Indochina War Goes On

Military Victory to the NLF, Khmer Rouge, Pathet Lao!

The Indochinese war goes on. Given the determination of the National Liberation Front (NLF) to hold onto lands presently under its control, the determination of Thieu to seize these lands for the South, a major intensification and escalation of the civil war remains a possibility. Hanging over Indochina like the Sword of Damocles is the continued threat of direct U.S. intervention either through massive bombing as was carried out last December or through the reintroduction of troops.

The Thieu regime reports that its army, the ARVN, has killed 41,009 "Communists" while sustaining 13,000 casualties since the Paris "Peace" Accords went into effect on 28 January 1973. While one may question the way the statistics are weighted, for no doubt the ARVN officer corps has been trained by its American counterpart in the fine art of "body counts" in order to demonstrate military success through a high "kill ratio," nonetheless no commentator, whether pro-Thieu-U.S. or pro-NLF, has questioned the magnitude of these statistics. For example, The Economist of 16-23 December 1973 reports that just in the one battle for Kein Dac, a small town on the Cambodian border, 1,000 casualties each were sustained on both sides.

Throughout 1972 the major battle that raged within the U.S. peace movement was between the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and its demands, "Bring Our Boys Home Now," and the demands of the Stalinites, both the "social imperialis" Brezhnevite Stalinists and the "splitters and disruptors" in the Maoist-Stalinites movement who formed a united front bridging even the Usury River around the demand for the U.S. to "Sign Now" the Paris "Peace" Accords. No matter how sharp their rhetoric became, both the SWP and the Stalinites accepted the Menahem "two-stage revolution" strategy for Vietnam. Neither of these political parties can only obtain national liberation through a bourgeois-democratic revolution led by a multi-class political bloc (the NLF) including (and therefore politically subordinated to) the national bourgeoisie.

"Self-Determination" or Social Revolution?

Therefore (and here there was a convergence with the left wing of the International Socialists), what was at stake in Vietnam was no anti-capitalist social revolution, but simply a struggle for "self-determination." Thus the SWP and the Stalinites, accepting this Menahem framework, acceded each other and their respective allies of performing a treacherous betrayal of Vietnamese "self-determination." This sharp "principled" political struggle culminated in a joint SWP-Stalinites "Out Now"-"Sign Now" demonstration in Washington, D.C.

In addition to agreement over the (continued on page 9)

Black Oppression and the Proletarian Revolution:

Part 3/Early Communist Black Work.............6

N.Y.C. 1199 Strike........4
Black Education in South........5
Communist Youth International..........12
Defend Shelton McCraine! Oppose RU Gangsterism!

Detroit—The period of the 1973 auto contract talks saw the victimization of militants at the hands of the Big 3 auto companies, as the labor bureaucracy clearly revealed its treacherous role in the tasks of the liberating struggle of the proletariat as well as oppressed nationalists. A whole series of betrayals were laid bare. But we recognize and declare clearly the inevitability of such cumulative acts of despair and vengeance. All our emotions, all our sympathies are with the self-avenging vengeful even among those who have betrayed. But we do not accept the idea that the exigencies of the moment are so right-wing that we must turn our backs on them. (For press only.)

"For Freedom," Writings 1939-36, p. 144

Contributions for the defense should be sent to the Karl Armstrong Defense Committee, 1127 University Avenue, Box 3531, Madison, Wisconsin 53711.

Young Spartacists

Detroit—On 30 October, Richard Chavez (brother of Cesar Chavez) spoke at a rally held by the New Solidarity Movement. The rally resulted from the call of the New Solidarity Movement to lay out the current "strategy" of the Chavez bureaucracy. This amounted to the abandonment of the strike in California through the dispersal of UFW organizers and pickets across the country as part of the current let­

It is understandable that the BWC and the RU feel vulnerable to Marxist criticism of their policy of supporting only those minimal demands which can gain instant popularity and minimum opposition from the bureaucratic middle strata like Miller in the United Mine Workers and the Brotherhood Caucus at Fremont. Perhaps they are sen­sitive to criticisms of the Justice for the People Caucus, which poses no clear radical alternative to the official union for example, for the hiring of more black foremen.

In any case we will defend ourselves, so that all appropriate means, it is with the strength of our ideas and organization that the SL/BCY will demonstrate the correctness of our program—in the Bolshevik tradition of ideological struggle within the left.

YSA Stogies for Chavez Bureaucracy

Chicago—The Administration of the University of Illinois Circle Campus combined budget cuts with a racist attack on Latin students when it bureaucratically dismantled the Puerto Rican Recruitment Program (PRRP) which recruited 117 Latin students and merged it into the University's Educational Assis­tance Program (EAP). In February Chancellor Chester had said, "Our rate of black enrollment at this campus is lower than that of the University as a whole with the over-all enrollment and the SCHS with 29% Latin and 39% the white student body; the remainder is Chicano and a proportionate number of other Latin students who have also been recruited, reflecting the fact that 400 out of 20,000 students (2.5 percent) at Circle are Latin in origin and their representation in the student population is 21 percent. Similarly, the percentage of blacks enrolled (11 percent) is below that of their representation in the city population (23 percent) as well as the number of Latin students without increasing the total enrollment. This allows the administration to pit white, black and Latin youth against each other by offering minimal financial aid and support for scab products. On the line the RCY continued to raise class-struggle demands and criticisms of the sell-out bureaucracy.

U. of I. Ill. Dismantles Puerto Rican Recruitment Program

Detroit—On 17 February 1972 in Tor­onto, Canada, and illegally extradited to Wisconsin (Canadian law bars extra­dition), Karleton Lewis Armstrong pleaded "guilty" to four counts of arson and second degree murder in order "to fully deal with the real issues and not be inhibited by the re­strictions of a trial where legal obstructions, high emotions, personalities and

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the remark, "Don't know if you're with the

Richard Chavez did not even have to respond before Lee Arts, YSA National Coordinator, joined in the anger at the meeting, the discussion and setting up a boycott picket line instead. poster for the Chavez bureaucracy to put this into key union constituencies! And further, when noting the hundreds of union pickets who have been jailed, Chavez could only moralize on the "nobleness and dignity" with which the farm-workers went to jail.

This total disarmament of the UFW in the face of grower/government/Team­

ic peacekeepers wants to whip any opposition into submitting to their egregious

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Calif. State U. Teach-In Protests Greek Events

S.F. SAN FRANCISCO—In response to the upsurge of the 17 November worker-student demonstrations in Greece and the Joaniniad coup, Greek students held a teach-in at California State University on 29 November. Among the speakers at the teach-in were the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and the revolutionary Communist Youth (RCY).

The most of the YSA’s speaker was an appeal to liberal bourgeois public opinion. While giving lip service to the need for workers revolution in Greece, the YSA ignored the questions of program, strategy and revolutionary leadership necessary to execute such a revolution. For example, for the slogans calling for an end to U.S. aid to the junta, withdrawal of NATO forces from Greece and out of Europe (alleges of common support), the YSA ignored the international questions which must be addressed if a social revolution in Greece is to be achieved.

The RCY, on the other hand, stressed that the execution and consolidation of the Greek revolution must be seen in the context of the struggle for the international proletarian revolution and its leadership. While expressing Greek workers, students and peasants, calling for labor strikes in defense of Greek class-war prisoners, and the destruction of the junta through workers revolution, the RCY pointed out that any revolution in Greece cannot be divorced from the struggle for a United Socialist States of Europe, for the American proletarian revolution, and for unification in the Soviet Union.

Whereas the YSA posed a “solution” to the Greek question which for the most part could be supported by any liberal Democrat, the RCY posed the necessary demand for the Trotskyist International to provide the solution to the international tasks posed by the Greek struggle.

Young Spartacus

3 December 1973

Cambridge, Mass.,

Dear Comrades,

The accusations made against the Zionist movement are that Jews Against Arab, But Class Against Class! in Young Spartacus No. 20 (Nov.-Dec., 1973) are the same Zionist Old Guard who sends these youth into battle with their own Zionism during WWII to load the bulk of European Jewry into the boxcars for the gas chambers in order that a handful of Jews with enough money and the “right” connections could escape. It is in the same “Old Guard” who went to the capitals of the major “Allied powers” and lobbied these countries to shut their borders to Jewish immigration so that the refuges from Hitler’s “final solution” would be forced to settle in the Jewish state. Jews are the equivalent of the Jews the equivalent of the Jews the equivalent of the Jews the equivalent of the Jews.

The editors reply:

“The most impecabble and revealing account of the rise of the Zionist movement is the Secret Roads: The “Illegal” Migration Of Jewish People, 1933-1944, by the Harvard University Press in 1953. What makes this account both impecabble and revealing is that it is by two of the world’s most prominent Zionists, Jon and David Kimche, who glory in the various Zionist dealings with the British and other SS tops. No wonder Israel finally had to do away with Kimche—out for him against the Jewish people but because he knew too much about the role of the Zionist movement both prior to and during WWII.

There are many other academic resources which deal with Nazi-Zionist collaboration, the most important of which is Paul Hilberg’s The Destruction of the European Jews, which is a scathing indictment of the Nazis and also of those self-proclaimed “democratic” governments like the U.S. which, through general inaction to the Jewish problem and reactionary immigration quotas bear no small share of the blame for the destruction of European Jewry.

At the height of the extermination camps Hitler had as a propaganda example: “every Jew day were being marched off to the Nazi ovens and thousands were dying of starvation, disease and exposure in the concentration and forced labor camps, the U.S. government and the world were on the lookout for news of labor camps, the Nazis. The Councils had full ‘freedom’ to select those who would fill the quotas. The Councils often raised a Jewish police force to round up the candidates and put them on the boxcars and then appropriate their possessions to pay the gas bills. As Hilberg points out, and this is corroborated with a strange by the Kimche brothers, the Zionists worked both through and with the Jewish Councils to prevent the transfer of Jewish workers to the extermination camps.

The Councils had also the role of the various Jewish organizations, including the Zionists, Nothing could be more incomprehensible than this scholarly and restrained treatment of the treachery of the Jewish-Zionist establishment. The principal instru-
Indochina War Goes On...

Continued from page 1

two-stage revolution" for Vietnam, both the SWP and the various Stalinist groups were united in their commitment to social pacifism, i.e., that the way to end imperialist war was to parade all peace-loving people from all classes in big demonstrations of support for the anti-war slogans of the bourgeois state power. And, of course, when the U.S. both signed the "Peace" Treaty and brought about "Our Boys" home, the SWP and the Stalinists claimed this as a victory for the non-violent struggle.

The continuation of the Indochinese War demonstrates that both the SWP and the Stalinist groups are as much about each others' slogans. For neither Henry Kissinger's signature at the end of the "Peace" Treaty or the fact that "Our Boys" are at "Home" (or in Europe and in various aircraft carriers throughout the world) has meant that the Vietnamese are able to realize their "self-determination," much less their social revolution which so much of the left has ignored.

In fact the "Peace" Treaty was the framework in which the SWP's pacifist dreams would be realized, i.e., a withdrawal of "Our Boys" from Indochina without exacerbating the American class struggle and with the consent of the American bourgeoisie, and at the same time allowing Nixon enough loopholes to continue to prop up Thieu and prevent the consummation of the social revolution in South Vietnam. According to the NLF, since the U.S. has signed the "Peace" Treaty, the U.S. has, at the very least, acknowledged that the Vietnamese government under Nixon and his war-making powers as we have seen, are both told by the "Peace" Party's Daily World, cut back to a mere $2.5 billion. Of course, according to the NLF, the U.S. goes on to say that this military aid is perfectly legal under the "one-for-one replacement" stipulation of the "Peace" Treaty. But, even so are the 22,000 American "advisors" in South Vietnam who have traded their uniforms for civilian clothes and now receive their dollars from the Vietnamese government instead of from the U.S.

Cambodian Struggle Continues

In Cambodia the situation is similar to South Vietnam. Lon Nol has simply changed the slogans. He has changed the weapon from American-style artillery barrages for U.S. bombing support. Congress waged another one of those "limited" wars with the "Cambodian" Peace Agreement, first by revealing Nixon's "Peace" Treaty as a "dirty misconception" and "authorizing" and secret bombings of Cambodia during 1969-70. Then Congress produced a new "Peace" in May 1971. But Congress is now saying "the peace has been implemented, but the struggle must continue."
Goft Attacks Black Education in South

As part of the fallout from last year's student upsurge on the Southern University (SUN) campus in Baton Rouge, Edwards closed the university there and fired a top black administrator. The university for the racist system of separate black universities would suffer.

The NAACP Merger Proposal

The NAACP via a coalition has proposed an merger of the SUN and LSU systems. This proposal does not take into account the differences in tuition paid by students attending the different systems—students at SUN have always paid lower tuition than students attending the LSU system. Nor does the NAACP proposal take into account the ability of SUN to meet the needs of students who come from educational backgrounds cramped by social school boards. The NAACP proposal would only grant equal opportunity to middle-class blacks; poor black youth would suffer.

NAACP Education and Change

The NAACP project was started after last year's events at SUN, chiefly in response to the attacks on the SUN system by the NAACP and Edwards. The NAACP while seeing the need to upgrade black education endorses a separate but equal approach.

"We also see the efforts to establish independent educational institutions from kindergarten to the university level as necessary and legitimate endeavor."

-NAACP, 23 October 1973

What kind of ideology a person has when he or she graduates from a university is not determined in the first place by the racial make-up of the university. It is the function of all universities—black or white—to produce petty-bourgeois administrative, technical and cultural personnel for capitalist society. The specific job of the university for the racist capitalist system is to be the training ground for subalterns. Short of overturning capitalist society, it is impossible to create a university which serves the needs of the black and working masses.

Pentagon's military-assistance program authority to turn over $200 million to Defense Department stocks of weapons and ammunition to the Cambodian armed forces. This was just an emergency blow against the University of Louisiana at Baton Rouge (LSU) system without proposing any changes in the latter, even if it does not take into account real advantages which the SUN system's merger would remove (e.g., the tuition differential), while the separatist National Save and Change Black Schools Project (NSACBS) is more sensitive to the problems facing black youth, NSACBS offers no break from the fundamental premises which its nationalism has built.

Edwards' Attack on Black Education

...in Baton Rouge last year, Edwards closed the university there and fired a top black administrator. The university for the racist system of separate black universities would suffer.

Banner of Revolutionary Union (left) and Banners of Revolutionary Union (right) in the Protective Labor Awards (PLA) competition held in October 1973. The PLA is the national front of workers' struggle for a new society. The PLA has been in existence since 1946. It has a strong presence in the South and is a powerful force in the struggle for national liberation and socialism.

Sihanouk's complaints to Western reporters, the faithful mouthpiece of the Chinese bureaucracy in the U.S., the CPNLF; it has not ended U.S. aid to Long An.

The NLF and the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) in South Vietnam have not solved the issue of saving and changing Black schools.

The NLF's "Respect" for the Paris Accords

For many years the ex-Trotskyist SWP and the more Trotskyist Workers League have tried to portray the NLF as a "bourgeois" party, a "fascist" party, and a "Stalinist" party.

The NLF's "Respect" for the Paris Accords

For many years the ex-Trotskyist SWP and the more Trotskyist Workers League have tried to portray the NLF as a "bourgeois" party, a "fascist" party, and a "Stalinist" party. They are indeed victims but hardly innocent. It is clear both from I.L. and from other sources (Vietnam in Struggle) and by observing their battle (continued on page 9)
Black Opposition and Proletarian Revolution

World War 1, which set the stage for the collapse of the Second International, paved the way for the success of the Third International, and gave additional stimulus to the national movements of colonial peoples, also marked the transformation of the black question in the U.S. from primarily an agrarian question left unexplored by the defeat of Reconstruction to a question in which the utilization of blacks as an industrial reserve army was fast becoming its dominant character. As Lenin remarked in his Capitalism and Agriculture in the United States of America, written at the beginning of WWI while he was preparing his work on imperialism and elaborating his positions on the national question:

“To show what the South is like, it is essential to understand that it is fleeing to other capitalist areas and to the northern cities just as the Russian in Russia is fleeing from the most backward serfdom, where the survival of serfdom have been greatly preserved...to those areas of Russia which have a higher level of capitalist development, to the metropolitan cities, the industrial pioneers and the South...”

The Negroes are in full flight from the South. According to the U.S. Census figures, the proportion of blacks has been rapidly declining in the South, as they move to the cities, where they find work in factories and mills, where they are paid better wages. The migration of blacks to the cities has been accelerated by the political and economic maneuvers of the capitalists, who are seeking to exploit the labor of blacks in order to keep down wages and increase profits.

The migration of blacks to the cities has been accompanied by an increase in the number of blacks who are joining the Communist Party, as they are attracted by the party's message of struggle against capitalism and for the international working class. The Communist Party of the United States was formed in 1919, and its leaders, such as John Reed and Harry Haywood, were active in organizing the black working class and in fighting for their rights.

3/ EARLY COMMUNIST WORK AMONG BLACKS

The first full discussion of the black question from a Communist viewpoint took place not in the U.S., but in Moscow, in 1919 at the Second Congress of the Third International, where John Reed reported on the black question under the national and colonial question. Lenin asked the delegates to consider themselves first of all American communists, and demanded that they give special attention to the black question.

The Negro problem is a political and economic problem. The racial oppression of the Negro is simply the expression of his economic bondage and oppression, each intensifying the other. This complicates the Negro problem, but does not alter its proletarian character. The problem is not in the Negro, but in the social and economic system that oppresses him.

The Comintern's pamphlet on the black question, which was translated into English as "The Negro Question in the U.S." by the American Communist Party, stated that:

"The Negro problem is a political and economic problem. The political oppression of the Negro is simply the expression of his economic bondage and oppression, each intensifying the other. This complicates the Negro problem, but does not alter its proletarian character."

The pamphlet also stated that the black question is not the problem of a particular country, but is a world problem, and that the struggle against the oppression of the black people is a struggle for the liberation of all oppressed peoples.

Further, Lenin himself had been badly scared by the bureaucratic versions of internationalism contained within the Second International Secretariat. Thus, while Cannon's First Ten Years had as its fundamental theme the need for a revolutionary movement, especially in its formative period, it was left to the American Communist Party to develop some original sin so to speak—led it irrevocably from one calamity to another, and to eventual defeat and disgrace.

But as Cannon points out in his splendid essay, "The Russian Revolution and the American Negro Movement."

The American communists in the early days, under the influence and pressure of the Russian in Russia, were slowly and painfully learning to change their attitude, to assimilate the new theory of the Negro question as a special question of doubly exploited second-class citizens, requiring a program of special demands as part of the general program. And so the negro movement, in the eyes of the two Southern divisions where there was a Negro question, was subsumed under the general heading of the black question. The classical anti-communist understanding of the black question, the classical economic understanding of the black question, was within this context that the American Communist Party was asked to act, and it acted.

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great racial consciousness arose. There was and are among negroes now a section which advocates armed insurrection against the whites. Defense societies were organized everywhere by negroes as a defense against resistance to white lynching. But while Communist organizations were prepared to support the negro defense movement, they should discourage all ideas of a separate armed insurrection of negroes. Many people think that a negro rising would be in line with a general national revolution in America. We know that within the confines of the proletariat, it would be the signal for the downfall of the black struggle. But it was precisely in re­

flecting out, albeit in rather abstract fear at that time: "The surest and quickest way, then, in our opinion, to achieve the salvation of the African is to combine the two most likely and feasible propositions, viz., collaboration through the establishment of a strong, stable, independent Negro state (along the lines of our own race groups) in Africa and elsewhere; and salvation for all Negroes (as well as other oppressed masses) through the establishment of a broad, effective, international labor movement." -4th CI Congress, Resolutions and Theses

The "Theses" briefly referred to the relations of the Negro question to the domestic class struggle and in particular advocated the following: "The "Theses" were adopted by the leading body, its Supreme Council.

The "Theses" on the Negro Question

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In critically reviewing the history of these youth groups, the speaker pointed out that the "youth question" according to location and per-

Section of session on trade union work at Sportscapital mid-west regional conference, RCY gatherings were held prior to SL conferences in two regions.

youth at all times and in all places, as the YS claims to (while in reality orienting to "community" youth, especially to street gangs and other lumpenized ele-
ments), is to conceive of the youth or-

cesse, with its constant exhortations for "youth to take the lead" This "youth leadership" and calls for "youth to take up the fight to build a labor party" re-
to practice to newspaper sales, block parties and dances, rather than any independent youth role in the class.

In the YS, youth nor students as the revolutionary vanguard, but looks towards the entire working class, led by a Leninist party, to make the socialist revolution; the RCY plays an important, supplementary role in that process.

Communist Work on the Campuses

In discussing plans for campus work in the new period, the speaker noted that the campuses were in a period of relative political quiescence, but that it was not similar to that of the 1950's where political reaction held the leadership of the American Black Brotherhood. The necessity to recruit a black Trotskyist cadre and strategy to making a revolution in the U.S. was emphasized, and it was noted that the current student movement is isolated from the revolutionary work.

A lively discussion on the United Farm Workers (UFW) that took place at both conferences, especially on the West Coast where involvement in the East coast, was an important aspect of the UFW and RCY work of Chavez, in collaboration with Meany, in abandoning the strike for the boycott, the SWP's YSA, the SA's, and other student initiatives, as is the crucial to the struggle for the communist opposition in the labor movement.

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Continued from page 5

field ACW(M-L). The NLF has as much "rigid respect" for all clauses of the Paris agreement as China and the DRV have for those clauses which call for no introduction of military equipment into Cambodia.

The main objective of both the People’s Liberation Army (the forces from North Vietnam) and the NLF is to regularize the territory of the Thieu regime, with the "peace movement" and the North Vietnamese-bartered away to get Kaiser's signature on the peace agreement.

What the NLF dreams of with their popular-frontist "Council of Reconciliation and National Concord," their Pathet Lao "Negotiators" accomplished for the third time in the last 20 years when they signed the 14 September 1973 agreements with Prince Souvanna Phouma. The agreement calls for the formation of a Provisional Government of National Union with the pro-U.S. Souvanna Phouma as Prime Minister, with his supporters heading the key ministries of defense, interior and finance.

The Pathet Lao is to take all the same ministries, in most cases to be headed by the same people, that they received under the 1962 Geneva Accords and which produced the "Three Princes Agreement" on the Laotian Royal family's version of a popular front as a family reunion. In fact the government formed by the 1962 accords was never formally disbanded. The current accord only recognizes the existence or non-existence of the 1962 regime minus the "Third Prince"—believed to be a CIA operative working out of Thailand, who so embarrassed the U.S. Embassy with his last bungled attempt at an anti-Souvanna coup in August that even the CIA has dampened him.

However, the Pathet Lao which received the 1962 accord components will serve almost exclusively as an "army of occupation" to secure their own. Thus, Indochina, balkanized by French and American imperialism, has seen the balkanization of its various sections by the NLF and the Thieu regime's. In Cambodia, the insurrectionists have cut off military supplies by both China and NorthVietnam and have only the weapons they can capture to fight with. ( involves the army of occupation, while the "armed struggle" is far outdistanced by their allied and captured bourgeois legalistic protocol and popular frontism.

Thus, McCain may complain about "The peace movement," in fact, the American Negro Labor Congress is the main issue of the "armed struggle." The road to conquering the cities is not by seizing the surrounding countryside and then launching large-scale military attacks, but through the urban working class, while strategic lines like a leadership of the working class and the cohesion that it must, despite its relatively small size, play the leadership role in any genuine struggle for national liberation and socialist revolution.
Communist Youth International... continued from page 12

Continued from page 12: The political subordination of the youth to the party flows from the principled refusal of the Communist International, and in the concrete instance the recognition that the CI was the bearer of the absolute independence of the proletariat and not of any vanguard party; the slogan of absolute independence was in wrong in these circumstances where struggles of communist parties already exist and where the slogan of absolute independence is used by the Social Patriots and Centrists for malaligning the youth against the party. It is in these circumstances where these cases, the communist youth organization and the Communist International, were as a serious dual vanguardism—in the last analysis to challenge the International for the leadership of the class. The CI resolution is quite explicit:

"With the formation of the CI and the CP international, the concept of the role of the proletarian youth organizations changed. The new task of the proletariat movement. The continued existence of two communist parties, one independent and leading organizations would make it necessary to subordinate itself to a truly revolutionary international—which genuinely embodied the program of proletarian revolution. To do otherwise was..."
most exists no breach is legitimate unless all avenues of internal discussion have been exhausted. Ultimately, of course, the class abolitionist’s deep-going dispute is history—and its motor force, the class struggle—thus no organizational mechanism can guarantee that schisms will not develop. However, a split within the revolutionary vanguard—especially between party and youth, where it implies a terrible break in continuity—can only be justified by a deep-going principled counterposition.

This was precisely the case with the Second International after 1914, but such an exhaustion can only ever be considered as a last resort.

In order to provide for the requisite reciprocal political influence, the CI resolved: “The close political co-operation of the CYOs with the CPs must also be expressed in a firm organizational connection between the organizations. A constant reciprocal representation of the organization and party leadership, from the regional, district and local organizations down to the cells of the communist groups in industry and in the unions, as well as a strict reciprocal representation at all conferences and congresses is unconditionally required. In this way it will be possible for the CPs to continually influence the political line and activity of the youth, and, on the other hand, for the youth to exercise an effective influence on the party.”

—Resolution

Importance of Organizational Independence for the Youth

The political subordination of the youth to the party—the proletarian vanguard—does not, however, invalidating the need for organizational independence for the youth. Lenin had outlined the reasons for this organizational independence long before the Third Comintern Congress, in his review of The Youth International:

“...the youth must of necessity advance to socialism in a different way, by other paths, in other forms, in other circumstances than their fathers. Incidentally, that is why we must so definitely favour organizational independence of the Youth League, not only because the opportunist signs fear independence, but because of the very nature of the case. For unless they have complete independence, the youth will be unable either to train good socialists from their midst or prepare themselves to lead socialism forward.”

—Works, Vol. 23, p. 104

Each generation faces a unique juncture of problems and tasks, which lead by different routes to the development of communist consciousness. While the fundamental causes are essentially identical (the contradictions of a capitalism which has outlived its productive forces), the unique character of the process for each generation must be recognized and an organizationally flexible context provided for the development of creative revolutionary response, acceptable to the youth needs the guidance of the party, it also needs to develop the initiative, judgment and political experience of its own leadership and cadre, and to do so in the context of the specific problems facing the youth as a specially oppressed group within capitalist society. The primary educative mechanism of the youth is in its own experience the class struggle.
Youth-Party Relations in the Communist Youth International

In August 1914 the majorities of the major Western European Social-Democratic Parties had become war-sentiment, national chauvinism, and the pressures of their respective bourgeoisies led to the disbanding of national defense, support of the imperialist war and establishing of bourgeois governments. The statements of internationalism and commitment to the struggle against war from the Amsterdam Conference of 1905 to the Brussels Conference of 1913 became a dead letter. However, despite the capitulation of the party leadership, a youth movement of the loosely organized socialist youth retained an internationalist position. Threatened most directly by the imperialist war—for which they were the imperialist bourgeoisie and maintaining a revolutionary flank foreign to the bureaucracies in countries like Germany, where many sections of the youth refused to accept the Betterflies (social youth in a "less-angered fortress") of the Eberts, Van der Guees and Guees, as well as the anti-imperialist and anti-bourgeois pacifism of Kautsky, who complained that the International is founded for projecting the ineffectual petty-bourgeois pacifism of Kautsky, who complained that "the International is Counsel for the purpose of peace and not for war time."

This anti-war stance was not universal among the socialist youth. Major sections remained loyal to their restoration of the national and the resurgence to their own imperialist bourgeoisie. Ludwig Frank of the Socialist Youth League became a model and martyr for the German social-patriotic youth by volunteering for the Kaiser's army, and falling promptly on a French battlefield. The Austrian youth under Dannenberg accepted the Kautskyian stance of passive opposition to the war, and the suspension of internationalism for the duration. (Dannenberg hung a black-bordered sign on the door of the Youth Bureau (Dannenberg hung a black-bordered sign on the door of the Youth Bureau (Dannenberg hung a black-bordered sign on the door of the Youth Bureau (Dannenberg hung a black-bordered sign on the door of the Youth Bureau) of the Eberts, Van der Guees and Guees, as well as the anti-imperialist and anti-bourgeois pacifism of Kautsky, who complained that "the International is Counsel for the purpose of peace and not for war time."

The political differentiation among the European youth groups can at least partially be laid to differences in his time. The youth groups formed in the socialist youth organizations, the Belgian Youth International), and the Socialist Workers Party's Young Socialist Alliance because they stand in the tradition of Stalinist or social-democratic conceptions of youth work, unlike the KZY, which stands in the Leninist tradition of internationalism, the face of national-chauvinist social democracy. It rejected the class collaboration of the social-democratic majorities; and, most significantly, it broke relations with the Bureau of the Second International which, as Rosa Luxemburg was to remark, had become a "rotting corpse." Furthermore, it established a new bureau of the Youth International, under the leadership of the left-wing German-Swiss, Willi Munzenberg. The Bolshevik organization, intervening in the conference, argued for the position of revolutionary parliamentarianism. (Early on, the Bolshevik delegation had walked out over a dispute on the allotment of votes, but returned on the insistence of Lenin, who wanted to lose no chance of influencing the left-wing socialist youth towards a consistently revolutionary position.) Although the Bolshevik position was not accepted by the conference, it was the major article by Karl Liebknecht in the first two issues. Liebknecht's article, "Antimilitarism," was an impassioned indictment of the war: the militarization of the state and factory as well as barracks and trenches, the lies of the imperialists, pandering illusions of self-determination and self-defense. It was also a call for bitter and decisive opposition to all imperialist war through the formation of internationalism and commitment to the struggle against war. When this position was raised in the early Youth International, it was the clearest, and soon dominated the rest.

Writing of The Youth International in December 1915, Lenin deduced its struggle for proletarian internationalism:

"With this state of affairs in Europe (the better to meet the major socialist de- creases), there falls on the League of Socialist Youth Organizations the tre­ mendous, grateful but difficult task of fighting for internationalism, for true socialism and against the imperialist slaughter, which has deserted to the cause of the imperialist bourgeoisie. The Youth International has a larger number of articles in defence of revolutionary internationalism, and the magazine as a whole is permeated with a fine spirit of internationalism and the desire of socialism, the 'defenders of the laboring masses,' to make an earnest desire to wipe out the cor­ roding atrophy of nationalism as a form of internationalism in the international labour movement."

Lenin, Works, Vol. 23, p. 163-64

Lenin did not minimize the political differences lying between the Bolsheviks and the youth leagues and noted that these differences were not insurmountable, but he stressed the difference between this political unclarity and the betrayal of internationalism.

"Adults who lay claim to lead and teach the proletariat, but actually mislead it, are one thing; against such people a ruthless struggle must be waged. Organizational work, however, which openly declare that they are still clinging, that their main task is to organize the adult socialist parties, are quite another thing. We must be patient with those who strive and strive to correct them gradually, manifestations of studentism and social-chauvinists through the disciplined acceptance of their policies. In this major combat condition for the struggle there existed no revolutionary parties (with the exception of revolutionary propaganda groups like the Spartacus League and the Bremen Left in Germany). The Young Communist Party is to the revolutionary movement, the proletariat and the workers' organizations and political parties which embody that program and continuity. Subordination of the youth leagues to the social-chauvinist leaders of the major European parties (with the ex-

Communist Youth International meeting in Moscow's Grand Opera House in early twenties. Top banner reads: Heartly Greetings to Young Revolutionists Langishing in Prisons of Capital.