

Young Spartacus

Number 32

X-523

25 cents

May 1975

Indochinese Insurgents Smash Capitalist Rule!

**Forward to a Communist Vietnam and Cambodia
Through Workers' Political Revolution!
Extend the Revolution! Not Stalinist Bureaucratic Rule,
but Workers' Democracy!**



North Vietnamese soldiers and Vietcong guerrillas greet each other in liberated Da Nang.

PHOTOREPORTERS

May 1—The reactionary, isolated and venal puppet regimes of Cambodia and South Vietnam have been swept into the dust bin of history. On April 17 the remnants of the caretaker government in Phnom Penh meekly surrendered to the Cambodian People's National Liberation Armed Forces (FALN), which had completely encircled the capital city. And yesterday the fighters of the National Liberation Front (NLF) made their long-awaited triumphal entry into Saigon.

These exhilarating and inspiring victories belong to the workers and peasants of Vietnam and Cambodia who have waged a decades-long class war against imperialism and the exploiting classes of Indochina. The oppressed masses of Vietnam and Cambodia have broken the rule of imperialism through heroic struggle, endurance and staggering sacrifices. The defeat of imperialist aggression and the destruction of capitalist rule in Vietnam and Cambodia is a victory for the world

proletariat and all the toiling masses who suffer the yoke of capitalist oppression. This May Day we rise and give the red salute of proletarian internationalist solidarity to our victorious class brothers in Indochina!

Our internationalist commitment as communists requires that we draw the lessons of these military victories and point the way forward for final victory of the oppressed masses of Indochina. Our solidarity with the socialist aspirations of the toilers of Cambodia and Vietnam demands that we once again warn the Indochinese masses not to place the least political confidence in their Stalinist misleaders.

These military victories could have been won long ago, and so many hundreds of thousands of lives could have been spared, had the Stalinists been committed to a genuinely revolutionary perspective. We have repeatedly pointed out that the Vietnamese Stalinists in 1945, 1954 and 1973 consciously sacrificed the hard-won gains

of military superiority in the search for a class-collaborationist coalition government with the exploiting classes and "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. The Cambodian and Vietnamese Communists never have contended for power in their own names on a revolutionary program, but subordinated the interests of the workers and peasants to the bourgeoisie and imperialism. The Provisional Revolutionary Government/National Liberation Front and the Cambodian National Unity Front/Royal Government of National Union, the frameworks for the desired multi-class coalition with the bourgeoisie, chained the masses to a pro-capitalist program.

But the barely existent bourgeoisie of Cambodia and South Vietnam, as history has demonstrated, fear the struggles of the masses, even though deformed by the Stalinists, more than they oppose imperialist domination. And the Stalinists' ability to liquidate the struggle is objectively limited by

the fact that they must rely upon and represent, although in a qualitatively deformed way, the interests of the workers and peasants whom they lead.

But the colonial domination of Indochina so eroded the social base of stable capitalist rule that the ruling classes to the very end refused to form a coalition government with the Communists and risk political suicide. As the NLF and FALN approached the perimeters of Saigon and Phnom Penh, continuing to beckon the bourgeoisie to form coalition governments, the ruling classes chose to flee in U.S. aircraft or flotillas.

Denied the opportunity of forming class-collaborationist coalition governments, the Stalinists had no choice but to take Phnom Penh and Saigon. The puppet regimes ignominiously collapsed and the capitalist state apparatus, the army and the police, has been smashed through military defeat.

continued on page 2

Revolutionary Union's "United Front" with NATO ... p. 6

EDITORIAL NOTE

Oppose RU/RSB Thuggery!

The Revolutionary Union (RU) and its student-youth front group, the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB), have in the past period escalated not only their confrontational protests, but also their thug attacks against competing tendencies in the working-class movement.

On numerous campuses across the country the RSB has courted arrest in senselessly provocative demonstrations and adventurist stunts. In several instances, the RU/RSB has involved members of the Iranian Students Association, well aware that if these students are deported to Iran as a result of political activity they face severe repression, and often gruesome torture and death! The irresponsibility of the RU/RSB in jeopardizing the security of these students is absolutely criminal.

In one recent example, the RSB, along with members of the ISA, set up an anti-ROTC picket line on April 10 inside the student center at Northwestern University, in the Chicago suburb of Evanston. The demonstration was in violation of the University's repressive rules, and when a campus cop approached one RSB supporter, placing a hand on his shoulder, the RSB responded by attacking the campus cops with their wooden placard sticks. When the RSB-led demonstrators left the building shortly thereafter, they were ambushed by the local cops, beaten badly and 16 were arrested on charges of criminal trespass and battery.

The SYL at Northwestern University took a leading role in attempting to launch a defense campaign for the arrested students, including building for a defense rally which attracted some 60 students. The SYL stressed the importance of a united defense of the left from administration repression. Because our principled stand stood out so clearly, all at-

tempts by the RSB to exclude us from defense meetings failed. However, when on April 25 a contingent of SYL supporters attempted to join the picket line set up by the RU/RSB and ISA at the courthouse before the trial, RU/RSB goons physically excluded our comrades from the demonstration, a dangerous provocation inviting cop intervention.

On April 7 the RU/RSB attacked supporters of working-class tendencies in both New York City and Los Angeles. At Columbia University members of the SYL, as well as individual trade-union militants, joined a picket line which had been called to protest military recruitment on campus and was dominated by the RU/RSB and their supporters in the Vietnam Veterans Against the War. Without warning, the RU/RSB and VVAW jumped the outnumbered SYL supporters and the trade-union militants, knocking several to the ground and repeatedly kicking them in the head and torso. In response to this gangster attack, the SYL circulated for individual and group endorsement a statement which condemned the RSB hooliganism, but clearly stated that the SYL opposed any attempt by the administration to seize upon the attack as a pretext for purging the RSB from campus.

That same day the RU/RSB brutally attacked supporters of the Progressive Labor Party in Los Angeles. In preparation for a scheduled appearance of Zionist war-monger Moshe Dayan at the University of California at Los Angeles, the SYL issued a call for a united-front protest demonstration, to which only the Arab Students Association responded. The RU/RSB-dominated Third World Solidarity Committee then called for a separate demonstration and threatened violence against any "Trotskyites"—naming in particular the Trotskyist SYL, the fake-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA) and the Stalinist Progressive Labor Party (PL)—who might attempt to join their demonstration. When supporters of PL, which is also a member of the Third World Solidarity Committee, attempted to enter the picket line at the demonstration, RU/RSB goons assaulted and beat them, once again inviting an attack from the cops swarming around the area.

Had all those threatened by the RU/RSB united in a principled united-front demonstration and organ-

ized a joint defense guard, the RU/RSB thuggery could have been deterred by numerical superiority. But PL, which in the past has also threatened and beaten Trotskyists on numerous occasions, refused to join the SYL-initiated united-front demonstration. The craven opportunists of the SWP/YSA who masquerade as "Trotskyists" chose to be the "best builders" of a violently exclusionist, anti-Trotskyist demonstration, and crawled into the Stalinists' picket line as individuals and without their signs! The Militant Caucus of AFSCME/Local 2070 and the Revolutionary Tendency (formerly of the Revolutionary Socialist League) joined the SYL in a joint picket line of about 80 people, as did the social-democratic International Socialists/Red Tide after having been left in the lurch by the defection of the SWP/YSA.

When the RU/RSB repeated these same threats in Cleveland during planning meetings for an April 16 anti-Dayan demonstration, the SYL again made it clear that we would not be intimidated by Stalinist thuggery and were prepared to defend workers democracy. Having been excluded from the anti-Trotskyist "Coalition to Support the Palestinian People," a coalition which included—you guessed it!—the "Trotskyist" SWP/YSA, the SYL issued a call for a non-exclusionist united-front demonstration, adding in the leaflet, "The SL will provide marshalls for the picket."

Joined by several supporters of the Shachtmanite Revolutionary Socialist League, the SL/SYL was able to mobilize about 70 people in an impressive contingent. Faced with a sizable, determined and highly disciplined contingent, the RU/RSB retreated from their barbed threats of violence.

The SYL is opposed to violence within the workers movement on principle, and we are determined to uphold in a firm and disciplined fashion the norms of workers democracy. We are no less committed to a defense of the left from attack by the class enemy. Despite our enormous political differences with reformists such as the RU/RSB, we have and will continue to defend these tendencies from administration and police attack.

Indochina...

Continued from page 1

Neither in Cambodia nor in South Vietnam is there the objective basis for reassembling a bourgeois regime or reconstructing a stable capitalist economy. The bourgeoisie as a political force has vanished, and the Cambodian and Vietnamese Communists will have no viable recourse other than nationalizing the controlling sectors of the economy.

As we go to press, the NLF has announced the nationalization of the banks, transport and major industry. The Cambodian and South Vietnamese peasantry has been largely atomized and uprooted by the civil war, so that the infrastructure of the old capitalist and feudal agricultural system has been mangled. Simply to restore agricultural production, the new regimes will have to carry out sweeping agricultural reforms.

The social transformations now unfolding in Indochina are a living refutation of the Stalinist myth of "new democracy," according to which the Stalinists share power with the bourgeoisie in a "bloc of four classes." Power in Cambodia and Vietnam is held now by the Stalinists and the Stalinists alone. As the *New York Times* (1 May 1975) morosely recognized, "The Vietcong, organized as the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, now rules unchallenged over Saigon."

The basic bourgeois-democratic tasks are being carried out not arm-and-arm with the bourgeoisie, but over the political corpse of the ruling classes. On the agenda now in Cambodia and Vietnam is not the construction of some multi-class "new democracy," but the carrying through of social overturns: the expropriation of the property of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the rudiments of a planned economy. The policy statement issued immediately by the NLF upon taking power significantly made no mention of "implementing the Paris Accords." The states which are now being consolidated in Phnom Penh and Saigon (now renamed Ho Chi Minh City)

are anti-capitalist states.

The social overturns in Cambodia and South Vietnam are not the result of the revolutionary action of the proletariat led by a Leninist vanguard party and basing its power upon soviet-type institutions or workers councils. Rather, the transformations are the product of a military conquest by Stalinist-led, peasant-based guerrilla forces and, in the case of South Vietnam, also the military forces of the North Vietnamese deformed workers state. Because of the absence of the proletariat as a class force contending for power, and because the peasantry organically lacks the class homogeneity to wield state power, the Stalinists will consolidate the state power in their hands as a privileged bureaucracy, but on the basis of proletarian property forms in the decisive sectors of industry. What is emerging in Cambodia and South Vietnam today are *bureaucratically deformed workers states*.

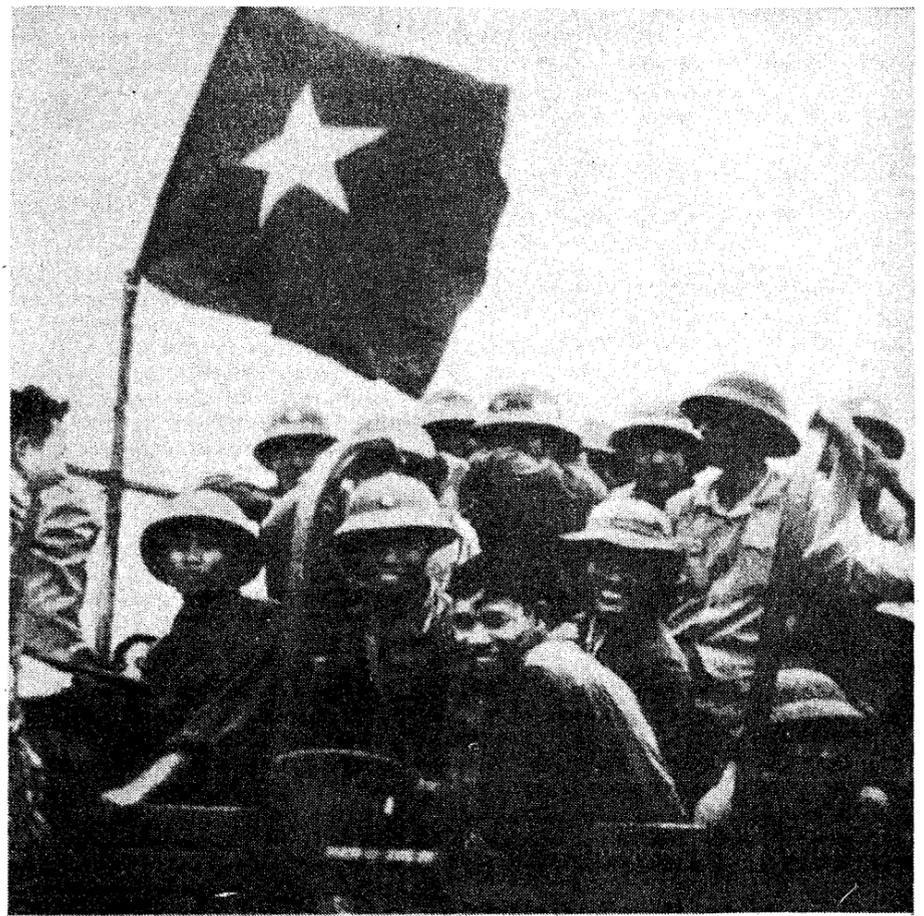
Recognizing the destruction of capitalist rule, we call for the unconditional defense of the Cambodian and South Vietnamese revolutionary regimes from imperialist and domestic counter-revolutionary attacks. We demand that the U.S. imperialists immediately withdraw all aid and military forces from Southeast Asia and dissolve the anti-Communist SEATO pact. Furthermore, we demand that the U.S. government recognize at once the new governments in Phnom Penh and Ho Chi Minh City. We vigorously oppose the U.S.-conducted evacuation of counter-revolutionary Indochinese, among whom are some of the most corrupt, decadent and vicious war criminals of Cambodia and South Vietnam. These vermin should be dealt with appropriately in the workers' and peasants' tribunals of Cambodia and Vietnam!

In the name of proletarian internationalism we demand that the Stalinist bureaucracies of China and the Soviet Union, who treacherously denied the Cambodian and Vietnamese insurgents adequate supplies of the most advanced weapons so as not to jeopardize their respective "détente" with U.S. imperialism, extend at once all-out economic, military and diplomatic aid to the governments in Phnom Penh and Ho Chi Minh City.

The nationalist Stalinist bureaucracies now consolidating state power in Cambodia and South Vietnam base their rule on the political expropriation of the working class and thus stand as obstacles to the further extension of the revolution. Both the Cambodian and the South Vietnamese Stalinists have declared their allegiance to "peace and neutrality," that is, "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. South Vietnam will undoubtedly be reunited, bureaucratically from above, with North Vietnam. Likewise, the Cambodian Stalinists are above all committed to "building socialism in one country," namely Cambodia, and have served notice that no "foreign interests," especially Vietnamese, will be permitted in

Cambodia.

To open the road to workers democracy and proletarian internationalism the Stalinist regimes in Phnom Penh and Ho Chi Minh City must be ousted by a workers' political revolution. The defense of the workers' gains in these anti-capitalist states can be ensured only with the overthrow of imperialism. The Stalinist bureaucracies, which seek to appease and maneuver with imperialism to preserve their own privileged positions as builders of "socialism in one country," are an obstacle to the defense of all the deformed workers states. Only the political revolution bringing the proletariat directly to power can forge all the Sino-Soviet states into a fortress of the world proletarian revolution. ■



DRV/NLF troops entering Da Nang.

DEREK MCKENDRY

February First Movement— Between Black Nationalism and Marxism

On February 1, 1960, four black students sat in at an all-white lunch counter in Greensboro, N.C., to protest racial segregation of Southern public facilities. The ensuing fifteen years witnessed the disillusionment and dissipation of the massive civil rights movement followed by the rise and decline of an influential black nationalist movement, some remnants of which are now attempting an on-campus revival with the formation of the February First Movement (FFM), "an anti-imperialist Black student organization."

The FFM was founded in December of last year in the midst of the burgeoning ideological debate in the Pan Africanist black movement between "narrow nationalists," like Madhubuti and Kalamu ya Salaam, and so-called "Marxist-Leninists," like Imamu Baraka, Ron Karenga, Owusu Sadaukai, Abdul Alkalimat and Mark Smith, former vice-chairman of the Youth Organization for Black Unity (YOB). While the "narrow nationalists" are explicitly anti-white and anti-working class, considering race the fundamental contradiction in society, the ostensible Marxists claim to recognize the class question as fundamental and advocate unity with whites to one degree or another.

Origin of FFM

The leading cadre of the FFM have traveled a long distance. The various groups which merged into FFM—primarily the National Save and Change Black Schools Project, Peoples College in Nashville and YOB—developed out of the largely Southern-based Pan Africanist student movement. The Black Student Collective from Harvard University and the Harambe Organization of New Jersey were also part of the FFM fusion. YOB, the central component of the FFM, was formed in 1969 as the Student Organization for Black Unity, a looser grouping which changed its name when it became a "cadre organization" in 1973.

Former vice-chairman of YOB, Mark Smith, describes the FFM's current motion:

"We are among the growing number of individuals and organizations who have developed beyond our former reactionary nationalist-Pan Africanist position, a position similar to Haki's [Haki Madhubuti, formerly Don L. Lee, right-wing cultural nationalist and former black poet] in many ways. Our development has come in the course of student struggles and student organizations, work in the black community in general, and of course, our work in the African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC)."

—Black Scholar, January-February 1975

Young Spartacus

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Young Spartacus is published by the Spartacus Youth Publishing Co. The Spartacus Youth League, the youth section of the Spartacist League, is a revolutionary socialist youth organization which intervenes in social struggles armed with a working-class program, based on the politics of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

Subscriptions: \$2 for 11 issues. Write Spartacus Youth Publishing Co., Box 825, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

Although the FFM is aligned with the "Marxist" wing in the polemic now being waged in the pages of the *Black Scholar* and elsewhere, the FFM, like its factional but fellow ideological partners, is not explicitly anti-nationalist. The question of whether blacks actually constitute a nation within the United States remains under debate within the ranks of this presently all-black student group. FFM states that black people are oppressed by the capitalists' drive for ever-increasing profits from the working class and by the existence of national oppression and racism which allows for a super-exploitation of black working people. FFM calls for struggle against all the "concrete manifestations of national oppression," but adds that "the source of the problem is imperialism."

In the recent past the ideological conflicts within the black movement have been linked to and have influenced a mass movement. Martin Luther King's liberal pacifism dominated the mass civil rights movement and attempted to defuse the growing support for the more militant fighters like Malcolm X. The increasingly militant tactics and policies of the racialist separatism of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the black power movement and the armed self-defense strategy of the Panthers were reflected in the actions of thousands of black and student activists around the country and profoundly shaped the course of the radical student movement and SDS in the 1960's. The League of Revolutionary Black Workers in Detroit led strikes and shut down some of the largest plants in that city after the bloody suppression of the 1967-Detroit riots. However, the current polemics between the nationalists and the ostensible Marxists in the Pan-Africanist movement are largely restricted to the black petty-bourgeois intelligentsia.

The inability of the various radical petty-bourgeois protest movements of the 1960's—the student power movement, the antiwar movement, the black movement or the women's liberation movement—to achieve their stated goals of an end to the Vietnam war or an end to racial and sexual oppression was a result of their failure to develop a clear program of struggle against the roots of oppression and militarism in the very structure of capitalist society. The black and white working class, the only social force capable of striking a death blow to the capitalist system of exploitation and oppression, was dismissed in favor of a myriad of then more-volatile "vanguards" on the campuses, in the ghettos, on the streets.

New organizations like the Revolutionary Student Brigade, front group of the Maoist Revolutionary Union, and the February First Movement which style themselves as "anti-imperialist," "anti-racist" and "anti-sexist," but not explicitly socialist, are flaunting the hard-learned lessons of the sixties. However, unlike the RU/RSB, which cynically attempts to lure politically naive students with nostalgia for the pre-1969 anti-working-class SDS, members of the FFM are attempting to grapple with some of the theoretical questions which must be clarified in charting the way forward to the liberation of black people.

Back to the "Good Old Days"?

The FFM, as its name suggests, does consciously hark back to the memory of the civil rights movement and hopes

"to renew the spirit of militancy, of courage, of sacrifice which characterized the struggles of the 1960's, in the present day to day struggle against imperialism confronting us."

—African World, February 1975

-Forum-

-Chicago-

WORKERS FIGHT RACIST TERROR

Since the beginning of the busing crisis in Boston last fall, the Spartacist League/SYL has called for a labor/black defense to protect the black schoolchildren from racist attacks. Such a strategy of class solidarity has most recently been enforced in Chicago where UAW Local 6 of the International Harvester plant has organized round-the-clock defense squads to protect a black family which has been the victim of severe harassment since moving into a previously all-white neighborhood. The union brothers have pledged themselves to prevent the Klan and other racist elements from repeating the terror attacks, which have included several attempts to burn down the house of the black family.

Featured speaker:
Gerald Smith
Spartacist League
Ex-member, Black Panther
Party

Auspices: Spartacist League
for more information call: 427-0003

Guest speaker:
Labor Struggle Caucus member
UAW Local 6

4:00 p.m., Sunday, May 4
Lincoln Room, YMCA
8th St. and Wabash Ave.

Abdul Alkalimat (Gerald McWorter) of Peoples College points to the SNCC as "the vanguard organization of the Civil Rights Movement." SNCC as the left wing of the civil rights movement did become the center of the black power movement for a time and was an organizational pole for those who reacted in disgust and disillusionment to the liberalism and pacifism of the liberal-dominated civil rights movement.

SNCC was able to mobilize many of the most militant activists of the civil rights movement, but it never struggled to direct the movement in an explicitly anti-capitalist direction and ended up advocating racially separatist organizing. As finally formulated in a book by Stokely Carmichael and Charles Hamilton, "Black Power," despite its angry and militant rhetoric which provoked hysterical reactions in the bourgeois press, produced nothing more than traditional American bourgeois ethnic-power politics, the kind that has now secured the election of black mayors in Newark, Los Angeles, Detroit, Atlanta and other urban centers. SNCC's demise was followed by a subsequent period of bitter, vitriolically anti-white nationalism.

By the late sixties, the nationalist movement split into two camps: a "revolutionary nationalist" wing, in-

cluding the Black Panthers and League of Revolutionary Black Workers, which reflected an impulse toward dealing with the actual oppression of the ghetto masses, and a cultural-nationalist/Pan-Africanist wing, whose spokesmen, such as Baraka and Karenga, extolled thoroughly petty-bourgeois, reactionary-utopian schemes for black capitalism or back-to-Africa Zionism. The hostility between the two wings reached the point of armed shootouts on the West Coast between Karenga's right-wing US organization and the Panthers.

By the early 1970's, the "revolutionary nationalists," who operated under the most intense police harassment and ruthless repression, had either degenerated into unabashed reformists (e.g., the Panther's "breakfast program," Bobby Seale's Democratic Party campaign for mayor of Oakland, the turn of Detroit's Ken Cockrel to a radical-chic law practice) or thrown themselves into urban guerrillaism (the Black Liberation Army). The "revolutionary nationalists" occasionally flirted with Marxist rhetoric and a few ended up in the ostensible Marxist movement: a large section of the old LRBW joined the then-Communist League, and the Black Workers Congress posed itself as the organization for black socialist

continued on page 11

March with the SL/SYL contingent
on May 17th in Boston!

**IMPLEMENT CITY-WIDE BUSING!
EXTEND BUSING TO THE SUBURBS!**

The U.S. army, enemy of working
and oppressed people around the world, will not defend black people—

NO FEDERAL TROOPS TO BOSTON!

**FOR LABOR/BLACK DEFENSE
AGAINST RACIST,
ANTI-BUSING VIGILANTISM!**

For more information on details of demonstration or transportation,
call: Boston SL/SYL—(617)-282-7857; New York SL/SYL—(212)-925-5665; Philadelphia SL/SYL—(215)-667-5695

Dhofar Revolt Pounded by Shah, Betrayed by Mao

COMITE PALESTINE-YEMEN-GOLFE ARABIQUE

"We regard what is going on in Dhofar as a form of aggression and subversion... Imagine if those savages [the Dhofari guerrillas] took over the other side of the Hormuz Straits at the entrance to the Persian Gulf. Our life depends on this. And these people fighting against the Sultan are savages. They could be even worse than Communists."

—Muhammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, quoted in *New York Times*, 19 March 1975



Dhofari rebels, abandoned by Mao, are now being crushed by Shah.

"[Chinese Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei] expressly disavowed Chinese support for Arab guerrillas fighting the Iranian and Western-backed Sultan of Oman on the southern Arabian coast. He said Muhammad Reza Shah Pahlavi of Iran 'has the right to reinforce' Iranian 'military potential to fight subversive activities' in the oil producing countries of the gulf. Mr. Chi even mentioned what he called 'the serious threat which could weigh upon the Shah's regime,' according to the text of toasts at a state dinner. Iran's policy of a strong defense military build-up 'can philosophically be compared to the Chinese national line of action,' he added."

—John Cooley, *Christian Science Monitor*, 19 June 1973

The "people's war" against feudal rule in the Sultanate of Oman on the southern coast of the Arabian Peninsula has provided Muhammad Reza Shah Pahlavi with an opportunity to demonstrate to the Arab states, the Soviet Union, Western imperialism and above all to the workers and peasants of the Near East the ruthless effectiveness of the Iranian army as counter-revolutionary gendarme in the Persian Gulf. In his campaign to crush the revolt, the Shah has received the blessings of both U.S. imperialism and the Maoist bureaucracy of the People's Republic of China! The Chinese Stalinists, those self-proclaimed "firm supporters of all national liberation struggles," have betrayed the desperate, Maoist-inspired guerrilla forces by cutting off Chinese military aid solely for the sake of proving Chinese "friendship" with the reactionary butcher of Teheran (*New York Times*, 7 February 1975). Lacking adequate weaponry to defeat the Shah's expeditionary force, the retreating rebels are now being slowly crushed. The Shah personally has acknowledged with great satisfaction that China in fact has "completely" ceased aid to the rebels (*Le Monde*, 25 June 1974).

The massive military build-up in Oman—British tanks, U.S. supersonic jet fighters and sophisticated missiles, and thousands of troops from Iran, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan and Britain—is totally out of proportion to the military strength of the ill-equipped guerrillas and testifies to the high stakes involved in the war. Control of Oman, once exercised by British imperialism for its protection of the military and commercial routes to the Indian Ocean, became a vital necessity for the capitalist world with the discovery of oil in the Gulf states. Omani territorial waters extend to the deep-water channel of the Straits of Hormuz, through which must pass the tankers from the Persian Gulf carrying 70 percent of Europe's and 95 percent of Japan's oil supplies. The American, British, French, German and Iranian armaments have been poured into Oman to prevent Russian control of the Straits and to guarantee the flow of oil should the oil producers attempt to place a "stranglehold" on the industrial nations.

Anti-Feudal Rebellion

The Oman civil war began in 1965 as a tribal and regional revolt in Dhofar Province against the extremely reactionary, medieval regime of Sultan Said bin Taimur, who ruled under the slogan, "The hungrier the dogs, the more they obey." The Sultan maintained a harem of four wives and 150 con-

cubines and a palace guard consisting of several hundred black African slaves. He confiscated all fertile lands, monopolized irrigation rights, and forbade electricity, medicines, eyeglasses, newspapers, radios, smoking, shoes, trousers and eating in public. Women were bought and sold. From his palace the Sultan kept an eye on his subjects with a telescope.

In 1970 the British deposed Taimur, who had proven incapable of suppressing the Dhofari rebellion, and replaced him with his son, Sandhurst-educated Sultan Qaboos, who since has sought to use Oman's oil revenues to "modernize" the country, providing some schools, roads and electricity along with air drops of bon-bons to children and outdoor color TV. Separated from Oman proper by 500 miles of desert, Dhofar remains an extremely backward province with a cave-dwelling and nomadic population of 60,000 persons. The narrow, monsoon-soaked coastal plain and scraggy mountains of the interior provide favorable terrain and shelter for guerrilla warfare.

The Dhofari Liberation Front was formed in 1965 by Nasserite Arab nationalists who only advocated separation from Oman. In 1968, following the victory of leftists in neighboring South Yemen, the leftists in the Front purged the right-wing Nasserites, and the Dhofari Liberation Front became the People's Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arab Gulf (PFLOAG). The name change reflected an emphasis on the direct connection of revolution in Dhofar-Oman with the entire Gulf region, in particular the proletariat of Bahrain. The Front now endorsed "Marxism-Leninism," the guerrilla war strategy of Che and Mao, and "uninterrupted revolution." Militarily supplied by China and the USSR, the guerrillas were able to gain control of the western region bordering the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDY) and by 1971 90 percent of the province outside the provincial capital, Salalah.

Armed Struggle and Class Peace

The PFLOAG, however, soon began to shed its "militant Maoism" in the search for a class-collaborationist bloc with capitalists, feudalists and tribal chiefs. A PFLOAG "self-criticism" stated,

"the Front had neglected the task of construction of the anti-imperialist united front and found itself relatively isolated from the other anti-colonialist forces of the region, weakened by the radicalism of the Front and its Maoist tendencies."

—*El Jabha*, No. 2 [undated]

One representative of the PFLOAG, in an interview with a journalist, accounted for the right turn in the Front as follows:

"Question: For those who follow your struggle closely, it seems that the Hamrein Congress took positions much more radical than your last congress [1971]... which adopted a national democratic program. Is this correct?"

Answer: One evolves according to the struggle, from criticism and self-criticism and from a continuous appreciation and evaluation of its actions... At the [earlier] Hamrein Congress, resolutions had been adopted which, however revolutionary, were not in accord with the stage at which the revolution found itself. This is why the [1971] Congress adopted a program adapted to the actual stage of the revolution—that is, a national democratic program—and to gather at the banner of the Front all the patriotic and progressive forces and personalities."

—*Afrique-Asie*, 6-19 August 1973

The 1971 Congress of the PFLOAG elaborated a "National Democratic Program to build the Anti-Imperialist United Front." Following the Menshevik-Stalinist "two-stage revolution" strategy, these "Marxist-Leninists" declared that the popular masses must unite with their exploiters in order to carry out the "national democratic" tasks of eliminating feudalism, implementing land reform and abolishing medieval Islamic social codes and institutions (such as blood debts, costumes and polygamy). To attract and maintain these social props of the old order, the Stalinists subordinate the interests of the downtrodden struggling masses to the interests of the capitalists, landlords, tribalists, usurers and other so-called "patriotic and progressive" social-parasites. Accordingly, the name of the Front was changed to the People's Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arabian Gulf to express a more "algebraic" and nationalist relation of the struggles in Oman and the Gulf emirates.

With the intensification of the war and the entry of Iranian troops, the PFLOAG has suffered serious military setbacks. In June 1974, the PFLOAG changed its name to the People's Front for the Liberation of Oman (PFLO) and politically retreated further into bourgeois nationalism by abandoning the perspective of revolution in the emirates and calling for the "preservation of the Arab national character of Oman and the Arab Gulf" (quoted in *P.F.L.P. Bulletin*, November-December 1974). A representative of the PFLO, Hussein Moussa, admitted that the Front has made "concessions" and "compromises" with "some of our former

enemies":

"As a Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf, the Front was confronted with many local reactionary regimes. To keep the conflicts with these regimes to a minimum, we had to change the organization." [original emphasis]

—interview in *Kommunistische Volkszeitung*, 15 January 1975

It is the elementary obligation of all socialists and labor militants to choose sides in this conflict between the oppressed masses and the feudal slaveholding regime propped up by imperialism. We call for the military victory of the Omani rebel forces and demand that all imperialist and imperialist-backed military forces be withdrawn immediately. We call upon the deformed workers states, in particular the Soviet Bloc and China, to provide the struggling Omani guerrilla fighters with adequate military supplies to match the modern weapons of the aggressors. Moreover, we demand the dissolution of imperialism's CENTO and the dismantling of all imperialist bases in the Persian Gulf. While resolutely struggling for the military victory of the PFLO, Trotskyists point out the disastrous consequences of the class-collaborationist strategy of its Stalinist leadership, which must be politically defeated and replaced by a Trotskyist leadership committed to the proletarian internationalist perspective of the permanent revolution.

Shah of Iran: Henchman of Imperialism, "Friend" of China

Iran's military intervention in Oman is backed by the U.S. as part of the imperialists' strategy of maintaining client states armed to the teeth with U.S.-supplied weapons and backed up (but if necessary checked) by American air and naval power. The Shah has declared his immediate aim to be stabilizing the Gulf:

"There is the possibility that certain of the regimes on the other side of the Persian Gulf might be overthrown by extremists currently engaging in subversive activities. For example, let's take the rebellion in the Sultanate of Oman. If it ever succeeded, imagine for a moment what we would be faced with in Muscat, the capital, which lies just across the Straits of Hormuz. First a few rifles, then naval artillery and missiles. This is ridiculous. I will not tolerate subversive activities."

—*Newsweek*, 23 May 1973

But the Shah may also have his own "grand design" in mind. As his Prime Minister indicated, "Iran is strong enough to prevent any trouble in the region of the Persian Gulf... We are a

world power that must be reckoned with." But if the Shah is to fulfill his illusory hopes for an equal partnership with Western imperialism, then he must back up such bravado with a demonstration of his military capability to crush revolutions, police the Arab regimes and counter Russian influence. In addition to murderously suppressing all opposition in Iran, the Shah's current plans include taming the Ba'athists in Iraq, aiding Pakistan against the Baluchi independence movement (which threatens to spill over into Iran) and offering to protect Oman's airspace, a direct threat to Soviet MIGs based in South Yemen.

The Maoist bureaucracy in Peking has traitorously lined up behind the U.S.-Iran imperialist axis, criminally advocating increased imperialist threat to the Soviet Union. The anti-revolutionary bureaucrats in Peking prefer to fawn over the reactionary anti-Communist, but "especially" anti-Russian, regime in Iran and prefer to recruit for NATO and CENTO, than to assist the workers and peasants of the Near East in making a socialist revolution, which might strengthen the "Soviet social imperialists" or endanger the Chinese Stalinists' "peaceful co-existence" with imperialism. The Peking bureaucracy has supported the strengthening of the Shah's enormous military machine as "necessary and understandable" to combat "expansionism" and "subversion" (quoted in *Le Monde*, 7 October 1973).

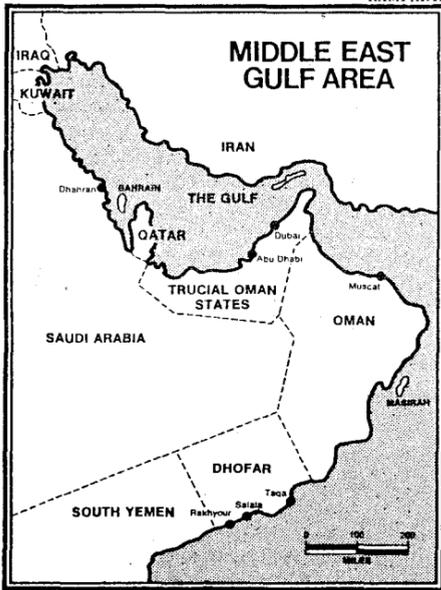
The Chinese Stalinists have ceased all aid to the impoverished rebels in Dhofar to demonstrate to "His Majesty" that they are willing to help liquidate a revolution, even a Maoist "people's war," to facilitate their diplomatic maneuvers. In addition to pushing its alliance with Iran, the Maoist bureaucracy, by abandoning the rebels, hopes to cultivate "new trade with other conservative Arab states in the Gulf that feel threatened by the Front" (*Guardian* [London], 13 January 1975). For his services in the cause of the U.S.-led "united front" against the USSR, "His Majesty," the vicious and murderous tyrant loathed by the workers and peasants of Iran, is regularly toasted by the Maoist bureaucrats and hailed in the pages of *Peking Review*.

While the Russian bureaucracy may now chide the Chinese for their failure to aid the PFLO, the Moscow Stalinist jackals have denounced the Kurd-

serious military contest which might hurt the possibilities for U.S.-USSR détente.

U.S. Maoists Front for Shah

The Mao-Chou "united front" with the Iranian police state against the Iranian left as well as the movements for national liberation in the Gulf has figured prominently in the heated exchanges between the Revolutionary



Union (RU) and the October League (OL) during the past year. But despite their double-talking polemics over China's alleged "two-line struggle" with the Shah, the RU and OL have articulated absolutely no essential political differences.

The Revolutionary Union has been "interpreting" Maoist policy opportunistically in order to ingratiate itself with the U.S. section of the Iranian Students Association, who adamantly call for the overthrow of the Shah and fully support the struggle in Dhofar. The RU claims that China is indeed carrying out its "two-line" struggle: exploiting contradictions among the imperialists, while aiding revolutionary movements. But Chinese policy has nothing in common with the practice of the Third International under Lenin—resorting to maneuvers, compromises and retreats when absolutely forced to by the imperialists, but wherever possible always bringing their forces to the aid of international revolution, which ultimately is the only defense of a workers state. The Maoist bureaucracy has not been forced into an episodic retreat, but on the contrary has been panting at the Shah's doorstep for years. Since the Sino-Iranian rapprochement of 1971, the CCP has never called for the overthrow of the Shah, never raised criticism of the Shah (except when he received aid from the USSR), and never protested his wholesale torture and executions of Iranian revolutionists!

The RU's claim that "the People's Republic of China has also given generous 'no-strings-attached' support to the revolutionaries in Dhofar" is now patently false, and the ISA knows it. The Chinese withdrew their aid to the Dhofari rebels and gave the green light to the Shah's intervention in Dhofar as early as 1973 (*Le Monde*, 7 October 1973). In order simultaneously to spout the positions of the ISA and Mao, the craven RU opportunists support the Dhofari struggle, but oppose the just national struggles of the Baluchis, Kurds and Khuis in Iran as "reactionary separatist movements" (*Revolution*, September 1973). The October League, not feeling the pressures of opportunities with the ISA, is simply woodenly upholding the ostensible Chinese line that the Shah is a potential recruit for the "progressive anti-imperialist united front."

To defend the Chinese bloc with Teheran and the Pentagon, the OL merely reminds the RU of China's number one position that the USSR is the "number one enemy," the "most aggressive and dangerous imperialism in the Persian Gulf area" (*The Call*, October 1974).

The OL indignantly accuses the Soviet Union of "pouring millions of

dollars into so-called 'liberation movements' in the area" and covers Mao's betrayal of the Dhofar struggle by implying that the PFLO should not be aided and defended militarily:

"The USSR is also backing organizations in Oman which work closely with the revisionist Tudeh Party in Iran and with other pro-Soviet organizations such as the World Peace Council to lay the groundwork for Soviet expansion in the Gulf. The RU spreads the lie that China supports these organizations and that in fact they are being led by 'Maoists.' They use films made years ago, before the Soviet domination of these groups, to try to mislead the people of this country."
—*The Call*, October 1974

This despicable lack of even the most visceral instinct of internationalism and solidarity with oppressed workers and peasants fighting feudal rule and imperialist intervention exposes the OL's "two-line struggle" as a sham cover for Maoist betrayal, cut from the same soiled cloth as the RU's conscious lying.

Stalinist betrayals and petty-bourgeois nationalist politics have isolated and weakened the PFLO in the face of the ferocious offensive of the Sultan, the emirates, Pakistan, Jordan, the Sudan, Saudi Arabia, Iran, the U.S. and Great Britain. In the past year the Iranian contingent has been increased to an estimated 30,000-man force. The aerial bombardment of irrigation works, cattle and crops and the poisoning of water sources have forced much of the Dhofar population inside the barbed-wire enclaves at Salalah, the provincial capital, and several other "strategic hamlets."

Government forces have succeeded in cutting the supply routes along much of the Yemeni border and have reopened the only highway connecting Salalah with Muscat. Iranian troops have recaptured the town of Rakhyout, which had been the rebels' liberated capital for five years. The government reports that in addition to regrouping right-wing Dhofari nationalists, there have been numerous political defections and demoralizations within the Front, and Front forces have been whittled down to about 1,500 men. PFLO propaganda has increasingly advocated an Arab war against Persian aggression as a struggle to "liberate the homeland" and "bring closer the hour of national salvation to this valuable part of our nation." Reinforcing Arab nationalist sentiment is poison to class struggle in the Gulf. In Bahrain, the working-class center of the region, as well as at many of the oil fields and refineries, the proletariat is composed of Arabs, Pakistanis, Baluchis, Indians and Persians. This is especially true in Oman, where until 1970 the native population was not permitted to hold modern jobs.

The Stalinist misleaders of the PFLO, by subordinating the interests of the toilers of the Gulf to their exploiters, stand as a political obstacle to the urgently necessary development of a proletarian internationalist vanguard. Only by linking the popular struggle against Omani feudalism and Iranian-British military intervention to the class struggle of the proletariat in the industrial centers of the Gulf, and throughout the Near East, can the revolutionary struggles in the Gulf transcend their national isolation and limitations. The fundamental tasks of the Omani revolution can only be resolved in the context of proletarian power in the Gulf. The vital connection between the radical anti-feudal revolution in an isolated country of staggering backwardness and the development of the world socialist revolution placing the proletariat in power is contained in the Trotskyist perspective of permanent revolution. Revolutionaries of Iran and the world who have looked to Maoism as a revolutionary alternative to Moscow revisionism must recognize that the Stalinists of both Moscow and Peking will continue to commit more counter-revolutionary betrayals as they cynically maneuver among the shahs, princes and imperialist rulers of the world in search of an impossible *modus vivendi* with imperialism. ■



Sultan Qaboos of Oman.

ish rebels as "reactionary extremists" threatening the "strongly progressive, anti-imperialist" Iraqi government, backed by the Russian Stalinists (*Daily World*, 15 May 1974). It was the Russian Stalinists who first labelled the Shah "progressive and anti-imperialist" and helped stabilize the Shah's regime during the 1960's. Moscow aid to the Dhofaris amounts to only a trickle of rifles and machine guns, an annoyance to the Sultan, but not enough to make a

syl events

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

Bay Area

Class Series—
THE STRUGGLE FOR PERMANENT REVOLUTION
Tuesdays, May 6, 20 and 27, 7:30 p.m. Student Union, East Madrone Room, U.C. Berkeley.
Thursdays, May 1 and 8, 1:00 p.m. Science 151, S.F. State University.

Forum—
WOMEN WORKERS AND THE FIGHT FOR JOBS
Guest Speaker: Darlene Fujino, Committee for a Militant U.A.W., Local 1364
Tuesday, May 13, 2:00 p.m. Science 151, S.F. State University.

Forum—
CLASS STRUGGLE IN THE PHONE COMPANY
Guest Speaker: Jane Margolis, Militant Action Caucus, C.W.A. Local 9410
Wednesday, May 14, 2:00 p.m. Science 210, S.F. State University.

Forum—
BUSING IN BOSTON AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST RACIAL OPPRESSION
Speaker: Peter Atkins, SYL National Committee. Thursday, May 15, 2:00 p.m., location to be announced.

Boston

Class Series—
MARXISM AND WORLD REVOLUTION
Wednesday, May 7, 7:30 p.m., Philip Brooks House, Leighton Hall, Harvard U.

Chicago

Class Series—
MARXISM AND THE AMERICAN LEFT
Tuesdays, May 6, 13, 20 and 27, 7:30 p.m. For more information, call 427-0003.

TOWARD THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION
Biweekly series. Circle Center, U. of Illinois. For more information, call 427-0003.

REVOLUTIONARY MARXISM
Wednesdays, May 7, 14, 21 and 28, 7:30 p.m. Room 3B, Norris Center, Northwestern U.

Forum—
BROADVIEW, NOT BOSTON—WORKERS FIGHT RACIST TERROR
Sunday, May 4, 4:00 p.m. Lincoln Room, YMCA, 8th Street and Wash Avenue.

Cleveland

Class Series—
CRISIS IN CAPITALISM: MARXIST SOLUTION
Wednesday, May 7, 8:00 p.m. Room 203, Thwing Hall, Case Western Reserve.

Los Angeles

Forum—
FOR A COMMUNIST INDOCHINA
Friday, May 2, noon. Room 2134, Rolfe Hall, UCLA.

New Orleans

Benefit—
BENEFIT FOR PARTISAN DEFENSE FUND
May 2, 7:30 p.m. Place to be announced. For more information, call 866-8384.

Red Papers 7:

Young Sp

Revolutionary Union's "U

The Maoist bureaucracy of the People's Republic of China has hailed the 1972 Sino-American rapprochement as the inauguration of its long-sought "peaceful coexistence" with United States imperialism. The Stalinist misleaders ruling in both China and the Soviet Union, by seeking to subordinate the class interests of the international proletariat to the exigencies of bureaucratic self-interest, criminally sacrifice proletarian revolutions and even Communist unity for illusory "peaceful coexistence" deals and class-collaborationist maneuvering with world imperialism.

As state relations between the two nationalist bureaucracies deteriorated and the Sino-Soviet split alarmingly widened, the Stalinists in each camp escalated the ideological-polemical warfare, cynically attempting to cover their respective betrayals of internationalism by mutual accusations of "revisionism." Although dedicated to the same treacherous policies of "peaceful coexistence" as the Moscow Stalinists, the Chinese bureaucracy resorted to greater verbal "militancy" than the Russians. Threatened by savage imperialist intervention in Vietnam and stripped of the Russian military shield, the Peking bureaucracy was qualitatively more vulnerable than the Russians, so the Chinese line represented "Khrushchevism under the gun."

The shrill Chinese denunciations of the "revisionist" USSR in part were an overture to U.S. imperialism for détente in return for Chinese refusal to consider joint Chinese-Russian aid to Vietnam. Thus, the Peking Stalinists pledged to imperialism, "We will never take any united action with the new leaders of the Soviet party" (*Red Flag*, 10 February 1966). At the same time the Chinese bureaucracy pronounced the "people's war" line, which preached "self-reliance" instead of full Sino-Soviet military, diplomatic and economic aid to the embattled Viet Cong and Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

Following the brutal Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, the

Chinese Stalinists, apprehensive of the menacing and provocative Russian military presence along the Siberian border, sharpened their polemical attacks to the point of declaring that the USSR had passed over to the imperialist camp: "the clique of Soviet revisionist renegades has degenerated long since into social-imperialism and social-fascism" (*Peking Review*, 26 August 1968). According to the Maoists, the "Soviet revisionists" led by Khrushchev restored "capitalism" in the USSR in 1956 and ever since have exercised "colonial domination" over Eastern Europe and practiced "neocolonialism" in the economically underdeveloped countries (*Peking Review*, 4 November 1968 and 14 July 1969).

As long as their interests were confined to pushing "peaceful coexistence" with the "non-aligned," underdeveloped capitalist countries in the era of Bandung, the Chinese Stalinists, despite their sensational "discovery" that the USSR had "long since" become "imperialist," continued to maintain that the "principal contradiction" was between the oppressed nations of the so-called "Third World" and U.S. imperialism. But when the U.S. admitted China into the arena of international power politics in return for Chinese pressure on the DRV/NLF to accept the robbers' "Peace Treaty," the Maoists began to denounce the main enemy as "U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism" and to call for an international united front against the "two superpowers" (*Red Flag*, August 1971). Treacherously pursuing its own great-power appetites through "improved relations" with U.S. imperialism, the Chinese bureaucracy subsequently denounced the USSR as "even more deceitful than old-line imperialist countries and therefore more dangerous" (*Peking Review*, 6 October 1972, our emphasis).

Betrayals On the Road to Detente

The Chinese bureaucracy's be-

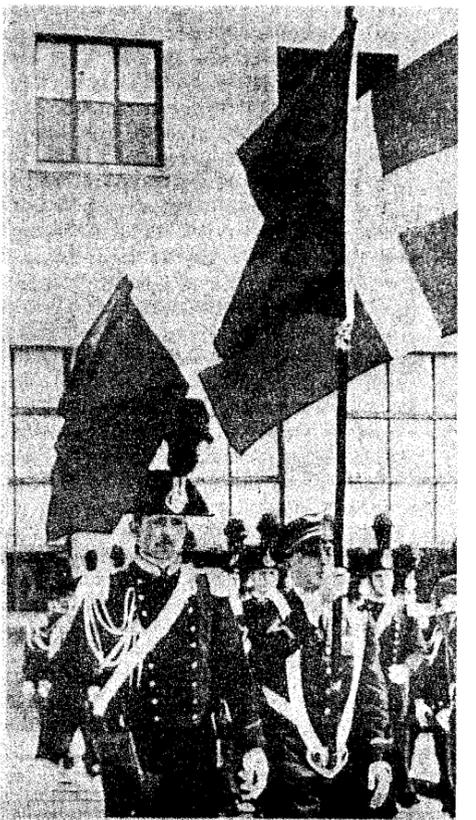
trayals of 1971 in Sudan, Pakistan and Ceylon were "summed up" by the U.S. imperialists as indicating the reliability of the Chinese for a "united front with imperialism" against the "number one enemy," the USSR. In Sudan, "leftist" generals backed by the powerful pro-Moscow Communist Party attempted a coup against General Nimeiry, who successfully smashed the rebellion, decimated the CP through incarceration and mass slaughter, and unleashed a reign of terror against the working class and all dissidents. The Maoist bureaucracy not only congratulated Nimeiry for liquidating the "social-imperialists," but also rewarded the bloody Khartoum regime with \$80 million in military and economic aid. Mao then feted in Peking a delegation of these counterrevolutionary swine, who gratefully toasted Mao for supporting the repression of the CP and of the rebellious non-Arab blacks in southern Sudan (*Le Monde*, 22 December 1971 and 18 February 1972).

To counterbalance long-standing Russian influence in bourgeois India, the Maoists have given full political and economic support to the U.S.-backed military dictatorship in Pakistan, climaxing in Mao's obscene support for the genocidal war against the Bengali national liberation struggle in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh). As the marauding Pakistani army butchered one million Bengalis, Chou En-lai commended "Your Excellency" Yahya Khan for having "accomplished great useful work in preserving the unity of Pakistan" (*Pakistan Times*, 13 March 1971) and despicably denounced the fallen nationalist fighters as "a handful of individuals intent on sabotaging Pakistan's unity" (*Le Monde*, 14 April 1971).

In a bid to compete with Russian influence in Ceylon, the Chinese Stalinists extended all-out support to the extermination of the "people's war"-inspired Janata Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP—People's Liberation Front) by the Bandaranaike popular-front government, a coalition including the class-collaborationist pro-Moscow CP. Vying with the "social imperialists" and the U.S. imperialists for recognition as the firmest supporter of the slaughter of thousands of JVP youth, Mao rushed a \$25 million loan to "Your Excellency" Bandaranaike and a political statement of solidarity with the crushing of "these acts of rebellion" by a "handful of individuals calling themselves 'Guevarists'" (see "The 'Anti-Imperialist United Front' in Ceylon," *Young Spartacus*, September-October 1973).

Introducing "NATO (Marxist-Leninist)"

Since the inauguration of the Peking-Washington so-called "peaceful coexistence," the Chinese bureaucracy increasingly has shrieked that "strategically the key point of their [the "two superpowers"] contention is Europe" (Documents of the 10th Congress, CPC). The Maoists have been campaigning hard throughout the "Free World" for strengthening NATO, that imperialist "united front" of 300,000 troops for preventing "Communist aggression" and social-revolution in Europe. Objectively lining up with U.S. imperialism, the Chinese bureaucracy is advocating an increased direct military threat to the USSR so that the Russians would be forced to withdraw troops from Siberia for strengthening the Warsaw Pact forces!



To build a "united front" against the "nu

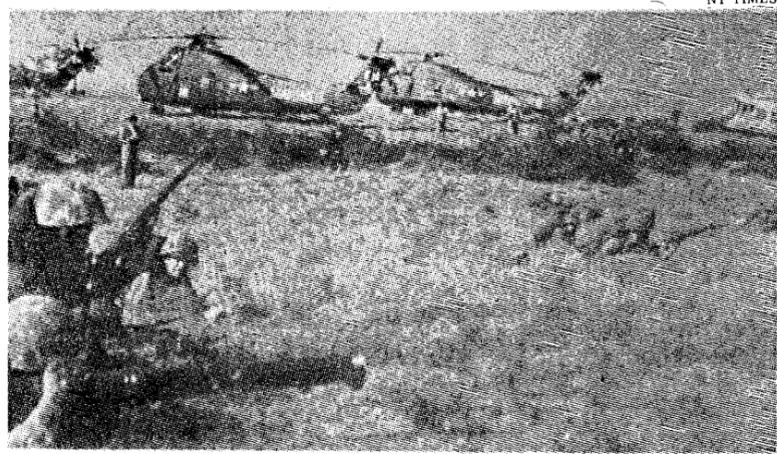
The mouthpieces of the Maoists have been blaring pro-NATO propaganda tracts, such as "NATO--Need for Improved Military Forces" (*Peking Review*, 21 December 1973). In one Sino-French communiqué, Peking called for military unity of the NATO countries "for the preservation of their common security" (*Peking Review*, 21 September 1973). The Maoists applauded when one reactionary, Lord Chalfont, "criticized the idea that all military threat to Western Europe had disappeared and that consequently all the American troops could be withdrawn and NATO dismantled" (*Peking Information*, 6 August 1973).

The Chinese Stalinists invited staunchly anti-Communist, German nationalist Franz-Josef Strauss to China and reportedly assured him that "the security of West Europe can be assured only by the military support of the United States" (*Le Monde*, 15 January 1975). Likewise, Chou En-lai last year pledged cold-warrior Senator Henry Jackson, leading representative of the anti-U.S./USSR détente wing of the American bourgeoisie, that China would continue to advocate the strengthening of NATO (*New York Times*, 2 July 1974). Belgian Prime Minister Tindemans, recently returned from Peking, expressed his astonishment at the Chinese leaders' repeated favorable references to U.S. Defense Secretary Schlesinger's report to Congress as



In 1956 Mao supported Khrushchev (above) in crushing Hungarian anti-bureaucratic revolution (below). Now Maoists claim Khrushchev had already "restored capitalism" in USSR!

United Front" with NATO



For one enemy," the USSR, Mao (right) salutes imperialism's NATO (left).

"a good view of the world" (*Christian Science Monitor*, 24 April 1975). Numerous articles in the Chinese press this year have reported favorably Schlesinger's insistence that U.S. troop levels be maintained in Europe and that the U.S. has vital security interests to protect in Europe, the Near East, the Persian Gulf and Asia. For the sake of its "peaceful coexistence," its "socialism in one country" and its property rights to some sparsely-populated Siberian tundra, the Chinese bureaucracy is willing to be the drummer boy for imperialist militarism.

Maoist Sycophants "Deepen" Mao-Thought

The gross betrayals Mao has committed in the name of the "anti-imperialist united front" strain the political capacities of the American Maoists to apologize for Peking's class-collaborationist foreign policy and differentiate it from that of Moscow. Thus, there has arisen within the Maoist movement a felt need for some coherent, "Marxist-Leninist" explanation of the more fundamental social character of the USSR, especially since the "Russian question" has always been synonymous with "Trotskyism" for Stalinists.

The standard Chinese diatribes, such as *How the Soviet Revisionists Carry Out All-Round Restoration of Capitalism in the USSR* (1968) and

Leninism or Social Imperialism (1970), bristle with epithets, denouncing Russia as "capitalist," "state monopoly capitalist," "imperialist," "social-imperialist," "fascist" and even "dark social-fascist," but provide absolutely no analysis of either the process of "capitalist restoration" or the functioning of "capitalism" in the USSR. The Maoist effusions, furthermore, offer no explanation why this alleged historic counterrevolution has never been noticed by the bourgeoisie and even escaped the attention of the Chinese for over ten years!

Concerned above all with "building socialism in one (their own) country," the Maoist bureaucrats have no need for an internationalist line and a revolutionary International. For a simplistic "mass line" among the peasants in culturally backward China, the invective "social-imperialist" is adequate; the development of an analysis with historical substance and theoretical dimensions that can be defended by Western Maoists is of no concern to Mao.

A Stalinist bureaucracy, moreover, instinctively avoids any critical analysis of the phenomenon of Stalinism. The Chinese ideologues in Peking may well recall the lesson of the Yugoslav CP, whose leader, Milovan Djilas, responded to the 1949-50 Tito-Stalin rupture by not only branding the USSR "state capitalist," but also developing a full-fledged theoretical

analysis of this Russian "state capitalism" (see *Questions du Socialisme*, No. 1, April-May 1951). Both Djilas and his theory of "state capitalism" were sacked by the Yugoslav Stalinists when his analysis was turned against the Yugoslav bureaucracy by the pro-Cominform faction of the party and when prospects for a "thaw" with the Soviet Union developed.

Mao's adamant and belligerent stand on "Soviet social-imperialism" has become an important factor in the dynamic of political polarization among U.S. Maoist groups (for general background, see "Maoist Fusion Fizzles," *Young Spartacus*, December 1974). To demonstrate fidelity to "Mao Tse-tung Thought," each Maoist tendency must come forward as the most consistent and unflinching "anti-Soviets"; and to demonstrate seriousness in "party building," each tendency must produce "Marxist-Leninist" theory to justify its "anti-Sovietism."

In its head-long drive to "build a party now," the Revolutionary Union (RU) has been the most aggressive and ambitious in staking out its claim to orthodox Mao Thought on "Soviet social imperialism" (see *Revolution*, July, August and October 1973). Most significantly, the RU last October confronted the rest of the American Maoist movement with its *Red Papers 7*, a 156-page exercise in theoretical adventurism entitled "How Capitalism Has Been Restored in the Soviet

Union And What this Means for the World Struggle."

The RU has attacked the Stalinite Communist League as "attempting to cover up the real nature of Soviet social imperialism" by maintaining the "100 percent counter-revolutionary" position that capitalism has not yet been fully restored in the USSR (*Revolution*, July 1974); the RU likewise blasted the *Guardian* for still calling U.S. imperialism the "number one enemy" (*Revolution*, July 1973).

Recently the RU has even added to the statement of principles of its front-group Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB), not adherence to "Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought" or even adherence to a pro-working-class line, but... opposition to "Soviet social imperialism"! While the RU could ram this line through at the RU-dominated RSB National Council meeting in January, the issue of "Soviet social imperialism," according to the RSB internal newsletter, had become the "major issue of struggle" in the organization (*Seize the Times!*, No. 8, 9 January 1975).

The appearance of *Red Papers 7* (RP7) has prompted other Maoist tendencies to take up the Russian question. The *Guardian* began serializing in February a tract by October League-supporter Martin Nicolaus entitled "Is the Soviet Union Capitalist?" The *Guardian's* own position

continued on next page

that capitalism has not yet been "fully restored" and "thoroughly consolidated" in the USSR has now been attacked by the October League, reflecting the ever-widening OL-Guardian rift (*The Call*, April 1975).

Maoist Idealism Run Amok

RP7 is based entirely on the dictum of Mao that socialism is characterized by "the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road." Because the "capitalist roaders" under socialism base their strength on the purportedly "powerful weapon" of "old bourgeois ideas," the struggle between the proletariat and the "capitalist roaders" is above all ideological-political. Thus, "in this 'struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road,' the relationship between the Party and the masses is decisive." If ideological revisionism gains the upper hand, concludes RP7, then socialism will be destroyed "relatively bloodlessly" in "a more or less peaceful restoration of capitalism" by a mere "handful of capitalist roaders" and "bourgeois careerists" infected with "me-first" ideology!

So, while the RU's mentor Stalin upheld "Marxism-Leninism," his flaw was the "theoretical failure to recognize how class struggle continues under socialism." Stalin, you must understand, did not realize that hordes of "capitalist roaders" had "managed to worm their way into positions of authority," closet capitalists who were "political operators of consummate skill." According to the Stalin-cultist RU, Stalin's "prestige" was the thumb in the dike holding back the flood of an ocean of cleverly disguised "capitalist roaders."

After Stalin's death Khrushchev appeared on the scene, "the right man in the right place at the right time"...with the wrong ideas. At last ripping off his socialist mask, Khrushchev allegedly established "with lightning rapidity" a "rival bourgeois headquarters." According to RP7, Khrushchev pulled off his "coup" simply by making a speech at

impossible for a bourgeois political line to lead society in any direction but that of capitalism."

The basic premise of RP7 that the domination of the proletariat in a workers state can be preserved or reversed only by struggle in the ideological realm is a profound revision of Marxism and Leninism. As Lenin explained so clearly in *State and Revolution*, the state is an organ of class domination through which the

sitates a counterrevolution. If the concept of a "peaceful transition to socialism" is reformism, then the RU's schema of a "bloodless," "peaceful restoration of capitalism" is precisely *reformism in reverse!* Both remove the necessity to smash the existing state.

Mao's "discovery" that under socialism classes and class struggle continue to exist, moreover, stands in flat contradiction to Marxism. As

overthrown by counterrevolution. Even under Lenin when workers democracy still existed in the Bolshevik Party, a bureaucracy had crystallized in the Soviet state, leading Lenin to warn in 1921, "our state is a workers state with bureaucratic distortion" (*Polnoe Sobranie Sochinenii*, Vol. 32, p. 6). The bureaucracy, however, had not yet been consolidated and was not yet conscious of its power.

PEKING REVIEW

WORKERS' WORLD



Mao's "anti-imperialist united front" includes Mobutu (left), running dog of imperialism and murderer of Patrice Lumumba (right).



given ruling class defends "its external conditions of production" (Engels). Thus, the essence of the state resides in a repressive apparatus, or "armed bodies of men" (army and police, backed up by judiciary, prisons and the bureaucracy), not an ideological line, for enforcing class rule. The class character of a state is determined not by the prevailing ideology, but by the forms of ownership of the means of production which that state defends.

Mao vs. Marx On the State and Socialism

The October Revolution led by the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky smashed the bourgeois state and established the dictatorship of the proletariat, which set about "to wrest,

FOREIGN LANGUAGE PRESS

the lower phase of communism, socialism signifies "an end to all class differences and class antagonisms" (Engels). Class conflicts, and hence the state, however, continue to exist under the dictatorship of the proletariat. As Lenin so lucidly stated in his *Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat*:

"Socialism means the abolition of classes. The dictatorship of the proletariat has done all it could to abolish classes. But classes can not be abolished at one stroke. And classes still remain and will remain in the era of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The dictatorship will become unnecessary when classes disappear." [original emphasis]

But Mao "discovers" class-based conflicts under "socialism" (in reality, the dictatorship of the proletariat) only to disappear the state! RP7 categorically asserts, "the main focus of the class struggle under socialism is within the Party itself, and particularly in its top ranks." Thus, the restoration of capitalism can be peaceful, factional or even surreptitious, because Maoist idealism liquidates the state as a public force enforcing the dictatorship of the particular ruling class.

As long as the Russian state continues to rest upon and defend the proletarian property forms, the Soviet Union in its class character remains a workers state. Lenin clearly posed the question, as follows:

"In what does the rule of the class express itself now? The rule of the proletariat is expressed in the fact that landlord and capitalist property has been abolished—The victorious proletariat abolished property and destroyed it utterly, and in this consists the rule of the class. First of all the question of property. When the question of property was decided in practice, the rule of the class was assured....When classes displaced one another, they altered property relations."

—*Polnoe Sobranie Sochinenii* [Collected Works], 4th ed., Vol. 30, p. 426, 427 [our translation]

Bureaucratic Degeneration vs. Capitalist Restoration

Lenin and Trotsky never prattled about building "socialism in one country," but declared that the fate of the Soviet state depended upon the victory of the revolution in the West. Unless the revolution was victorious in one or several advanced capitalist countries, which would provide the backward and devastated Russian workers state with the necessary protection and resources to begin socialist construction, the dictatorship of the proletariat would degenerate bureaucratically and ultimately be

Following Lenin's death, the Stalin-Kamenev-Zinoviev Triumvirate in 1924 strangled the revolutionary vanguard and gutted the soviets, thereby politically expropriating the proletariat, atomized and prostrated by unrelenting social crisis and demoralized by defeat of the German revolutionary upheavals. The rise of a materially interested party and state bureaucracy represented the reaction, particularly of the Russian petty bourgeoisie, to extreme economic scarcity and social instability and the pressure of dominant world imperialism, materially and ideologically, upon the state of the proletariat. The bureaucracy arose as the arbitrator in the struggle between individual consumption and socialist accumulation in conditions of generalized want. By a *political counter-revolution*, the Stalinist bureaucracy usurped power from the proletariat, and established its bureaucratic rule on the foundation of proletarian property forms.

The Stalinist bureaucracy has a dual character: on the one hand, the parasitic bureaucracy must defend the proletarian property system which provides it with its material privileges and will fight imperialism to the extent that the capitalists threaten to deprive it of its social underpinnings; on the other hand, the bureaucracy pursues an impossible "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism and subverts international revolution, which is the only real defense of the anti-capitalist state. Far from a stable, independent ruling class, the bureaucracy balances between the interests of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in order to maintain its rule.

The bureaucracy is thus trapped in a contradiction: to return to capitalism entails the destruction of the planned economy upon which the bureaucracy rests, and to advance to socialism requires restoring direct political power to the proletariat. Because it still maintains the proletarian property forms, the USSR remains a *bureaucratically degenerated workers state*.

The Trotskyist program calls for the *unconditional defense* of the collectivized property systems of the Sino-Soviet states from counter-revolution and imperialist attack, recognizing that the nationalized economies of these states correspond to the social base of proletarian rule. We support the strengthening of the Warsaw Pact forces against NATO, and demand that the Moscow bureaucracy extend its nuclear shield to cover China and North Vietnam.

We simultaneously call for a workers *political revolution* to oust the politically reactionary Stalinist bureaucracies and restore soviet power



Frontispiece to Chinese diatribe *Down With the New Czars*. Caption reads, "The great leader Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Vice-Chairman Lin Biao." According to Maoists, Lin was a crypto-"capitalist roader" for decades!

the 20th Party Congress in 1956 criticizing Stalin, a speech "to signal to his fellow capitalist roaders and bourgeois class base that the tide had turned and it was safe to crawl out from the woodwork"!

With Khrushchev's rallying cry, the "capitalist road" at once became a choked thoroughfare:

"The seizure of power in 1956-57 by the bourgeois headquarters led by Khrushchev marks the crucial turning point in the restoration process. It was at this juncture that political power passed out of the hands of the proletariat and into the hands of the bourgeoisie. The re-establishment of fully capitalist relations of production was now inevitable, for it is

by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the state" (Marx). A counterrevolution to restore capitalism in the Soviet Union would have to smash the workers state (essentially the Red Army and police) and ultimately overturn the proletarian property relations (nationalization of the principal means of production and planned economy) which formed the basis for socialist construction.

For Marxists, the destruction of capitalism and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat require a revolution; the destruction of the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoration of capitalism neces-

and proletarian internationalism. Stalinist bureaucratic rule is fundamentally unstable and vulnerable, since the bureaucracy rules not on a property system peculiar to itself, but on a social system in which the demands of developing economy, the class position of the proletariat and the formal ideology continually pose the question of workers power. By removing the nationalist-reformist bureaucracies, the political revolution clears the path for a mighty, international united front of workers states against imperialism.

"The Great Liberman Ideological Revolution"

The RU's analysis of the purportedly "capitalist" character of the Russian economy is as fully idealist as its conception of the "capitalist restoration" process. *RP7* foolishly contends that the economic reforms promulgated by Kosygin in 1965 "made the profit motive the major guiding force in the Soviet economy, and opened a new period, the stage of the conscious construction of a state capitalist economy." The Liberman reforms, you see, restored to the means of production the character of "capital": the charge on "capital" and state bank credits comprise "the employment of capital in order to gain a financial return."

However, the cunning Kosygin "had no intention of reviving a market economy," so he adeptly arranged that the capital market would not "take on an open, brazen form," but rather "a new and 'hidden' form." Even though admitting there is no competition and capital market, *RP7* maintains that "the assignment of capital over to another in the expectation of receiving a predetermined return, generally in the form of interest is also a type of commodity exchange." Thus, according to the schema of *RP7*, the state is a "finance capitalist" vis-à-vis its own state enterprises.

But, it seems that the RU (to borrow its expression) has picked up a rock only to drop it on its own feet. For *RP7*, after having insistently stressed that there is no capital market and competition in the USSR, declares a few pages later, "because the production of goods is subordinate to the production of profit," the "state monopoly capitalists" become slaves of the law of labor value. The economy of "social imperialism" is, after all, ravaged by the "blind market forces of capitalism" and its "competition," although "the particular forms this is taking, and the specific individuals and firms involved, have not as yet been clearly exposed!"

The RU must "discover" this capitalist "competition," which is so "hidden" it can't be "exposed," in order to posit that "the drive for the highest profit forces the competing Soviet capitalists to invest increasing amounts of the surplus wherever it will bring the highest return," that is, to "export capital" as "imperialists." *RP7* thus labels Russian aid to various economically underdeveloped countries (India in particular), as well as trade with the COMECON countries of Eastern Europe, as imperialist "plunder" and "exploitation."

Myth of "State Capitalism"

The proposition that the class character of the USSR is capitalist does violence to the basic concepts of Marxism. As Marx disclosed, capitalism is a mode of production based on private property in which the production of commodities becomes generalized and all the determinants of production (labor power, instruments of labor, land and so on) become commodities. Generalized commodity production is based on competition in an anonymous market. This competition between individual capitals generates the law of labor value and constitutes the driving force for the historic process of capital accumulation.

The expropriation of the capitalist class and the nationalization of the means of production by the workers state eliminates capitalist competition by establishing a planned economy. With the extinguishing of a market economy, the means of production cease to be a commodity, i.e., capital, and the law of labor value ceases to operate in a capitalist mode.

The contention of *RP7* that in the USSR the means of production comprise a *single capital* collectively owned by "state monopoly capitalists" is yet another revision of Marxism. Here is what Marx had to say on the subject:

"In competition this inner tendency of capital appears as a compulsion imposed on it by other capital and driving it forward over and beyond the proper proportion with a continuous Marche, marche!... Conceptually, competition is nothing but the inner nature of capital, its essential character, appearing and realized as the interaction of many capitals on one another, the inner tendency as external necessity. Capital exists and can exist only as many capitals, and its self-determination therefore appears as the interaction of these on one another." [original emphasis]

—*Grundrisse der Kritik der politischen Ökonomie*, Rohentwurf 1857-58, pp. 316-317 [our translation]

Precisely because "capital exists and can exist only as many capitals,"

ences to the economic categories of "profit," "capital" and "wages" by the revisionist Russian economists under Brezhnev are incontrovertible proof that capitalism has been restored in the USSR and the Eastern Bloc countries. But why the "capitalist roaders" would choose to "restore capitalism" through the "piecemeal reforms" of Liberman rather than the "rigorous and theoretically coherent blueprint for capitalist restoration" of economists Vaag and Zakharov is a mystery which *RP7* does not even attempt to probe.

The Liberman reforms were measures introduced by the bureaucracy to promote efficiency and curtail bureaucratic waste. Under Stalin the privileges of the bureaucracy at the enterprise level were tied to the single performance index of gross volume of output. This system pressured the factory managers to underestimate their plant productive capacity, overestimate their resource needs, sacrifice quality and assortment of product and resist technological improvement (which disrupts production) in an effort to maximize their chances of fulfilling, and hopefully overfulfilling, the output target dictated by the plan.

The economic reforms associated with Liberman simply replaced the gross output index with indices of optimum resource efficiency. Sales ("profits") and return on resource investment ("profitability") as suc-

themselves in turn regulated by the equalization of the rate of profit and its corresponding distribution of capital among the various social spheres of production. Profit, then, appears here as the main factor, not of the distribution of products, but of their production itself, as a factor in the distribution of capitals and labor itself among the various spheres of production."

—*Capital* (International Publishers, 1967), Vol. 3, p. 882

Under Libermanism, "profits" do not regulate the planned economy, but rather the plan regulates "profits." Prices are set by the plan, and do not fluctuate around value in accordance with the blind laws of the market. "Soviet prices," bourgeois economist Howard J. Sherman points out, "have been such poor measures of the real costs of most commodities that many efficient allocational decisions have been impossible to make" (*The Soviet Economy*). Enterprise plans include planned payments into the budget in the form of rent payments, the capital charge and remittance of profit residuals.

Under capitalism profit determines the ebb and flow of capital in the various branches of production. In the USSR allocations are made according to the plan, while the "market" mechanisms of Libermanism seek to make predetermined allocations efficient. In fact, numerous key enterprises are operated at planned losses, i.e., the bureaucracy consciously sets prices below costs of production.

Far from comprising "profits," the "capital charges" of the Liberman accounting system (which also exist in "socialist" China) do not represent surplus value realized on the market, but rather resource flows within the state sector. *RP7* claims that the state is chained to the "profit" motive, because it rents resources... to itself!

Far from restoring capitalism, the Liberman reforms have failed to achieve even their original, much-trumpeted goals of efficiency. Bourgeois economists have analyzed Libermanism as a "half-hearted, halting, harrassed economic reform" which has proved to be a "failure," precisely because the bureaucracy has organically reverted to Stalin's methods of "political pressure," "socialist emulation" and "'moral' incentives" (*Problems of Communism*, July-August 1971). From this, the RU should conclude that the Brezhnevites once again have put "politics in command" and at last are back on the "socialist road!"

The Liberman reforms, like Stalin's earlier system of enterprise profitability, is an indication that the planned economy is being choked by bureaucratism. The only solution to the chronic problems of the Russian economy is the political revolution which restores the proletariat to power in the workers state.

How the RU Restores Kautskyism

Since the flow of resources in the producer goods sector of the Russian economy is determined by the plan, the USSR is under no compulsion to "export capital." With the destruction of capitalist competition for a market in the state sector, the Russian economy is liberated from the "declining rate of profit" (the very formation of an "average rate of profit" ceases) and thus from the economic compulsion to export capital to markets where the rate of profit is higher.

For *RP7*, Russian aid and investments in India is "Soviet social imperialism" *par excellence*. Russian loans, grants and joint construction projects are primarily politically, not economically, motivated. The USSR suffers from a scarcity, not a surplus, of investment resources, reflected in the fact that foreign trade amounts to not much more than one percent of Russian GNP. Russian loans carry an arbitrarily fixed interest rate far below world capitalist rates, and the

continued on next page

Mao warmly greets Bandaranaike (right), whose slaughter of JVP rebels turned the rivers of Ceylon red with blood (below).



PEKING REVIEW



SOLIDARITY LONDON PAMPHLET

Lenin insisted that monopolization could never be complete, entirely eliminating competition:

"On the contrary, monopoly, coming about in several branches of industry, strengthens and sharpens the chaos characteristic of the entire capitalist production, taken as a whole." [original emphasis]

—*Polnoe Sobranie Sochinenii*, Vol. 22, p. 196 [our translation]

If the capitalist class cannot organize production according to a rational plan, it is equally impossible for a bureaucracy (or a group of "capitalist roaders") which arose on the basis of a planned economy to convert itself into a capitalist class without liquidating the planned economy.

Reforming Socialism Into Capitalism

RP7 rests its case charging capitalist restoration not on any coherent economic theory, but on the ideas (rather, the terminology) expressed during the so-called Liberman reform debates. For the RU, the refer-

ence indicators were designed to induce managers to replace obsolete machines and equipment and to upgrade output quality; and payment for disbursed resources ("capital charge") and efficiency incentives would encourage economizing of resources.

While these so-called "economic levers" now tied the bureaucrats' privileges to "micro-economic" efficiency, the central state apparatus continued to determine both resource allocation and prices. Far from "putting profit in command," the bureaucracy still tenaciously keeps the plan in command.

Capitalist profit, contrary to the twaddle of *RP7*, is meaningless outside of commodity exchange on the market. Marx succinctly revealed the function of profit under capitalism:

"And now let us consider profit. This specific form of surplus-value is the precondition for the fact that the new creation of means of production takes place in the form of capitalist production... The entire process of capitalist production is furthermore regulated by the prices of the products. But the regulating prices of production are

resources allocated for Indian construction projects could far more profitably be invested in the Russian economy.

Furthermore, the Indian government pays for Russian (as well as Polish and East German) imports and loans in non-convertible Indian currency, forcing the "social imperialists" to spend their "plunder" in India. The Moscow bureaucracy's interest in "Indian dependency" has nothing to do with profit rates, but rather is to ensure a favorable balance of power in Asia through a pro-USSR bourgeois India. The low-interest loans and prestige projects are the economic overhead for the Stalinist

ward (less productive) workers state is the ability of capitalism to undersell the products of state industry. For this reason, state monopoly of foreign trade is essential for the very survival of such a workers state. COMECON is an attempt, inadequate and internally contradictory, to extend the monopoly of foreign trade beyond the individual states of the bloc.

The contradictions of COMECON arise from the situation that it is almost always possible to purchase products cheaper on the world market, and often possible to get better terms for exports on the world market, than in a geographically limited market. There is thus a strong centrifugal tendency for all COMECON countries, including the USSR, to shift to world market trade. For instance, it would be more economical for the Soviet Union to trade with Japan and Canada for commodities like machinery and wheat, which can be shipped more cheaply over the Pacific than rail-hauled or carried circuitously by water from East Europe. The disadvantages of trading within the Russian-led bloc were important factors in both the Sino-Soviet and Yugoslav-Soviet splits.

As long as the economic plans are determined nationally, COMECON trade prices can only result from the arbitrary interaction of world market prices, domestic costs and political pressures. In most COMECON countries, wholesale prices are fixed at the average costs of production. Newer plants producing at costs below average make "profits" which are largely taxed away; older, high-cost enterprises make accounting losses which are covered by planned subsidies. Because there is central control over total costs, industries operating on subsidies considered too high by the planning commission can be retooled, converted to another line of production or closed.

This control of the price-cost relationship within a COMECON country is precisely what is lacking in trade between the bloc partners. Thus, the Polish bureaucracy has no influence over the costs of Russian steel which it imports; the Russian bureaucracy has no control over the costs of Polish agricultural produce which it imports. COMECON trade prices fluctuate between world market prices and export costs of production, generating intense national conflicts.

If export costs of production were systematically used, the importing country in effect would undertake an open-ended subsidy of the trading

partner's export industry. Thus, the COMECON country which consistently discriminates against its bloc partners the most is not the USSR, but... Bulgaria. Export cost pricing pressures importing countries to escape from COMECON to the world market.

If world market prices were systematically used, each COMECON country would be trading as if in the purely capitalist world market. Some lines of Czechoslovakian and East German machinery, if sold at world market prices, could not recover even labor costs, and Russian collective farmers would starve if they had to compete with Egyptian cotton or Australian wool prices. COMECON would be exploded by the pressure of world imperialism, with disastrous consequences for the defense of the Eastern European deformed workers states from imperialism. Only workers democracy, restored through the political revolution, can replace the dangerous nationalist-autarkic bureaucratic conflicts with the economic, military and political integration of the Sino-Soviet states, from East Berlin to Hanoi.

Scabbing On the Russian and Chinese Workers

In its conclusion *RP7* "sums up" its position on "Soviet social imperialism" by decrying "the growing danger of world war between the two superpowers." The flimsy U.S.-USSR detente aside, the U.S. imperialists have a profound hostility to any country which has wrenched itself from the net of imperialist domination, but above all to the powerful USSR. An historic goal of the U.S. imperialists remains the counterrevolutionary conquest of the enormous wealth of the Soviet Union, and to this end imperialism in its death agony will not hesitate to plunge humanity into a nuclear holocaust.

In the present context of growing inter-imperialist rivalries and sharp trade crises the outlines of a Third World War are taking shape. With their bankrupt policies of "peaceful coexistence" the Stalinist bureaucracies are incapable of arresting the drift toward a new world war. Moreover, the U.S.-China rapprochement and the present role of the Maoist bureaucracy in supporting NATO militarism point toward a U.S.-China alliance against the USSR. The Chinese denunciations of the USSR as "fascist" and "dark social-fascist," in the Stalinist context, appear as a justification for lining up with the

"democracies" to wage a "people's war" against fascism, just as Stalin embraced British-American imperialism in the so-called "People's War" against Nazi Germany. In *RP7*, the RU pledges to the imperialists that it would refuse to defend the USSR from attack by the U.S.

Defend the Workers' Gains, Defeat the Usurpers!

The Trotskyist movement has always maintained that a correct Marxist understanding of the class character of the Soviet Union (and, by extension, China, Eastern Europe, Yugoslavia, Cuba, Korea, Vietnam and Cambodia is a touchstone of a revolutionary perspective. A failure, or refusal, to recognize the class line separating these anti-capitalist states from world imperialism constitutes a qualitative theoretical departure from Marxism in the direction of reformist subordination of the interests of the proletariat to the bourgeoisie. Only Trotskyism, as the continuity of Marxism and Leninism, has developed an analysis of the USSR that is consistent with Marxist methodology and that leads to consistently revolutionary programmatic conclusions.

To subjectively revolutionary militants who mistake Maoism for a revolutionary alternative to revisionism we say: look where the theoretical clap-trap of the "social imperialist" line leads! If the U.S. defeats the USSR and returns the conquests of October to capitalist exploitation, imperialism would be enormously strengthened and given a new lease on life, which would signify nothing less than an epochal defeat for the world proletariat. With the defeat of the USSR, the People's Republic of China would be immediately attacked and almost certainly defeated. Refusal to defend the gains of the Russian Revolution is an enormous betrayal of the class interests of the international proletariat and a giant stride toward social-patriotic subservience to imperialism. The RU's line on the "number one enemy," "Soviet social imperialism," is an objective capitulation to anti-communism and backward consciousness in the working class.

As proletarian internationalists, Trotskyists declare: For unconditional defense of the Sino-Soviet states against imperialism! For proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies and forge international communist unity against imperialism! For the rebirth of the Fourth International! ■

Marxist Bulletin No. 10

"FROM MAOISM TO TROTSKYISM"

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bureaucracy's policy of "peaceful coexistence."

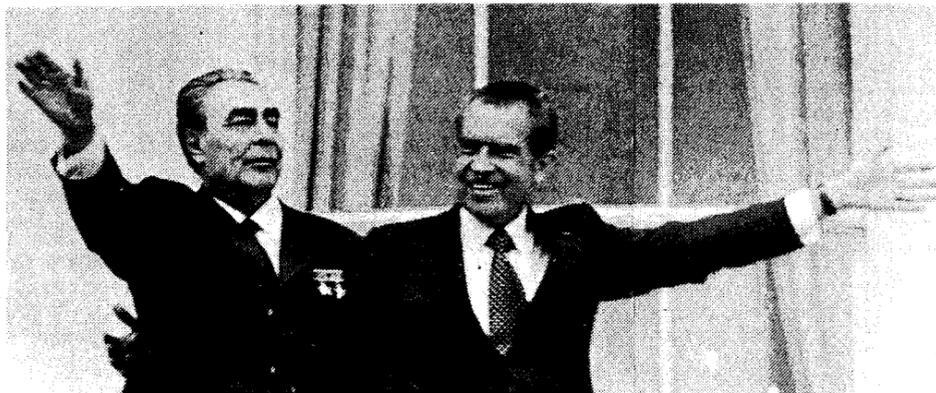
RP7's "proof" of "Soviet social imperialism" reduces itself to denunciations of revisionist foreign policies: the USSR seeks influence through foreign aid and diplomatic support. Thus, Russian aid and (until 1973) diplomatic recognition of the former Lon Nol regime in Cambodia are cited as "the grossest single exposure of Soviet social imperialism." If this bureaucratic betrayal is "social imperialism," then what is Mao's lavish economic assistance to Bandaranaike and Nimeiry, what is Mao's obsequious diplomatic backing for the Shah and Selassie, and what is Mao's immediate recognition of the bloody juntas in Algeria and Chile? The rampant idealism of Maoism leads the RU straight to Kautskyism: imperialism simply as a set of preferred policies of capitalism.

COMECON

RP7 no more substantiates its allegations of "social imperialism" in East Europe than in India. The RU glibly passes over Stalin's bureaucratic looting of Eastern Europe in the wake of the military conquest during WWII: the massive removal of industrial machinery, raw materials and even manpower; the extraction of severe reparations payments; and the establishment of joint-stock companies. While not imperialism (quite the reverse: a pattern of importing capital), Stalin's policy of reconstructing the USSR at the expense of the material and social bases for Eastern European workers states was justified precisely by the perspective of "socialism in one country." Concerning this brutal bureaucratic looting, *RP7* has the gall to declare, "Stalin encouraged a policy of cooperation, aid and mutual exchange!"

The Cold War bogey of Russian trade "exploitation" of the Eastern Bloc through the Council of Economic Mutual Assistance (COMECON), while still flaunted by revisionist "Marxists," has been discredited even among liberal bourgeois-academic economists (see Franklyn Holzman, "Soviet Foreign Trade Pricing and the Question of Discrimination," *Review of Economics and Statistics*, Vol. 44, 1962).

One of the most powerful weapons of world capitalism against a back-



NY TIMES



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Both Brezhnev, (above left) and Mao (lower right) counterpose "peaceful coexistence" with U.S. imperialism to Sino-Soviet unity: anti-Chinese demonstration in Russia (above right), anti-Russian demonstration in China (lower right).

Between Nationalism and Marxism

Continued from page 3

militants. The cultural nationalists were not free from similar contradictions. Mark Smith recalls,

"Some of us were deeply involved in community issues before we became Pan-Africanists; we soon learned to leave our 'Pan-Africanism' at home, because attempts to superimpose it on the real struggles of the masses met with confusion and rejection."
—Black Scholar, January-February 1975

The African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC) has been the battleground for much of the debate between the differing ideological tendencies within the Pan-Africanist movement. The driving inspiration behind the ALSC and "African Liberation Day '72" was Owusu Sadaukai, the founder of Malcolm X Liberation University, a Pan-Africanist center in Greensboro. Sadaukai became enamored with the petty-bourgeois "Marxism" of Amilcar Cabral after visiting Mozambique and staying with Frelimo forces. Upon his return, he set about organizing the ALSC.

Sadaukai, now preaching in orthodox Maoist jargon, counsels U.S. blacks to devote their energies to the struggle for socialism here, but in 1972 he was still concerned "that all of us are people of African descent, and that our ultimate objective is the freedom of African people wherever we are, and that crucial to our struggle is an independent and unified Africa united under a Socialist government" (from a speech to the Congress of Afrikan Peoples Conference). By the time Malcolm X Liberation University closed down in 1973, however, its failure was attributed mainly to an "over-emphasis" on Africa.

The 1973 African Liberation Day attracted some 100,000 people nationwide, but diverging views soon fractured the coalition. The following year's demonstrations were considerably smaller, but the ideological fiber increasingly homogeneous. At an ALSC conference held May 24-25 in Washington, many of the leading Pan-Africanist ideologues clearly lined up with the so-called Marxist wing. Imamu Amiri Baraka, who as cultural nationalist LeRoi Jones in 1971 wholeheartedly supported the election of black Democrat Mayor Kenneth Gibson and his crushing of the Newark teachers' strike, solidarized verbally with the working class and declared that "Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tsung [sic] thought is indispensable to our struggle." The conference adopted YOBUs line of "Black workers take the lead" and declared the ALSC to be an "international organization dedicated to fight racism and imperialism both in Africa and in North America."

Crisis in Pan-Africanism

The long-planned and long-delayed Sixth Pan-African Congress (VI-PAC), held in Dar-es-Salaam in June 1974, was an anti-climatic confirmation of the movement's direction. Reactionary-utopian longings expressed by petty-bourgeois American Pan-Africanists

for a unified race-culture did not prevent the class struggle from continuing to rage in Africa.

Even the most reactionary African bonapartist must pose as "socialist" and "anti-imperialist" in order to maintain any hold over the dissatisfied masses. Thus, it is not surprising that leading lights among the "progressive" African leaders, like Tanzania's Julius Nyerere, would counsel the largely American VI-PAC audience, "the problem is basically that of oppression arising from an exploitative system. We are neither poor, nor are we kept poor, because we are Black" (quoted in Black World, October 1974). Of course, "socialist" Nyerere expressed more interest in meeting black bourgeois politicians like Gary's Mayor Hatcher, than idealistic (and powerless) young Pan-Africanists. And while governmental delegations from the Caribbean were seated at the Congress, dissident and persecuted Caribbean leftist militants were not. (Veteran radical Pan-Africanist C.L.R. James was so infuriated by the respectably bourgeois "anti-imperialism" of the congress that he refused to attend.)

Program is Key

Those former Pan-Africanists who are moving toward Marxism will not develop a strategy for revolution, however, simply by shifting their political emphasis from Africa to the United States. The basis for unity in the FFM now is not hard programmatic clarity, but simply uncritical support to various types of struggles: quality education for blacks, community struggles, women's struggles, struggles of oppressed nationalities, anti-imperialist struggles, etc. While it is necessary to break students from allegiance to the status quo and win them to the side of the working class and the oppressed, such support becomes meaningless cheerleading if it is devoid of a correct program for victorious struggle!

FFM leaders argue that correct theory can only come about through practice. While there is a dialectical relationship between theory and practice, such arguments generally serve the purpose of hiding reformist practice and reformist theory. Alkalimat's is probably the most sophisticated defense of this reformism. He claims to reject a two-stage strategy for the American revolution, arguing that here "the struggle for national liberation cannot be separated from the class struggle...the masses of Black people will continue to wage class struggle in spite of that [disunity] and will ultimately overcome the disunity of the working class" (speech to the 1974 ALSC Conference). Alkalimat's one-stage theory stops short of programmatic conclusion, where he puts forth a classic minimum/maximum stage strategy, raising a "minimum program for defense, democracy and development." However, when the day-to-day struggles of the workers are limited to questions of "defense" and "democracy," i.e., reforms, there will be a second stage—not proletarian dictatorship, but bloody defeat!

The FFM's approach to supporting "workers struggles" is simply to endorse the generally economist strike demands, tailing the present reformist

level of consciousness of the workers. African World describes building strike support:

"FFM calls upon students to support the struggles of workers by helping to pass out leaflets, manning strike kitchens, office work, walking the picket line and raising funds for the workers strike fund."
—African World, February 1975

FFM's directives are reminiscent of the 1960's SDS refrain, "students can't tell workers what to do." While communist students cannot substitute themselves for the necessary class-struggle leadership inside the unions, refusing to raise politics in a strike situation gives implicit endorsement to the policies of the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy that is leading the strike, usually to defeat. Completely absent from FFM's pro-working-class line is any strategy toward the unions and the labor bureaucracy.

The flip side of this worker-student alliance approach is to see student struggles against educational cutbacks as distinct from the working class. For example, in its campaign against the administration's retraction of a long-promised Du Bois Afro-American Research Institute at Harvard, the FFM's strategy nowhere points out that students alone do not have the power to defeat the educational cutbacks, which are a part of the overall economic crisis.

Confused Nationalism

The black question is the touchstone of the American revolution. The FFM as yet does not have a homogeneous line on this central question and remains undecided as to whether blacks in the U.S. constitute a nation or not. Publically, FFM members will only say that there are national "aspects" to black oppression. However, there is no material basis for a black nation in the U.S. The oppression of U.S. blacks stems not from the forcible assimilation of an incipient nation, but from the forcible subordination and segregation of the black masses as a race-color caste within American class society. Black nationalism is largely a negative response to the failure of the organized workers movement with its immense social power, to intervene in behalf of the black masses.

The SL/SYL's understanding that the fullest racial integration is in the interests of black liberation and socialist revolution leads us to support busing as a minimal step in that direction, despite the inability of busing alone to solve either the problems of quality education or racial integration. FFM, however, is in a quandary: it neither supports busing, nor denounces it (as did the RU/RSB, for example, in an open adaptation to white working-class racism). Instead, FFM/YOBU (as well as CAP) concentrated on the "demand for quality education in all schools... the right to attend any quality school must be upheld, especially the right to attend a quality school in one's own neighborhood" (African World, 30 November 1974). But what does racist demagogue Louise Day Hicks advocate, if not precisely "quality education" and "neighborhood schools?" For Hicks, these serve as code words for race violence and... segregation.

FFM supporters must understand

that in racist America the logic of nationalism is segregation. Quality education is impossible under capitalism. For black and working people in particular, neighborhood schools are generally prisons and neighborhoods are more commonly, and accurately, called ghettos. That is why the SL/SYL demands that busing be extended to the suburbs.

The demand for community control is one which the ruling class uses to divide and deflect the struggle for educational improvement by poor and working people along ethnic and geographic lines. The strength of the industrial proletariat lies not in the community, which has a multi-class composition, but in class unity and independence. Especially dangerous is the demand for "community control of the police," whose primary function is keeping minorities and workers in line regardless of any illusory controls which may be set up. There can be only one Marxist program for the cops: disarm, disband, abolish!

For Black Trotskyism

In responding to Haki Madhubuti's anti-white, anti-communist ravings, YOBUs leader Mark Smith warned that "working class unity is... a life and death question to many black people who don't have the 'privilege' of 'full-time movement activists' to mean that 'coalitions are premature'" (Black Scholar, January-February 1975). Working-class unity is a life-and-death question! It necessitates not merely "coalitions" with "white organizations," but the construction of a multi-racial, unified revolutionary working-class vanguard party. In building an exclusively black organization, the FFM is itself setting up an obstacle to that goal.

The American socialist revolution will not succeed without trained black cadre playing a central leadership role in the revolutionary party. Many of the serious young militants presently attracted to the February First Movement can perhaps fulfill that role. A training ground for such cadre is the struggle to construct a multi-racial, revolutionary youth organization with a firm proletarian outlook linked, through the vanguard party, to the proletariat itself. That is the task the SYL has set for itself. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Young Spartacus

Hundreds at SYL Demonstration Against Ford



On April 25, despite rainy weather, some 200-300 people demonstrated against imperialist chief Gerald Ford as he spoke inside the Law School of Yale University. The demonstration had been called by the Spartacus Youth League around the slogans "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!"

Although contingents of nationalist Greek and Ukrainian students held

adjacent separate demonstrations, the majority of protesters joined the spirited SYL demonstration, many marching on the picket line and chanting our communist slogans. The small Revolutionary Communist League (Internationalist) endorsed and attended the demonstration.

In hard-hitting speeches two SYL members stressed the importance of recognizing the fundamental class line in Indochina and calling for the military victory of the insurgents. A speaker

from the Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the National Maritime Union also took up the theme of working-class solidarity. Dozens of placards and banners, carried by demonstrators and hung from windows overlooking the site of the protest, raised class-struggle slogans, such as "All Indochina Must Go Communist!," "Take Saigon!" and "Workers to Power in Vietnam and Cambodia!"

A small crew of Yale Law students, aided and abetted by the Communist Party/Young Workers Liberation

League, insisted on holding a separate "media event": a Salvation Army-style soup kitchen to dramatize the economic crisis. To the astonishment of the apprentice lawyers, the lure of militant slogans, not apolitical antics, attracted the vast majority of demonstrators and after several hours the liberals disbanded their "People's Soup Kitchen" and straggled over to the main demonstration. Remaining behind to loiter in the presence only of cold soup was the lone supporter of the Young Socialist Alliance. ■

SYL Fights Administration Witchhunt at S.F. State

SAN FRANCISCO, April 23—At San Francisco State University the political organizations that have been associated with the March 10 anti-Nazi demonstration which resulted in a gang of fascists being driven from campus are now the targets of an administration witchhunt (for full coverage of the anti-fascist demonstration, see "SYL Builds Anti-Nazi Demonstration," *Young Spartacus*, April 1975). The Spartacus Youth League, Progressive Labor Party and Revolutionary Student Brigade are charged by the administration with "disruption" and today were called before its Organizational Review Committee (ORC) for formal hearings.

The hearing was a kangaroo court: the accusers were not present to state their case and be cross-examined by the defendants; the accused were allowed a mere 10 minutes to present their defense and then told that only written statements would be considered valid; Dean of Student Affairs Kroeker and President Romberg, who pass final judgment on the ORC's recommendation, have already made public statements assuming the guilt of the accused organizations.

In response to the charges the SYL initiated a united-front March 10 Defense Committee (M10), which has held several planning meetings, a press conference featuring the well-known attorney Charles Garry, and a campus demonstration; has circulated a petition demanding no reprisals for the anti-fascist demonstration; and has shown the anti-Nazi film "Night and Fog." A debate between the SYL and the two speech professors who had invited the Nazis to campus drew over 100 students. The SYL, moreover, utilized the elections to the Associated Students Legislature to run a campaign for presenting, in the context of our full

communist program, our positions on fascism and the defense of the left.

The M10 has been endorsed by Charles Garry; Charles Jackson, former leader of the militant SFSU Black Student Union; Ted Keller, one of the speech professors who invited the Nazis to his class; Donald Ortez and Victoris Mercado of the La Raza Studies department; the Bay Area February First Movement; Campus Farmworkers Support Committee; Socialist League (Democratic Centralists); Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League; Partisan Defense Committee, the legal defense arm of the SL; the Militant Action Caucus of the CWA; Committee for a Militant UAW/Local 1364; the Militant Caucus/Local 6 and *Longshore Militant/Local 10* of the ILWU; and Gerald Clark, a militant of the ATU/Local 192.

While this administration attempt to purge the left from campus urgently requires a united response, the other so-called radical organizations have wallowed in opportunism. The Young Socialist Alliance endorsed the M10 strictly for the record and walked out of the April 7 planning meeting declaring, "You are seen as irresponsible by most of the people on this campus and we don't want to be associated with you." The "Revolutionary" Student Brigade crawled to the administration to whimper that it had nothing to do with the militant anti-fascist demonstration.

The Progressive Labor Party at first simply maintained a safe silence on the action and ran in the elections through a liberal front group on a student-power platform which failed to oppose the administration witchhunt and its campaign of "free speech" for fascist scum. The PL candidate, who also sat on the ORC as a student

representative, diplomatically resigned on the basis of "conflict of interests," rather than sharply attack the administration and risk losing some liberal votes. After the elections, however, PL issued leaflets claiming sole responsibility for the anti-Nazi demonstration and submitted a written statement to the ORC which accepted the administration's charge of "disruption of the educational process" and pleaded guilty.

Having first capitulated to the liberals during the elections, PL now is capitulating, with defiance symmetrical to its previous cowardice, to the administration's claim that the Nazis can be part of the "educational process." PL has long based its opposition to the fascists on their *ideas*, thus placing them in the same category as conservative administrators,

reactionary ideologues and racist textbooks. As the SYL has stressed, the Nazis are a paramilitary gang of thugs who not only advocate, but whenever possible implement, murder, terrorism and genocide against racial and ethnic minorities and the destruction of all democratic institutions.

At the ORC hearing the SYL representative denounced the ORC as an arm of the administration, which is an extension of the capitalist state. The SYL used the hearing as a forum to explain that fascism is not simply right-wing ideas, and hence possibly debatable, but fundamentally right-wing terror, and thus a question of working-class self-defense. The SYL refused to hand the administration any hook on which to hang the left, while resolutely maintaining that the Nazis got what they deserved on March 10. ■

FREE SPEECH ?

..or do these
CREEPS
do your
thinking
for you?
(HEAR WHAT
YOU MISSED



NATIONAL SOCIALIST WHITE PEOPLE'S PARTY

Racist, anti-communist filth surreptitiously dropped on S.F. State.