatomy is quite prominent.

The feminists of the women's center at SF State refused to endorse the CSF, because a demonstration against the Nazis, whose slogan for women is *Kinder, Küche, Kirche* (children, the kitchen, the church), is supposedly a "male" tactic! The Pan Africanists, according to one of their members on campus, said they would let the whites fight it out. Their nationalism prevents the Pan Africanists from following the example of their black brothers at the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill who mobilized and prevented KKK leader David Duke from performing there in January.

CSF Leads Militant Demonstration

The anti-Nazi demonstration called by the CSF drew some 150 students and workers into a well-disciplined picket line in front of the building where the Nazis were scheduled to appear. To their credit, supporters of PL joined the picket line, but the Revolutionary Student Brigade held its "own" tiny rally about 200 yards away. In order to protect its sub-reformist politics from any criticism or competing program, the RSB resorts to such theatrical self-exclusionism.

After the demonstration had been in progress for about 45 minutes and the Nazis still were nowhere in sight, some elements, who had refused to join the united-front steering committee, suddenly announced over a bullhorn that the demonstration should enter the building. This splitting tactic was irresponsible in the extreme, since a large number of people packed into the narrow corridors and small classroom would virtually be unable physically to defend themselves should there be an attack by the Nazis and cops.

The steering committee advised these demonstrators against such an ill-considered tactic, but nonetheless many students entered the building. They crowded into the corridor and packed Keller's classroom, beginning what was to be a several-hours long debate with Keller and the students in the class awaiting the Nazis. Keller announced that the Nazis would not appear and the class was cancelled.

When it was announced sometime later that the Nazis still had not arrived, the large SYL contingent left the area in order to go directly to the Berkeley campus for an anti-ROTC demonstration scheduled for 2:00 p.m.

Racist Filth Found

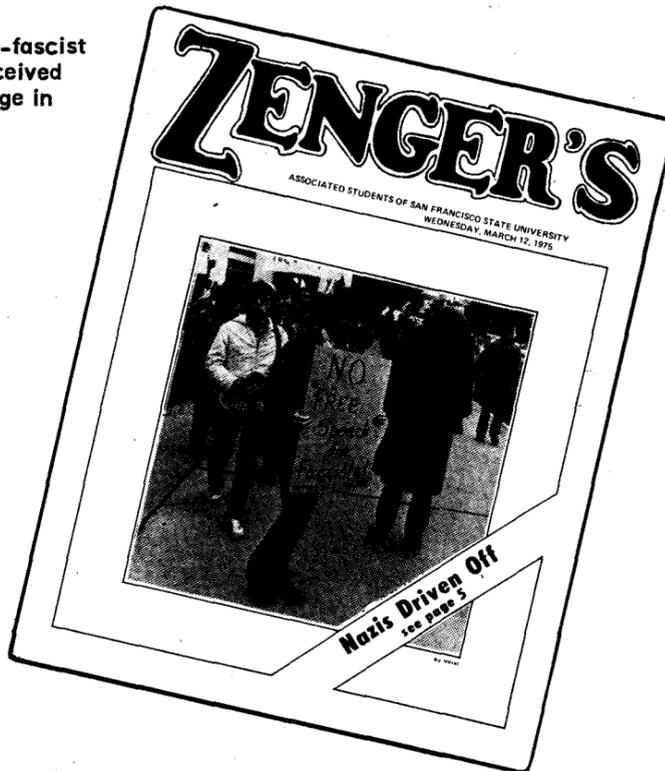
The dwindling crowd inside the building continued the anti-fascist chanting and arguments with the students who recognized the Nazis' "right" of free speech. The comings and goings

of the press soon attracted their attention, and a rumor that the Nazis were somewhere in the building began to circulate.

Investigation soon revealed that in fact the fascists were in the building, hiding in a nearby office! (The administration later divulged that the Nazis had crept on campus without uniforms and other fascist paraphernalia a full hour before the demonstration had begun and then took refuge in their lair.)

The remaining group of demonstrators rushed to the room and began to pound on the barricaded door. A squad of campus and local cops were protecting the seven fascists inside. After some time, the door suddenly opened, and the Nazis, surrounded by a beefy cordon of pushing cops, made a bee line for their getaway van, waiting nearby with motor running.

SYL-initiated anti-fascist demonstration received front-page coverage in campus and local press.



Fortunately, several students were able to land a few blows to the scurrying rodents, and one was even flattened out on the pavement. In the melee one of these thugs clubbed a student with a portable fire extinguisher and then sprayed its chemical contents in his face. Only with the eager aid of a rear guard of club-swinging cops were the fascists able to pile into their van and execute their escape.

Administration Prepares for Repression

For the next several days the campus and local press were filled with coverage, photographs and editorials on the demonstration. The SF State administration as well as some faculty and students have raised a hue and cry over the denial of "free speech" to the Nazis by the CSF and others. SF President Romberg has already begun an "investigation" into the demonstration, and the Faculty Academic Senate and Associated Students Judicial Committee have announced that they may hold hearings. Even Professor Keller has issued a 12(!)-page polemical attack on the SYL and PL which is strongly tinged with anti-communism.

The Dean of Student Affairs on March 17 sent letters to every student registered in the "Issues and Advocacy" class, soliciting "a statement which you feel may be helpful to us in our endeavor to prevent the interference of academic freedom." A formal complaint has already been filed against the SYL and PL with the Judicial Committee (*Zenger's*, 19 March 1975). Anti-left petitions are circulating and the Academic Freedom Committee has released a formal statement condemning the action. The administration is clearly preparing to attempt to prosecute and ban the SYL and PL.

The SYL issued a leaflet the day following the demonstration which strongly solidarized with the effort to pummel the fascists: "The entire Bay Area workers' movement should applaud the

efforts of the students here at State for teaching the Nazis this well-deserved lesson." We declared that "The Spartacus Youth League is glad to accept responsibility as the initiators of the Ad Hoc Committee to Stop the Fascists which set up the picket line demonstration."

RSB Spits on Demonstration with Anti-Communism

When the anti-Nazi action galvanized the campus in an anti-radical reaction, the RSB rushed to "unite with the many" and let loose a vicious barrage of poisonous anti-communism against the SYL and PL. The RSB distributed a four-page leaflet which attacked

"the Trotskyite Spartacus Youth League (SYL) and the 'Progressive' Labor Party ('P'LP), who proclaim themselves the New Messiahs, THE leaders who have to either sucker, manipulate,

guilt trip, or intimidate the people into going along with them, whether it's about the Nazis or others."

This is nothing but a repetition by so-called "anti-imperialists" of the bosses' filthy slander that communists "sucker" and "manipulate," that is, *dupe*, their followers. This treacherous anti-communism will always be used to persecute and frame up communist militants.

These Maoists even stoop to *attack the SYL for having a working-class perspective!* The RSB hisses,

"the SYL also shows its contempt for the people, especially contempt for students, by calling on 'working-class elements,' using a 'workers-are everything-students-are-nothing' line as a club to beat the student movement down."

The working-class politics of the SYL have thrown the RSB into an openly anti-working-class fit, which thoroughly exposes these self-styled "left" Maoists. Neither in this leaflet, nor in its leaflet for the demonstration, has the RSB as much as mentioned—not once!—the working class. To make itself acceptable to bourgeois public opinion, the

RSB wallows in liberal-populism, always identifying politically with "the people."

The RSB has done everything to dissociate itself from the militant demonstration and everything to convince the campus that it is really with "the masses of students and American people":

"So in the guise of 'the Left,' both the 'P'LP and the SYL actually scare people away, pimping on the righteous anger students had about the brown-shirts coming to campus and turning this anger into its opposite—anger against what people think are 'revolutionaries,' lumping the *BRIGADE* in the same camp."

We are not "pimping" revolutionaries like them!, cries the RSB. Anyone in the RSB serious about struggling to become a communist must reject this anti-communist pus and the Maoist syphilis which has produced it.

YSA's Finger-Wagging Liberalism

The YSA at SF State did absolutely nothing to protest the appearance of fascists on campus, but was quick on the draw when the militant demonstration presented itself as a target. In a letter to the campus press (*Zenger's*, 19 March 1975), the YSA blasted the anti-fascist demonstration as "unfortunate," "counterproductive" and a "disruption." What would the YSA have us do? The "only way" is: "To stop the Nazis from speaking, the campus majority has to be won to that point of view through an educational campaign"! But the SWP/YSA has demonstrated that it has no commitment "to stop the Nazis from speaking" when in fact it has debated with the fascist KKK on television in Houston!

The letter points out that the SWP/YSA will fight fascist attacks, such as the recent Nazi bombing of their bookstore in Los Angeles, by appealing to the cops ("bring pressure on the Los Angeles authorities"). Reliance upon the fascists' "brothers in blue" is the *only* way these reformists respond to the racist killers. Yet the letter does state that the YSA will defend any anti-fascist demonstrator from possible reprisals.

No Reprisals!

The SYL has stood firm in the face of threatened repression and has initiated the "March 10 Defense Committee" to fight any reprisals taken against anyone—excluding the Nazis—charged in connection with the anti-fascist demonstration. Two administrators from the student affairs department attended the first defense meeting and indicated that they would not provide the SF State administration with any information that could potentially implicate any student in the demonstration. The SYL has held a forum on campus, has begun circulating a petition demanding no reprisals and has sent letters to scores of Bay Area trade unions appealing for support in the defense campaign. Professor Keller signed the defense petition and told SYL members that he plans to write a statement opposing reprisals. In the coming weeks the SYL will show the anti-fascist film about gruesome Nazi atrocities, "Night and Fog," as one means to build for a demonstration on campus. NO REPRISALS! ■

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Young Spartacus

No Platform for Fascist Scum!

SYL Builds Anti-Nazi Demonstration

SAN FRANCISCO—On March 10 some 150 people responded to a clarion call for a mass demonstration to protest the scheduled appearance of Nazi party members on the San Francisco State University campus. Students as well as workers from the area joined the militant picket line which was organized by the "Ad Hoc Committee to Stop the Fascists," a united front initiated and energetically built by the Spartacus Youth League. The angry demonstrators not only physically confronted the Nazis, but succeeded in driving the fascist vermin off campus!

The Nazis (National Socialist White People's Party) had been invited to present their "point of view" to a debate class, "Advocates and Issues," conducted by Ted Keller, a left-liberal professor. When SYL members in the class learned of the invitation, the SYL at SF State immediately launched an all-out campaign for a demonstration against the appearance of these racist killers on campus. On February 28 the SYL distributed flyers and leaflets announcing the formation of a united-front "Ad Hoc Committee to Stop the Fascists" (CSF) and calling for a meeting to plan a protest demonstration around the demand, "NO PLATFORM FOR FASCISTS!" The SYL in addition made two presentations to Keller's class strongly arguing against "free speech" for degenerate, murderous, fascist slime.

How to Deal with Fascists

A fascist movement can mushroom in conditions of acute capitalist crisis when the working class is unable to throw off its pro-capitalist reformist misleaders and resolve the social impasse through socialist revolution. An extra-parliamentary extremist movement, fascism appeals to the frustrated desire of the petty bourgeoisie for economic stability and offers the bourgeoisie, as its last desperate resort, the ultimate weapon for smashing the workers movement. The Nazis are a para-military organization in the service of extreme capitalist reaction.

Unlike right-wing propaganda groups (John Birch Society), conservative bourgeois politicians (George Wallace) or reactionary academic ideologues (William Shockley), fascists like the Nazis and Ku Klux Klan are armed thugs in political garb who are dedicated above all to *action*: the genocide of racial, ethnic and religious minorities; the totalitarian suppression of bourgeois-democratic rights; and the annihilation of the organized socialist and labor movement. As long as they are still an isolated sect in this country, the Nazis sometimes pretend that they too are interested in "discussing" their "ideas." But smelling the stench of racist reaction, these scum are more brazen about raising their heads.

These maggots have swarmed to racially polarized Boston not to "discuss," but to foment the savage slaughter of black schoolchildren. Nazi propaganda for frenzied white racists is a *call to action*:

"Boating, Not Busing. Or should we do some KILLING? Should we cut off, root and branch, the satanic Jews and all their lackies who are stirring up the n-----s against us?... There might be school buses going up in smoke all over the country."

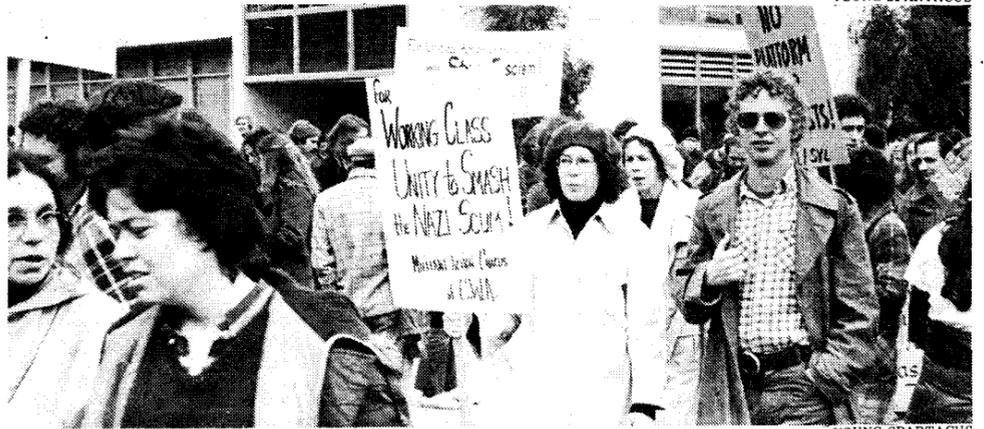
—leaflet of National Socialist White People's Party (Bay Area)

In Los Angeles recently the National Socialist Liberation Front has claimed credit for attacking leftist bookstores. Their "argument": dynamite.

Fascist movements grow not through political campaigning but through terror, murder, and eventually concentration camps and gas chambers. The Nazis win their arguments with blood and prove their points with genocide. They yearn for the day when they can exterminate their opponents and victims. We recognize no democratic rights for Nazis. There is nothing to debate with these racist monsters! Action must be met with action! The Nazis must be stopped!

As the Trotskyist *Transitional Pro-*

Anti-Nazi picket at S.F. State organized by Committee to Stop Fascists.



gram spells out so forcefully, only a united, militant labor-led mobilization can deal decisively with the racist swine:

"The struggle against fascism does not start in the liberal editorial office but in the factory—and ends in the street.... In connection with every strike and street demonstration, it is imperative to propagate the necessity of creating *workers' groups for self-defense*. It is necessary to write this slogan into the program of the revolutionary wing of the trade unions.... It is necessary to advance the slogan of a *workers' militia* as the one serious guarantee for the inviolability of workers' organizations, meetings and press."

It is necessary, again in the words of the *Transitional Program*, "to inflict a series of tactical defeats upon the armed thugs of counter-revolution." Depending on the relationship of forces, left organizations or groups of militants in certain situations may correctly decide to take upon themselves the

suppression of fascist meetings and demonstrations. But communists must dissuade anti-fascist militants from adventurist confrontationism which substitutes for the necessary perspective of struggling to mobilize the masses against the fascists.

We warn that no confidence should be placed in the bosses' cops to restrain or stop the fascist bands. Time after time the racist cops have demonstrated their sympathy and leniency toward the Nazis and KKK; there are frequently intimate links between fascists and the local police, especially in the South. Reliance upon the cops to disband and stop the fascists is an invitation to murder. These racist killers must be made to fear the con-

The other self-proclaimed "socialist" organizations on campus responded to the principled united-front call of the growing CSF with either sectarian adventurism or cowardly abstentionism. The muddled Stalinites of the Progressive Labor Party (PL) did vigorously campaign in their own name to prevent the fascists from speaking on campus. Opposed to joining in united-front actions with Trotskyists, PL attempted to outmaneuver the CSF with hyper-militant rhetorical one-upmanship.

Echoing its Stalinist mentors who spurned the Trotskyists' call for a working-class united front against the Nazis in the early 1930's with the fatal "Third Period" position that the

sequences of creeping forth and spewing their poison!

United Front Gathers Support

Stressing the need for the largest possible mobilization, the SYL actively solicited endorsements for the CSF and commitments to participate in the disciplined demonstration from a broad range of student, left and labor organizations on campus and in the Bay Area. In addition to the Spartacist League/SYL, endorsements were obtained from the Committee for Working Class Studies, Socialist League (Democratic-Centralist), Laney College Black Student Union, Center for Peace and Social Justice, Service Employees Union Local 411 (the SF State campus workers union), Committee for a Militant UAW/Local 1364, Militant Action Caucus of the CWA, the Militant Caucus/Local 6 and *Longshore Militant*/Local 10 of the ILWU, as well as individual, recognized labor militants.

German Social Democrats and liberals were "social fascists," PL claimed that fascism is already in power today and thus there is no difference between the Nazis and SF State president Romberg. PL resorts to this "Third Period" Stalinist "go-it-alone" sectarianism and ultra-militant rhetoric to cover its abject Popular Front Stalinist class collaborationism: "fighting racism" by liquidating into liberal front groups to "fight" racist textbooks; "fighting" for 30-for-40 by running candidates in the Democratic Party primaries and petitioning for electoral referenda; and glorifying the imperialist Second World War as a peoples' war "to defeat Nazism." Prevented by their Stalinism from linking programmatically the fight against racial oppression with the struggle for socialist revolution, PL must stumble along with schizophrenic gyrations of reformism and ultra-leftism.

Although the hardened reformists of the Socialist Workers Party/Young So-

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