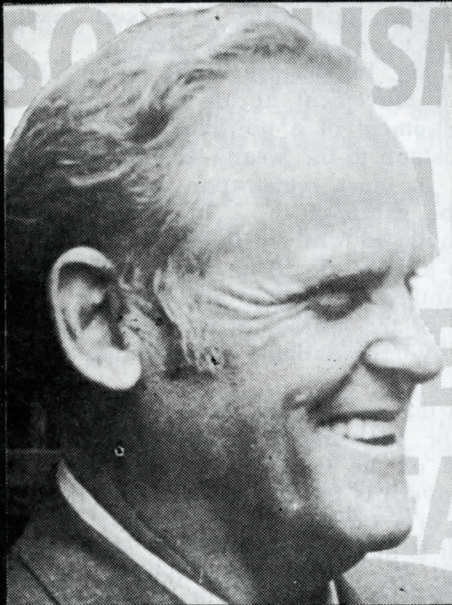


**"We won people away from Nixon.
We actually won more votes for
McGovern than Shriver did."**

Gus Hall



The Truth about the 1972 Communist Party Election Campaign

A Young Socialist Publication by Fred Feldman/25¢

Communist Party Electoral Strategy in 1972—A New Turn?

The Communist Party is now carrying out a presidential campaign. Heading the ticket is Gus Hall, 61, General Secretary of the Communist Party. His running mate is Jarvis Tyner, Chairman of the Young Workers Liberation League.

The Hall-Tyner campaign is a more ambitious undertaking than the largely for-the-record 1968 effort of Charlene Mitchell and Mike Zagarell. In that year, CP candidates were not named until July and the party appeared on the ballot in only two states.

Most of the party's attention at that time focused on the McCarthy primary campaign and later on the various Peace and Freedom parties which drew the support of some antiwar Democrats and young radicals. In the closing days of the '68 campaign, the *Daily World*, a newspaper reflecting CP views, began to look with favor on the drift toward support of Humphrey that occurred among liberal Democrats.

In 1972, however, the CP is energetically seeking a place on the ballot in many key states and generally projecting a more aggressive image. To many observers, the Hall-Tyner campaign appears to mark a sharp reversal of the long-standing CP strategy of building a "left" wing in the Democratic Party.

From the time of Eugene Debs until the mid-1930s socialists and communists ran independent presidential campaigns. Many of these were highly successful even though none came close to winning. Since Marxism has thus far been a minority viewpoint in America the aims of such campaigns were necessarily limited. Their main function was to establish socialism as a legitimate aspirant to the allegiance of the mass of working people in the contest for governmental power, and to use the forum of the electoral process to expose the big-business control of the two-party monopoly. In addition such campaigns gave socialists and communists an opportunity to win support for the independent struggles of workers, women, and oppressed national minorities by vigorously defending these struggles before the electorate as a whole.

It would be a welcome development for the Communist Party to return to this tradition of independent action in the political arena. In this year's election voters in many states will have not one but two socialist slates to choose from to register their disapproval of the Democratic and Republican parties which have jointly administered American imperialism for more than a century. The Socialist Workers Party is running the most extensive campaign in its history in support of its nominees, Linda Jenness for president and Andrew Pulley for vice-president. Why two socialist campaigns? And on what basis should those on the left who reject supporting the parties of the ruling class choose between the socialist alternatives?

It would seem self-evident that the whole point of running an independent socialist campaign is that it genuinely *be* independent and not a maneuver to garner

votes for the lesser of the procapitalist evils, in this case George McGovern. If we are to believe that Gus Hall is running against McGovern and not campaigning for him the handling of the McGovern candidacy by the CP's press is curious indeed. In fact, a rather enormous credibility gap appears when the August issue of *Political Affairs*, self-described as the "Theoretical Journal of the Communist Party, U. S. A.," can write in an editorial: "The key goal in the campaign remains the defeat of Nixon. The McGovern candidacy offers the first serious possibility of accomplishing that aim."

In blunt and unequivocal terms this editorial explains that the function of the Hall-Tyner campaign is to pressure McGovern to the left, while helping to drum up votes for the Democrats among workers, Blacks, Chicanos, and women. It is worth quoting at length:

"The chances of victory are directly proportional to the firmness of McGovern's opposition to the Nixon line and of his championing of the people's interests. His victory and the defeat of Nixon cannot be assured without the building of a mass independent grass-roots movement, one which will exert maximum pressure on him to move in such a direction.

"Of key importance is the mobilization of the trade union movement at all levels and in particular the development of a powerful rank-and-file movement in opposition to the Meany-Abel-Fitzsimmons sellout. Also vital is mass registration and mobilization of youth in the campaign. . . . In addition, every effort must be made to win the fullest support of the Black, Chicano and Puerto Rican workers on the basis of a clear-cut anti-racist position and struggle. Likewise, the support of the masses of working-class women must be won by unhesitatingly championing their fight for equality. . . ."

"In this connection, the McGovern victory [at the Democratic convention] demonstrates the immense importance of the Hall-Tyner presidential campaign. That McGovern is the Democratic candidate renders the presence of a Communist Party ticket more vital, not less so. It is the Communist Party which bears key responsibility for guaranteeing that the issues in the campaign are placed clearly and squarely, for mobilizing mass movement and pressure on these issues, and for sharpening the critical stand of McGovern and other candidates."

Who is to carry out these promises if McGovern is elected? Can the bill be sent to the Hall-Tyner headquarters if McGovern refuses to pay it?

If "masses" are to be organized by the Communist Party to elect McGovern, who is supposed to vote for Gus Hall? Will he even vote for himself, or would that be an "objective" assist to Nixon's reelection? It is small wonder that the CP candidates themselves have some difficulty in making their campaign policy comprehensible to their audiences. Gus Hall, speaking at a June 6 Angela Davis defense meeting in San Francisco described McGovern as "an honest man." McGovern, Hall predicted, "says he'll end the war. And I think he will. I think we can rely on him if there is a movement." Hall put his finger on the peculiarity of his own candidacy when he told his listeners, "the odd thing about this campaign is that we are asking for votes."

Daily World news coverage has reflected the CP's pro-McGovern stance. Prominence is given to endorsements

of McGovern by trade-union officials. Editorials and signed columns stress the building of a broad "coalition" to defeat Nixon, i.e., elect his Democratic opposite number.

Nothing New

Why has the Communist Party decided to run its own candidates, in view of its evident support for McGovern?

The CP today is faced with one of the deepest radicalizations in U. S. history. There is widespread awareness of the complicity of the Democratic Party in the Vietnam war, racial oppression, and other evils. Even McGovern's supporters eye him with some suspicion.

Widespread disillusionment with the Democratic Party among youth has made open endorsement of McGovern too embarrassing. An additional factor among those young people who think of themselves as socialists, including members of the Young Workers Liberation League, has been the impact of the Socialist Workers Party campaign of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley. For many years the CP pleaded poverty when asked why it did not field its own candidates. By 1968, however, some of its newer members began to ask why the SWP, with fewer financial resources, was able to run a national election campaign yet the CP could or would not. The result was the half-hearted Mitchell-Zagarell ticket.

The CP has sought to adapt to the anticapitalist sentiment of the young radicals by launching the Hall-Tyner campaign while continuing to throw its weight behind lesser-evil capitalist candidates. In this way CP leaders hope to evade responsibility for McGovern's inevitable betrayals, while continuing to line up radicals for the "anti-Nixon coalition."

This policy does not represent a new twist for the Communist Party. It was first utilized in the 1936 election. This was shortly after the Seventh World Congress of the now-defunct Communist International, when Moscow instructed (yes, it was still done that way in those days) Communist Parties to form popular fronts with "progressive" capitalists who showed an interest in diplomatic agreements with Stalin. Ostensibly, this policy aimed at preventing war and fascism by propping up "liberal" capitalist regimes. The demobilization of the masses which resulted from the application of this policy to Spain and France in fact aided the coming to power of fascist or pro-fascist governments in these countries. The policy of upholding capitalist regimes made impossible an effective fight against the approaching imperialist war. While the "popular front" failed to achieve its stated objectives, it remains the strategy of Communist parties today. In the United States the Communist Party uses the term "anti-monopoly coalition" to describe the same concept.

Earl Browder headed the American CP at that time. Years later, he wrote an article for a 1967 anthology entitled *As We Saw the Thirties*, edited by Rita James Simon. In this essay he described how the new electoral tactic was decided on in 1936:

"... I headed a delegation to Moscow to consult with the Comintern about the elections. Upon arriving we were informed by Georgi Dimitrov . . . that the Comintern leaders were all firmly of the opinion that the American Communist Party should endorse Roosevelt's candidacy and put up no candidate of their own. My permanent (but usually secret) opposition in America,

William Z. Foster (supported by Sam Darcy), immediately agreed with the proposal. I flatly opposed it. . . . After two weeks of discussion I remained obdurate, and advanced my final argument that if we really wished to assure Roosevelt's reelection we would not endorse him because that would cause him to be labeled the 'Communist candidate' by the newspapers, most of which opposed him. This would lose him many times as many votes from the 'Right' as it would bring from the 'Left,' for a net loss that might mean his defeat if the vote were close. On the other hand we could put up our own candidate but conduct such a campaign that would assure Roosevelt all votes under our influence except the diehard opponents of all 'capitalist' candidates who without a Communist candidate would switch to Norman Thomas or even the Socialist Labor Party. Thereupon the discussion was suspended while



Earl Browder

the issue was being re-evaluated by the Russian Politburo—which we learned later meant by Stalin. The final conclusion was 'to leave the matter to the American comrades,' where I had no difficulty in carrying the decision my way. Thus I became the logical Communist presidential candidate and made my ambiguous campaign in favor of my 'rival' Roosevelt."

Thus was born the "ambiguous" electoral tactic of the Hall-Tyner campaign.

Browder's advocacy of this approach stemmed in part from his knowledge of the deep-going radicalization of workers at that time and the strength of the tradition of socialist independence from ruling-class parties. The Communist Party, as soon as it emerged from repression and semi-legality in the early twenties, always fielded its own presidential slate opposed to all capitalist parties. The party's 1932 campaign against Roosevelt and his Republican opponent netted over 100,000 votes despite many ultraleft errors. (The candidates, William Z. Foster and James Ford, called Roosevelt a "fascist.") Even the reformist Socialist Party regularly ran anti-capitalist candidates.

The "independent" campaign of the CP in 1936 was used to persuade radical workers to back Roosevelt, despite their attachment to this tradition and their disgust with the antilabor policies of both parties. The CP hoped to encourage Roosevelt to make diplomatic and military agreements with Stalin.

The Browder campaign tactic fell into disuse until the radicalization of the sixties brought a new wave of militants onto the scene. In 1940, following the Stalin-Hitler pact, candidate Browder's attacks centered on Roosevelt. By 1944, Stalin and Roosevelt were allies



Earl Browder

and the CP enthusiastically supported FDR's candidacy as well as his policies. This included CP support for the wartime wage freeze and for the forcible deportation of the Japanese population on the West Coast into detention camps. In 1948, the CP backed a third capitalist party, the Progressive Party, built around the personality of lifelong Democrat Henry Wallace who had tactical differences with Truman's cold war policies. By 1952, the party was back in the Democratic fold and remained there through the 1964 campaign of Lyndon B. Johnson.

Three Prongs or One?

In 1968 a combination of circumstances made the openly pro-Democratic stance of the CP untenable: The youth radicalization, the spectacle of Mayor Daley's cops at the Democratic convention in Chicago, Humphrey's endorsement of Johnson's war policies, the appearance of splinter parties such as Peace and Freedom. The CP's response was what it called its "three-pronged" electoral strategy. The first and last prong—supporting the Democrats while running a nominal CP campaign—were a repeat of Browder's 1936 maneuver. The other prong, completing the confusion, was to support the Peace and Freedom Party as well. Here is how Gus Hall described this potpourri in his report to the February 1972 CP convention, provocatively entitled "Capitalism on the Skids to Oblivion":

"Our three-pronged electoral tactic is correct and applicable in continuing attention to independent movements within the two-party system, and to the development of mass ideological formations outside of the two major parties, while giving special attention to our Communist Party candidates."

While Hall asserted that "first priority" goes to the CP campaign, he warned that "these priorities may change as the changes take place on the political scene." He predicted that "there may develop an understanding between the liberals and the more left progressive forces including important sections of the labor, Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican movements behind a Democratic candidate."

That the so-called first priority, the CP campaign, is oriented toward strengthening the hand of reform Democrats becomes clear if we examine some of the tasks CP leaders lay out for their supporters.

In the May 1972 *Political Affairs*, Daniel Rubin described CP campaign strategy in the Black community:

"Without a serious and genuine appeal to the Black Community, it is doubtful that Nixon can be beaten, since the Black community cannot be expected to bring out a big vote for the Democrats as such. . . . As a result of this picture, the biggest task in the elections is to combat the racism of Nixon and Wallace, expose the racism of Humphrey and *press candidates like McGovern to campaign forthrightly* on this question. The campaign of Hall and Tyner is of special significance in pressing for better positions." (Italics added.)

In other words, since Black people will not vote for the Democrats "as such," the Hall-Tyner campaign will press the Democratic candidate to adopt more appealing campaign rhetoric in the Black community. In this way, the CP hopes, Blacks can be kept in the Demo-

cratic fold for still another election.

Hall pays lip service to breaking—sometime in the distant future—with the two parties to form a third capitalist "people's party" with a more radical campaign style. In practice, the CP discourages such developments. As we have seen above, they view Blacks and labor as pressure groups on the Democrats, trading their votes for bigger promises and "better positions."

As Hall explains:

"We who understand the nature of the movement within the orbit of the old parties and the nature of the movements moving out must be the force that keeps movements from going their separate ways. We must bring them to an understanding of what unites them."

Timothy Wheeler dotted the *i*'s and crossed the *t*'s in the January 11 *Daily World*:

"'Go-it-alone' formations such as 'new' parties have tended to cut activists off from struggle inside the Democratic Party. . . ."

We can now evaluate the real character of Hall's three prongs. The CP's own campaign is seen by its organizers as an adjunct of the McGovern campaign. The Hall-Tyner effort can provide left cover useful in persuading radical activists to campaign for McGovern. The third prong, the often mentioned "people's party" of the future, is more of an insurance policy than a serious proposal. The Democrats have been in trouble for the last four years. There is no historical law that says there can only be two capitalist parties. In most other "democratic" capitalist states there are three, four, or more such parties. If the Democrats should splinter the CP is prepared to go with the "left" wing—provided it includes a significant sector of the party machine, the liberal politicians, ruling-class financial support, and the labor bureaucracy. They are not in favor of a break with the Democrats along class or national lines by the formation of a labor party, a Black party, or the Raza Unida Party which already exists among Chicanos.

On the face of it any multiprong approach to an election is manipulative and deceptive. Voters cannot cast three ballots. Every political party, whether it has a chance to win or not, must take a political position on which candidate it favors. In supporting McGovern the CP cannot escape taking full political responsibility for the Democrats by mounting the facade of an "independent communist" campaign.

Does CP Strategy work?

Can socialists win important gains by working with and in the Democratic Party? Why have revolutionary socialists objected to electoral collaboration with capitalist parties?

Opposition to collaboration on the electoral front between working-class and capitalist parties flows from a Marxist analysis of present-day capitalist society. Marxists realize that capitalism requires the increasing exploitation of workers, racial oppression, sexism, imperialism, and war in order to survive. The capitalist rulers are no longer able to advance the interests of humanity in any way. The crucial need of our epoch is a socialist transformation of society and not a "reformed" capitalism. The partial gains oppressed people make today are won through independent struggle against the government—whichever party is in power—

and not by garnering support for one or another capitalist politician.

The Democratic and Republican parties both belong wholly to the capitalist ruling class. They have—from time to time—tactical differences about how best to preserve the existing order, but both will stop at nothing to preserve it. These parties are committed to an expansionist foreign policy whose ultimate aim is to establish U. S. world dominion by overturning the existing noncapitalist governments.

In a period of radicalization, one or another party (more often the Democrats) adopts some of the slogans of the mass movements. Their aim is to undermine the independence of antiestablishment movements, demobilize their participants, and convince them to rely on a capitalist politician. The effusive promises of liberal Democrats on the campaign trail invariably have little or no relation to their conduct in office.

For all these reasons, Marxists have opposed supporting capitalist politicians despite the tactical differences they may express or the brand of rhetoric they peddle.

Gus Hall claims to agree with much of the foregoing. He says ("Capitalism on the Skids to Oblivion"):

"Class collaboration on the field of politics is no less a sellout than it is on the field of economics."

Why, then, does Gus Hall commit this "sellout"? What do he and his cothinkers expect to gain by backing Democratic candidates?

CP spokespeople often describe work in the Demo-

cratic Party as participation in an "independent movement" making demands on candidates for "better positions." This "movement" is then portrayed as a logical extension of the independent mass movements against the war, for abortion repeal, etc. This concept has no basis in fact.

The Democratic Party is neither a mass movement nor a "coalition" of such movements. It is a vote-getting apparatus for capitalist politicians which comes to life for the purpose of nominating and electing these worthies. It is financed and controlled at every level of real power by the capitalist class.

When Blacks, labor, women, or other oppressed groups mobilize to support one of these politicians, they are dependent on his or her promises and are stuck with the procapitalist program every Democrat and Republican stands for. Once elected, they have no levers of control over the officeholder. They can only grit their teeth as deception piles on deception and betrayal on betrayal.

Building independent mass action on a united-front basis is an opposite approach. Action coalitions around clear demands on the government can unite many forces, including individual members of the Democratic and Republican parties, without building the power of any section of the ruling class. These movements do not give up their independent character in order to ring doorbells or lick stamps for aspiring politicians. Therefore, they are still ready for action when these politicians carry out policies of war, racism, or repression when in office.

Does that mean there is no useful and effective kind of electoral action? Just the opposite. But to be effective the participation by socialists in election campaigns must build the independent thrust of the growing mass movements, not strengthen the illusions that the ruling-class parties can solve capitalism's problems. In addition to popularizing the demands of the various sectors of the mass movement the most important thing that socialist candidates can do is to set the example of a real break with the two-party monopoly and encourage the formation of new mass parties based on the oppressed. One such party already exists: the Raza Unida Party in the Southwest, which, unlike the CP, has refused to support or campaign for McGovern. There is widespread sentiment in the Black community for the creation of an independent Black political party. Support for this idea has been a major part of the campaign being waged by Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley. The greatest mass potential for a class party of the oppressed exists in the call for the formation of a labor party based on the trade unions. Organized sentiment for this demand is still at a very limited level. But it will certainly not be advanced by calling, as Hall and Tyner do, for the union officials to further entrench themselves in the Democratic Party machine.

LBJ in '64

The failure of the CP's efforts to win social change by support of and pressure on Democratic candidates was never more graphically demonstrated than by Lyndon B. Johnson's "peace" campaign in 1964. The nomination of reactionary Republican Barry Goldwater for president set off a virtual stampede of radicals into



Democratic candidate George McGovern and Mayor Daley

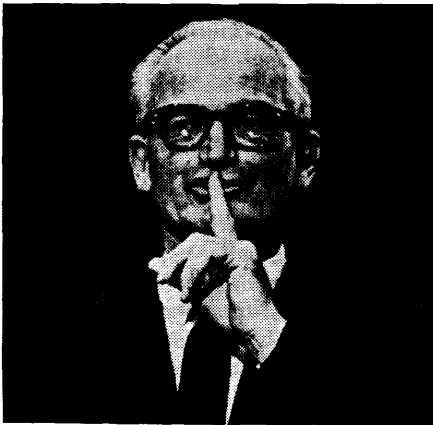


Democratic candidate George McGovern and Mayor Daley

the camp of LBJ. Since Goldwater called for massive escalation of the Vietnam war (a war which had escalated steadily under Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson), the CP called for a "great coalition" to "defeat Goldwater." A Democratic landslide, they argued, would be a "mandate for peace."

"Progressives and socialist minded people," the *Worker* (predecessor of the *Daily World*) told its readers on October 13, 1964, "should be the most active leg-workers and doorbell ringers, the sparkplugs in every section of the anti-Goldwater coalition. . . ."

Although Johnson inspired the CP to a high degree of electioneering enthusiasm by his pious peace promises, he continued to escalate the Vietnam war. In mid-campaign, he bombed North Vietnam, using the phony Tonkin Gulf incident as a pretext. Unwilling to break with Johnson, the CP labeled this crime a reaction to "Goldwaterite pressure." When highly placed officials in LBJ's team began to hint at a major post-election step-up in the war, the *Worker* attributed these sentiments to the existence of a "Goldwaterite fifth column in Washington." (October 6, 1964.)



Barry Goldwater

Late in the campaign, *Fortune* magazine which often speaks for the dominant sections of American capital, published a lead article calling for troop landings in South Vietnam and bombing of the North. Victor Perlo charged (*Worker*, 9-13-64) that this was an effort to "press" Johnson into gambles that might "discredit" him and elect "Luce's man Goldwater." Shortly thereafter, the Luce publications endorsed Johnson.

William Weinstone admitted late in the campaign that the "Johnson Administration represents the dominant sections of U. S. capital." (*Worker*, October 6, 1964.) According to Weinstone, these peaceable characters feared "the brinkmanship policies of Goldwater." In fact, they supported Johnson because a "mandate for peace" would free his hands to carry out the *bipartisan* policy of escalation in Asia.

The evidence that the ruling class as a whole and both parties were preparing war was there for the CP to see. Their devotion to winning peace through a "broad-based," reformed Democratic Party blinded them to reality then as it blinds them now.

When Johnson got his "mandate" the CP enthused: "VICTORY SPURS FIGHT FOR THE PEOPLE'S GOALS" (headline in the November 8, 1964, *Worker*). Daniel Mason wrote:

"The American people last Tuesday gave Goldwaterism and the Republican party a smashing defeat and

have handed Democratic Party candidates, from President Johnson and his running mate, Sen. Hubert Humphrey, down to the legislatures of many states, a far-reaching mandate for peace, equality and economic security in the nation."

Shortly thereafter, massive bombing of North Vietnam and large-scale American troop commitments to the South began. Johnson took these steps not because of "Goldwaterite pressure" but because he was loyal to the imperialist interests of the ruling class and not to his campaign oratory.

Is McGovern alternative?

Today the CP is repeating its false policy of 1964, working hard to line up Blacks, Chicanos, workers, women, and antiwar activists for McGovern, despite his devotion to a system which feeds off the evils these forces oppose.

As in 1964, CP spokespeople have begun to make excuses for developments that indicate that the South Dakota senator's interpretation of his "mandate," if he is elected, will differ sharply from the hopeful interpretations of his supporters.

On June 7, 1972, as the U. S. bombing of Vietnam reached new highs, McGovern told the *San Francisco Chronicle*, "I condemn North Vietnam's invasion of South Vietnam." McGovern used his reputation as a "peace" candidate to put over the lie that the Vietnamese are the criminals in the new stage of the war. Yet Judy Baston, in the May 27 *People's World* (a West Coast weekly reflecting CP views), assured readers that "realistic politics dictated" McGovern's statement and it should not be taken seriously.

McGovern, in his acceptance speech on the last day of the Democratic convention, took special pains to make clear his determination to protect imperialist interests. He promised a strong military posture, supported "our old allies in Europe," and "Israel, who will always have our help to hold their promised land."

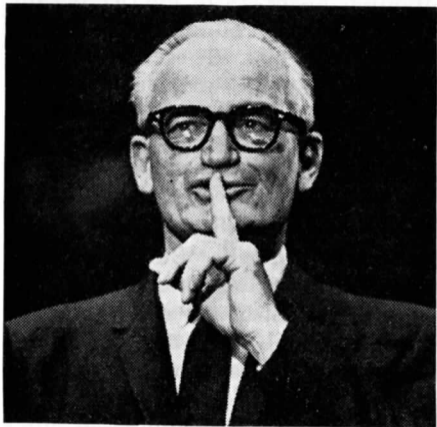
McGovern torpedoed efforts to insert the demand of welfare rights organizations for \$6,500 annual income, abortion law repeal, or gay rights into the platform.

These facts, as well as McGovern's insistence on keeping about a "residual force" in Southeast Asia, are fair warning to radicals tempted to vote for "allies" in the ruling class parties, just as Johnson's bombing of North Vietnam in July 1964 was fair warning to participants in the lesser-evil crusade of that year.

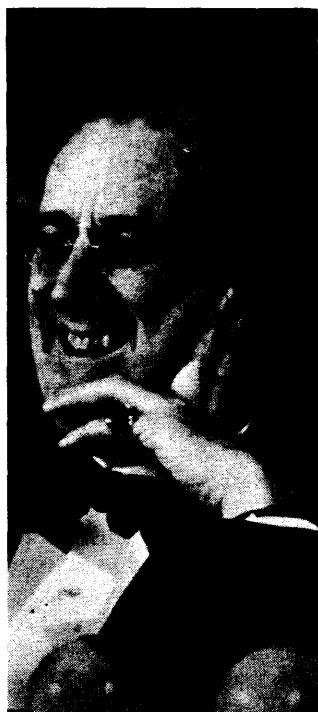
Although McGovern may make tactical concessions to antiwar sentiment, his aim is to capture a body of campaign workers and to demobilize the peace forces so that the ruling class can regain a free hand in carrying out its expansionist policies.

Defenders of CP electoral policy contend that by supporting the liberal wing of the Democrats, the CP is able to shift the political spectrum to the left, inching it towards the socialist goal. In fact, this strategy consistently produces the opposite result. The CP's glib arguments for lesser-evilism reinforce the illusions most Americans have about the political system. By refusing to present a clear socialist alternative to *all* the capitalist candidates, the CP actually shifts the political spectrum *to the right*.

The July 8, 1972, *People's World* takes another tack,



Barry Goldwater



Left to right: Franklin Delano Roosevelt. In a *Daily Worker* editorial on Dec. 27, 1943, the Communist Party stated: "The program of social reform known as the 'New Deal,' which we supported vigorously, was unquestionably one of the greatest progressive developments in our nation's history. . . . The job of the win-the-war forces is to expose the true position of the anti-FDR forces. (Roosevelt) will make it easier to strengthen national unity of all groups and classes on behalf of the program that will ensure the quickest and most decisive victory in the war." □ Nuclear explosion over Hiroshima. Harry Truman, Roosevelt's vice-president and successor, ordered the bomb dropped. Earl Browder, writing in the May, 1943 issue of *Political Affairs*, described the CP attitude toward Truman: The policies of Roosevelt were an essential expression of his greatness, which the whole world felt and trusted. (Truman's) task is the completion of the established Roosevelt program. In this he must and will receive the steady support—the most energetic support when necessary—of labor and the people." □ John F. Kennedy was favored by the CP in the 1960 elections. "A defeat for (Nixon-Lodge) would be heralded everywhere as a defeat for (Nixon's) war-inciting and anti-labor policies." (CP Resolution on the 1960 elections as reported in *The Worker*.) □ Lyndon Johnson was warmly supported by Gus Hall in 1964. Immediately after LBJ's defeat of Goldwater, the *Worker* headlined, "VICTORY SPURS PEOPLE'S GOALS."

arguing that "a Nixon defeat" might have the effect of "keeping hundreds of minority political activists from being railroaded to prison." However, liberal Democrats have shown themselves to be every bit as adept at repressing dissenters as conservative Republicans. Woodrow Wilson, a liberal Democrat, launched the Palmer Red Raids, a massive terror campaign against radicals, labor, and the foreign-born in 1919-20. It was Harry S. Truman who launched the post-World War II witch-hunt that culminated in McCarthyism. Hubert Humphrey, who received back-handed support from the CP in the 1968 elections, was the author of the infamous concentration-camp provision of the McCarran Act which provides for the wholesale arrest and indefinite detention of "subversives" without charge or trial anytime the president declares a national emergency.

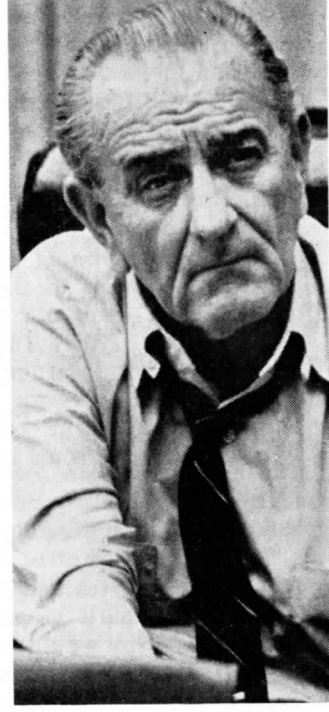
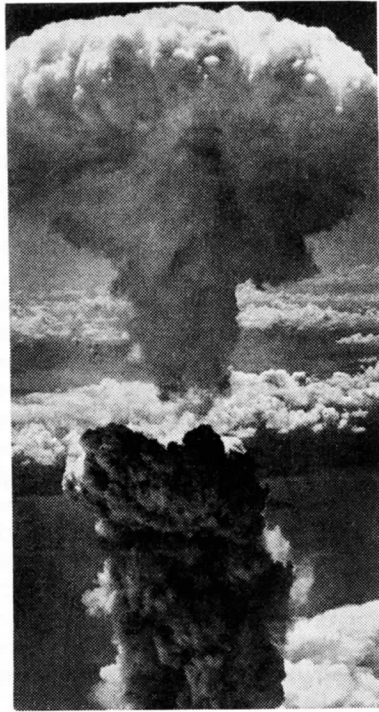
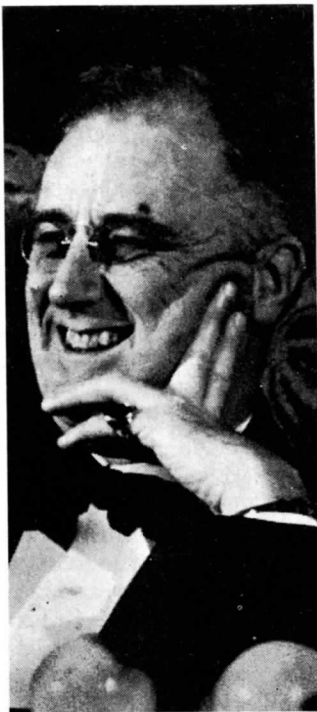
Recent victories in the struggle against repression — such as the acquittal of Angela Davis and the Solead Brothers — were not the result of electoral alliances with capitalist politicians. The latter, including George McGovern, maintained a resounding silence about these frameups. These victories were won through independent and widespread protest. It is this kind of massive

outrage which forced the ruling class to accept these setbacks.

The overwhelming majority of Americans believe that the capitalist parties and their standard bearers can effect social change. This is reflected both in voting patterns and in the decline in the scope of the independent mass movements which occurs during presidential election periods. In order to change this, socialists must come forward as irreconcilable opponents of "class collaboration on the field of politics." Revolutionaries must use the elections to pose a socialist alternative to all capitalist parties and candidates, patiently explaining the decisive importance of a complete break with them. They must spread no illusions that a vote for a McGovern or an LBJ represents a blow to repression or a "mandate for peace." The campaign of Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner fails to meet this test.

CP & Nixon's Diplomacy

On May 21, the eve of Nixon's Moscow journey, Gus Hall spoke as the Communist Party's presidential candidate at the emergency March on Washington, a



Left to right: Franklin Delano Roosevelt. In a *Daily Worker* editorial on Dec. 27, 1943, the Communist Party stated: "The program of social reform known as the 'New Deal,' which we supported vigorously, was unquestionably one of the greatest progressive developments in our nation's history. . . . The job of the win-the-war forces is to expose the true position of the anti-FDR forces. (Roosevelt) will make it easier to strengthen national unity of all groups and classes on behalf of the program that will ensure the quickest and most decisive victory in the war." □ Nuclear explosion over Hiroshima. Harry Truman, Roosevelt's vice-president and successor, ordered the bomb dropped. Earl Browder, writing in the May, 1943 issue of *Political Affairs*, described the CP attitude toward Truman: The policies of Roosevelt were an essential expression of his greatness, which the whole world felt and trusted. (Truman's) task is the completion of the established Roosevelt program. In this he must and will receive the steady support—the most energetic support when necessary—of labor and the people." □ John F. Kennedy was favored by the CP in the 1960 elections. "A defeat for (Nixon-Lodge) would be heralded everywhere as a defeat for (Nixon's) war-inciting and anti-labor policies." (CP Resolution on the 1960 elections as reported in *The Worker*.) □ Lyndon Johnson was warmly supported by Gus Hall in 1964. Immediately after LBJ's defeat of Goldwater, the *Worker* headlined, "VICTORY SPURS PEOPLE'S GOALS."

demonstration called to protest Nixon's brutal escalation of the Vietnam war. Hall sought to reassure his listeners, many of whom were dismayed by the Soviet leaders' decision to play host at that time to the nation's number one warmaker, that the upcoming talks would not be a blow to the Vietnamese revolution:

"Having just returned from Moscow and Warsaw—I can tell you on the highest authority—that the continued all-out support of the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries to the just struggle of the peoples of Indochina—will not be up for discussion or negotiations when Tricky Dick visits these cities. Their all-out support to all struggles for national liberation has not been and will not be negotiable. Their support has been and is an unalterable fact of life. Anyone who says different is an unmitigated liar."

The May 23 *Daily World* also rushed to the defense of the Soviet foreign policy-makers:

"Today the attempt of U. S. imperialism to solve that general crisis by armed might could envelop the world in nuclear conflict. Clearly, the prime need is to frustrate those who would venture on that road, and to negotiate planks of agreement on every issue where there are differences between the U.S. and USSR toward the creation of a world structure for peace.

"This has been the position of the Soviet Union since the October Revolution."

This statement appears somewhat at variance from

Hall's since it seems to imply that Vietnam, as one of the issues where there are "differences between the U. S. and the USSR," would be a proper subject for negotiation. Skeptics might also recall the role played by the Soviet Union and China in pressuring the Vietnamese to accept "temporary" division of their country in the Geneva Agreement of 1954. This "plank of agreement" deprived the Vietnamese of their hard-won victory and laid the basis for nearly two decades more of bloody warfare.

Whether or not Nixon obtained any secret agreements about Vietnam from Brezhnev, the spectacle of the American president being wined, dined, and paraded in the capital of Hanoi's erstwhile ally struck a severe blow against both the Vietnamese people and the international antiwar movement. As the bombing of Vietnam reached new heights, Nixon and Brezhnev exchanged shiny new automobiles and other gifts. Nixon returned home with highly touted agreements on secondary issues as "proof" of his "earnest" search for "peace." In addition, his reelection prospects received a big boost.

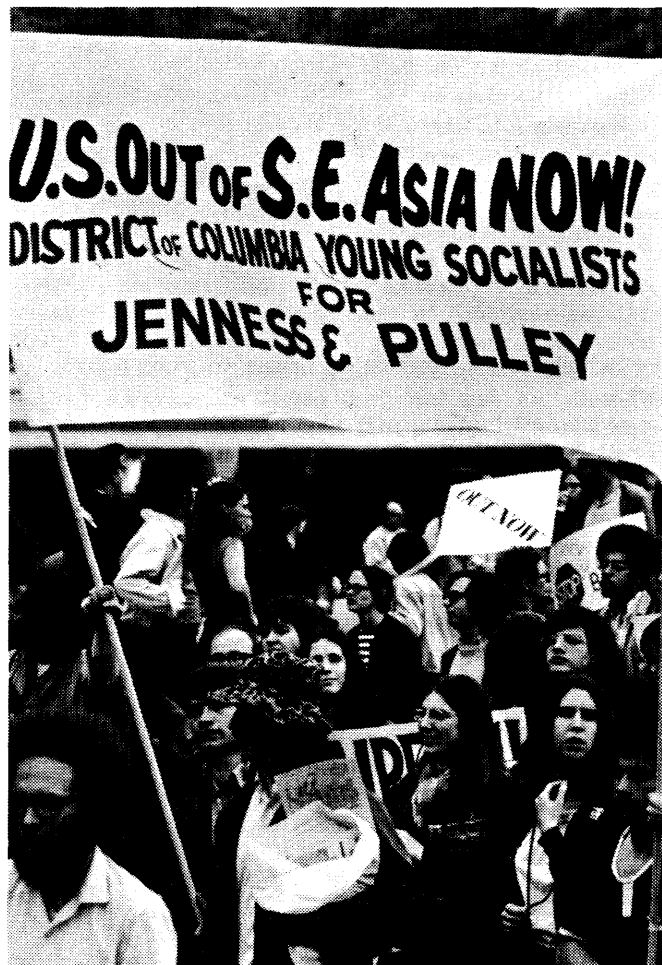
This seeming indifference on the part of Moscow to Nixon's ruthless escalation repelled many antiwar activists. The party leaders have stridently sought to present these events as a victory for world peace. Here is how *Daily World* editors summed up the Nixon-Brezhnev summitry in a June 10 editorial:

"Did the summit, in any way, harm the cause of the struggle in Indochina? The answer is No. In fact, it aided that struggle. It weakened the position of the man who mined the harbors of Vietnam. It reduced his ability to justify continuation of the war based upon the alleged intransigence of the Soviet Union. The summit helped the struggle for world peace because that struggle is global and indivisible. In the long run a relaxation of world tensions helps the cause of the liberation forces because it weakens the cause of imperialism."

A review of the facts will show that Hall and the *Daily World* delude their followers about the real significance of the Nixon trip. The CP's avid defense of the grand welcome Nixon received, like the foreign policy of the Brezhnev team, stems from a strategy of subordinating the interests of the world revolution to the narrow nationalist goals of the Soviet bureaucracy. Because they support this policy, CP candidates Hall and Tyner cannot adequately defend the Vietnamese revolution.

The March-April offensive of the Vietnamese liberation fighters totally exposed the myth of Vietnamization, demoralizing the Saigon army and threatening the survival of Thieu's regime. Nixon responded with a huge escalation of the air war and the mining of North Vietnam's harbors and inland waters. In three months, over 5,000 air raids were directed against the North. Hanoi and Haiphong have been hard hit and attacks on the Red River dike system threaten literally millions of lives.

Nixon's move was a carefully calculated gamble, which counted on Moscow and Peking to place the prospect of trade and diplomatic deals with the U. S. ahead of the protection of their beleaguered ally. The May 11 "protest" issued by Moscow indicated that Nixon had won his gamble. It did not assert the Soviet Union's right to supply Vietnam. It contained no call for international antiwar protests directed at Nixon's moves. The statement did not cancel Nixon's Moscow



Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley marching against war on May 21, 1972.

U.S. OUT OF S.E. ASIA NOW!
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA YOUNG SOCIALISTS
FOR
JENNESS & PULLEY



Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley marching against war on May 21, 1972.

visit. Nor did it warn of any countermeasures should Nixon refuse to deactivate the mines. The capstone of this betrayal was Nixon's week in Moscow.

What were the public "planks of agreement" signed in Moscow? One was (incredibly) a treaty aimed at barring naval confrontations on the high seas—signed while the U. S. unilaterally barred Soviet shipping from the ports of North Vietnam. Other agreements involved environmental protection, a joint space flight, and "strategic arms limitation." These were hailed by Soviet leaders and by Nixon as big steps toward peace while U. S. planes sought to pulverize Vietnam.

Soon after Nixon returned to the U. S., Nikolai Podgorny visited Hanoi, where he received a cool, polite reception. The Soviet leader was unaccompanied by the military and trade attaches who usually participate when increased assistance is the subject under discussion.

It is now possible to summarize some of the main results of Nixon's summit diplomacy.

Nixon's desperate escalation provoked a sharp response from the American and international antiwar movement. Demonstrations swept many U. S. campuses and the protest wave showed signs of penetrating deeply into the trade-union ranks.

The American ruling class, shaken by the revival of antiwar action at home, and deeply fearful of Soviet reaction, was sharply divided. This was reflected in the enraged and frightened reaction of the *New York Times* and many legislators.

The Soviet Union's willingness to acquiesce to the new war measures confused the American people and reassured the worried imperialists. The Soviet welcome to Nixon, far more effusive than he could have received at that time in any American city, gave new impetus to the illusion that Nixon was really seeking peace in Vietnam. As a result, the antiwar upsurge, which could have challenged Nixon's ability to continue the war, rapidly subsided.

Nixon and his cohorts now feel free to escalate without fear of Soviet or Chinese reaction. Many of the most warlike of the imperialists had long hesitated to take measures such as massively bombing Hanoi, Haiphong, and the dikes, or mining the harbors because of the widespread belief that the Soviet Union would not tolerate such moves.

Since the Vietnamese have continued determinedly to struggle for their independence, and the Saigon puppets show no new stability, we can expect that Nixon is preparing to unleash new horrors. He is boasting openly about possessing "the power that can finish off North Vietnam in an afternoon."

The Soviet Union has effectively recognized U. S. supremacy in the air and territorial waters of another workers' state.

The flow of Soviet aid to Vietnam has decreased as an outcome of the Soviet decision to respect the U. S. blockade. This is reflected in a partial weakening of Vietnam's air defenses. Henry S. Hayward reported in the July 18 *Christian Science Monitor*:

"The Communists are also making markedly less use of Soviet surface-to-air missiles, known as SAMs. This is partly because of successful U. S. air attacks on the missile sites and partly because of the difficulty of replacing SAMs. The missiles are too bulky to come overland by rail—and no Soviet supply ships have docked since the blockade."

Hall and Tyner often remind their listeners that the Soviet Union is the main international supplier of the Vietnamese. But as Anthony Lewis pointed out in the September 11 *New York Times*, "About 85 per cent of the aid from her Communist allies reached North Vietnam by sea." Most of that cargo was not military supplies but food and raw materials to offset the destruction of the North Vietnamese economy by the U. S. bombing. In acquiescing to Nixon's blackmail the Soviet leadership have not only withheld military supplies needed to continue the war in the South but they have left the Northern population to face ever more stringent rationing of the limited food supplies.

Even at its height before the blockade Soviet aid was only a pittance of what American imperialism invested in its aggression in Indochina, and was even far inferior to the sophisticated aircraft and missiles supplied by Moscow to the bourgeois Sadat regime in Egypt prior to the recent cooling of relations between the two countries.

The Moscow trip did nothing to increase the pressure for restraint in Washington. Moscow's supine response merely encourages the imperialists to discount Soviet power and commitments in determining their course of action in combatting the colonial and world revolutions. Planks of agreement will not put an end to the liberation struggles of the oppressed, nor to imperialism's necessity for expansion. The danger of imperialist recklessness and miscalculation which could result in a nuclear confrontation has been increased by Soviet passivity in the face of the assault on Vietnam.

Moscow's betrayal of Vietnam at this critical moment is a logical consequence of the policy of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. Before Stalin's rise to power, the Soviet Union under Lenin's leadership also sought trade and diplomatic relations with the imperialist powers. Lenin, however, viewed the revolution as a worldwide process and never subordinated the world revolution to the "prime need" of signing planks of agreement with the capitalist states.

Lenin also denounced the conception of reformist socialists who believed that the imperialists could be pressured, cajoled, and negotiated into disarming themselves. His views have been confirmed once again in the aftermath of the so-called "arms limitation" agreement. This treaty has been followed by a new heating up of the arms race.

In their outlook and program, the Soviet bureaucrats are not unlike the narrow-minded trade-union bureaucrats in this country who seek to preserve their privileged positions by a policy of class collaboration with the employers. Just as these officials believe that the clash between workers and employers can be settled by "planks of agreement" on all issues that divide them, so the Kremlin officialdom believes that class peace on a world scale can be assured by trade agreements, arms control agreements, and negotiated compromises in all areas of conflict.

The U. S. rulers have no illusions about "peaceful coexistence." For them, it is a tactic in a strategy aimed at completely rolling back the world revolution. They were more than willing to offer the Soviet Union a few agreements and the possibility of expanded trade—all of which can be forgotten tomorrow if need be—in order to assure themselves a free hand in unleashing the full panoply of American military power in the

central arena of class conflict today—Southeast Asia. They are well satisfied with this kind of "peaceful co-existence."

Hall's apologies have not been able to stem the wave of protest against the Soviet capitulation, much of it from sources usually inclined to give the Soviet leaders the benefit of the doubt.

Bertil Svahnstrom is chairman of the Stockholm Conference on Vietnam, the group which initiated the World Assembly for Peace that took place in Versailles last February. He said:

"It must not be possible that one of the makers of the destiny of the world who tries to annihilate a whole people which does not want anything but to live peacefully on its own little part of the globe, is treated as an honorable statesman and is received as a guest by other nations. Rumors that Nixon will come to Stockholm . . . are not true. The whole Swedish people would rise in revolt against such a visit. . . ."

Dependence on Soviet aid has impelled the Vietnamese leaders to be cautious in their official statements. Nonetheless, bitter reactions have appeared in the Hanoi press. The leading Hanoi daily, *Nhan Dhan*, took the occasion of Nixon's television address to the Soviet people in which he shed crocodile tears over the death of a Soviet child in World War II, to print an article signed "Commentator," the designation used for statements that reflect official views:

"It is obvious that in order for the children of the world to be able to avoid being massacred and to live in peace, the adults will have to oppose the American imperialists and not recoil in the face of their threats. All men of conscience must distinguish between what is reasonable and what is absurd, between what is good and what is evil, between friends and enemies.

"During a banquet [*Nhan Dhan* diplomatically avoids mentioning the location of the banquet], Nixon bragged that he would like to create a world of peace for all peoples. . . . The president's fine words are being drowned out by the noise of the American bombs that day and night are plunging the Vietnamese people into mourning. . . .

"Nixon says that the great powers must set an example and not let themselves be drawn into confrontations provoked by small powers."

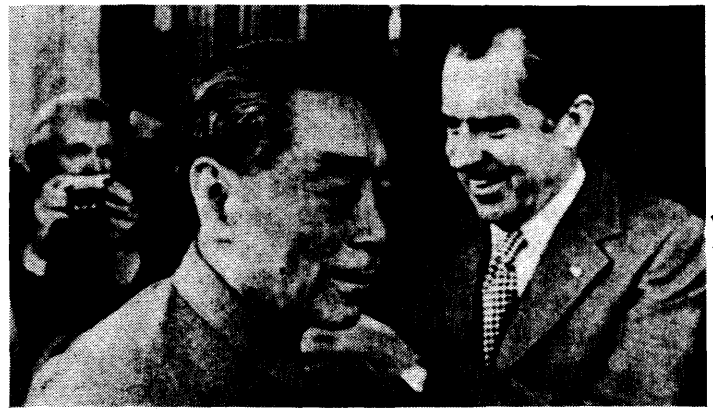
Nhan Dhan then asks:

"Does he want the great powers to follow the example being set by the United States in Vietnam? He threatens other countries so they will let the United States have its way, and he denies them the right to support the victims of aggression. This kind of talk is coming from an international hooligan."

These passionate and moving words found no echo among those who drank toasts to the "international hooligan."

Within the American Communist Party, criticism of the *Daily World's* avid defense of the betrayal has been expressed by Dorothy Healy, a long-time top leader of the Communist Party in Southern California. In a broadcast on Los Angeles radio station KPFK, Healy took issue with the June 10 *Daily World* editorial cited earlier:

"They don't mention the fact of what I know it did [the Nixon visit], and what other observers know it did, as far as the peace movement is concerned—the of the illusions it created, just as the trip to Peking did



Nixon and Chou En-Lai in Peking. Gus Hall correctly observed that Nixon's reception in Peking was "accompanied by the most inhuman savage bombing of Indochina. The noise of the bombs is so loud they may not be able to hear each other in Peking."

at a point when the seven-point program Madame Binh had presented was the main question in the Senate, among the commentators and publications all over. . . .

"Where did it weaken his [Nixon's] position? In what country? Did it weaken it in the United States, where following his return he got the highest poll that has ever been taken of confidence of the people. . . .

"Did it weaken his position as far as the bombing of Indochina is concerned? And here I must say I really don't understand what logic is present at all. Anyone who has seen the last three weeks knows that while he was there and since he's returned, the intensification of the bombing—North and South—has been so incredible that there really aren't any comparisons that the human mind can reckon with. . . .

"Then it [the June 10 editorial] says, 'In the long run a relaxation of world tensions helps the liberation forces because it weakens the cause of imperialism.' Well, let me say that the real emphasis should be that the real way in which imperialism is weakened is by the victory of the liberation forces. That is the effective, decisive way in which imperialism is weakened.

"And what is totally lacking here is what is known as socialist internationalism. . . . which puts the priority above all on the needs of those struggling under the guns and bombs of U.S. imperialism, to guarantee that those people will be victorious. . . .



Nixon and Soviet leaders in Moscow. Hall warmly endorsed Nixon's reception at the Kremlin. But the bombs were still falling on the Vietnamese people.



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"I'm always for putting the priority where it belongs, and when a socialist country is being bombed, and while the people are being bombed who are fighting for national liberation in South Vietnam, that to me is the priority."

The untenability of the Hall-Tyner defense of the Moscow trip is starkly pointed up by Gus Hall's bitter attacks against Mao's welcome to Nixon:

"It is not for peace, for the friendship of the American and Chinese peoples. And it is accompanied by the most inhuman savage bombing of Indochina. The noise of the bombs is so loud, they may not be able to hear each other in Peking." (Quoted in the February 22 *Daily World*.)

Hall's insistence that no deal was made in Moscow at Vietnamese expense was answered in advance by Conrad Komorowski in the February 29 *Daily World*. He was speaking, however, of Nixon's negotiations with Mao and Chou En-lai:

"It is the man who has made a secret deal who has to overprotest so much, you might say."

Hall on Czech Invasion

On August 21, 1968, a promising movement for socialist democracy was stamped out through the occupation of Czechoslovakia by five Warsaw Pact powers, headed by the Soviet Union. Claiming that their intervention was requested by anonymous Czech officials, the invaders insisted that they were preventing a capitalist counterrevolution. Mass actions, strikes, and other forms of protest against the invasion, involving hundreds of thousands of Czechs and Slovaks continued for well over a year. So unpopular was the Soviet-directed action among the Czechoslovak people that the names of those who supposedly "requested" the occupation remained a closely guarded secret. When some of their names were leaked in late 1970, they proved to be, for the most part, former officials of the discredited Novotny regime. It was widespread hatred of this regime which sparked the democratization movement.

Dubcek and other reformers, while unhappy about the invasion, were unable to provide leadership for the massive resistance to it. The occupiers were gradually able to wear down the opposition. Today the Czechoslovak Communist Party, the mass media, the trade unions, the government apparatus, the schools, and cultural institutions have been purged of supporters of "democratization." All potential sources of opposition sentiment are severely censored. Strikes are barred. The first trials of officials who opposed the invasion have occurred. It is not probable that they will be the last.

The invasion sent a shock wave through the world Communist movement. The Communist parties of Italy, France, and Great Britain were among those that condemned the Soviet action.

Gus Hall and the American Communist Party readily gave their approval. In doing this, he followed the long-standing CP policy of identifying the interests of socialism with every new twist in the policy of the Kremlin leaders. Hall defended his views in a pamphlet, *Czechoslovakia at the Crossroads* (New York: New Outlook, 1968).

Hall admitted that the unpopularity of the Novotny regime was well earned. He granted that the imprisonment and execution of numerous Communists on frame-

up charges was a feature of the regime. (At the time, of course, the American CP fully supported these frame-ups.) Hall claimed to support "democratization." However, in defending the Soviet occupation, he resorted to unfounded and undocumented charges of CIA manipulation, infiltration, and "anti-socialist activity." Similar accusations were the usual basis of the Novotny era frameups.

Hall's main evidence that counterrevolution was barely averted by prompt Soviet is the "2,00 Word Manifesto," a statement issued by seventy Czechoslovak intellectuals in June 1968. Hall quotes extensively from this document which he calls a "program for counterrevolution":

"The statement then declares 'We should support the progressive wing of the Communists . . . ' 'The progressives are fighting for democracy—the conservatives are fighting to keep their cushy jobs.'

"Workers will help themselves if they elect trade union representatives who are capable and honest, natural leaders without regard to party membership . . . '

"Let us demand the resignation of those who have abused their power . . . '

"We must find ways to induce them to leave. Such steps include public criticism, resolutions, demonstrations, collecting funds for their retirement, strikes and boycotts . . . ' [Hall comments:] Is this a program for correcting weaknesses or is this a program for confusion or disruption?

"Let us demand public *meetings of national committees*, and on questions which the officials refuse to consider, let us set up *special citizens committees and commissions* to deal with the problems . . . ' Is this criticism or is this not anarchy?

"Let us change the district and local press . . . or *let us start newspapers*.'

"Let us establish committees for the defense of free speech . . . '

"Let us have marshals to maintain order at our meetings. . . . Let us unmask informers.' 'Informers' for whom? What were they worried about?' (All italics are Hall's.)

Hall goes on: "Was this not a platform of counterrevolution? If it wasn't, *then what was it? A program for the development of socialism, perhaps?*"

Hall's irony falls flat. "A program for the development of socialism" is exactly what the Manifesto was. If Hall regards these proposals as counterrevolutionary, what does he regard as socialist democracy? Apparently, the current Czech regime, which has destroyed all the democratic gains of the "Prague Spring," meets his unstringent requirements in that regard.

Further, the Manifesto was not the position of the Dubcek government which was more conservative in its approach. In Hall's view, the government's willingness to tolerate widespread distribution and open debate over these proposals was sufficient sign of weakness to justify massive military repression. What is left, then, of Hall's support for socialist democracy?

In order to put over this mythical counterrevolution, Hall had to ignore on-the-spot reports from *Daily World* and *People's World* correspondents.

George and Eleanor Wheeler, longtime correspondents for the American CP press, had lived in Prague since the overturn of capitalism there in 1948. In a telephone interview, they told the *People's World* (August 31, 1968):

"There was no counterrevolution here, only plans

for better socialism . . . for democratic socialism . . . the intervention was a tragic mistake—one of the most tragic in history."

People's World editor Al Richmond reported from Prague on October 12, 1968, under the headline, "How workers Rallied to Dubcek."

"The latest poll," he wrote, "shows 96 percent of the Czechoslovak people behind Alexander Dubcek, first secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party."

He described the congress of the Czech CP—held one day after troops entered the country:

" . . . it is worth emphasizing that the Congress *was* held in a factory, shielded by the 3,000 workers employed in this unit of the CKD complex, with the People's Militia standing guard as the tanks and vehicles rumbled by, presumably searching for the Congress site."

Richmond found Czechoslovak students confused by the developments, intellectuals pessimistic, but workers solidly backing the reformist regime. Describing his conversations with citizens, he reported that "most of them talked of those six months [the "Prague Spring"] with great exaltation, like men and women who had seen a glimpse of what life—*socialist* life—could be like." (*Italics in original.*)

Richmond was soon replaced as PW editor by someone more likely to ignore the facts in such situations.

What are the origins of the Czech crisis? After the Soviet triumph over Hitler in World War II, Soviet troops occupied much of Eastern Europe. When Truman launched the cold war, the Soviet Union sought to secure its Western flank by abolishing capitalism in those countries. In carrying out this progressive social transformation, however, the Stalin regime transplanted its own bureaucratic methods of rule into these countries and directed their economies toward serving the narrow interests of the nationalistic bureaucratic caste in the Soviet Union. As a result, great discontent built up among the masses, finding its expression in uprisings in East Germany (1953), Hungary (1956), Poland (1956 and 1970), and the Czechoslovak democratization movement in 1968. In each case, the goal of the rebels was to introduce workers' democracy, not to restore capitalism. In every instance except that of Poland, Soviet troops were ordered in to crush the struggle. Invariably, trumped up charges of counter-revolution were used as a pretext.

The masses of workers were deeply involved in the antibureaucratic struggle in all of these countries and suffered severe repression at Soviet hands.

Hall asserts that the lesson of Czechoslovakia is that "saving socialism is supreme."

That this is not the actual policy of the Soviet leaders becomes glaringly evident when the response of Brezhnev and Kosygin to the Czechoslovak reforms is compared to their reaction to the all-too-real counter-revolutionary effort of the U. S. in Vietnam. In the latter case, a workers' state is blockaded and relentlessly bombed by the world's most counterrevolutionary power. The Soviet bureaucrats restrict themselves to soft-spoken protests and permit Nixon to carry out ruinous assaults on North and South Vietnam without interference. However, when workers students, and intellectuals demand socialist democracy, the Kremlin does not hesitate to throw the full weight of its military power against them.

In both instances, the policy of the Soviet leaders deals a bitter blow to the world movement for socialism.

CP & Black Nationalism

Gus Hall in "Capitalism on the Skids to Oblivion" reiterated the bitter attacks on Black nationalism launched by the party press and spokespeople. He said:

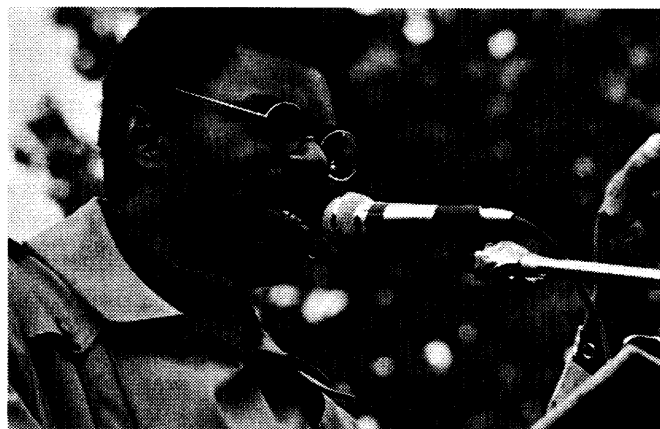
"The ruling class also strives to divide Black and white through the fostering of separatist concepts, bred of the feelings of frustration, anger and cynicism among Black people. Such concepts are fed by the inadequacy of the struggle against racism among white workers. Among these are various concepts of Pan-Africanism. . . .

"In all its forms, Black separatism is divisive. . . .

"Black separatism, it is important to note, has nothing in common with national pride—with pride in being Black or identification with African heritage. These are healthy sentiments which reactionary nationalism seeks to distort."

Jarvis Tyner, Hall's running mate, told the May 5-8 Young Workers Liberation League convention:

"Narrow Black nationalism, though waning, still remains a real factor among Black youth. Similarly, many Chicano and Puerto Rican, as well as Asian and Indian radicals are heavily disoriented by nationalism."



Jarvis Tyner, critic of Black nationalism.

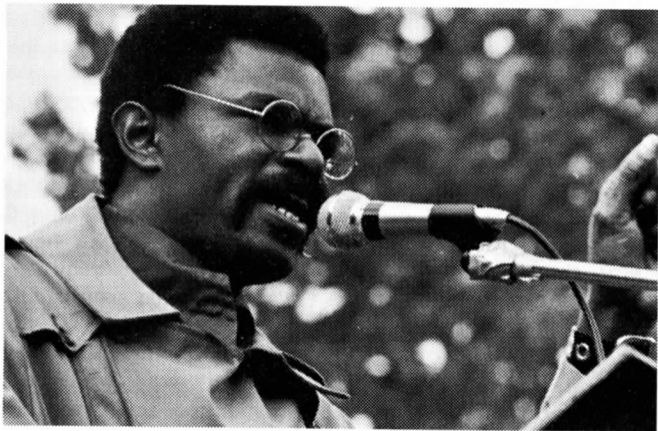
It is in the CP press that we find the sharpest assaults on nationalism. Typical of these are the charges leveled by Jose Stevens, currently a CP congressional candidate and director of the Harlem Institute for Marxist studies, in the September 1971 *Political Affairs*. Pan-Africanism, Stevens writes, "has become the new dressing for bourgeois nationalism. . . . Any careful examination will show that these ideas are being supported and financed by monopoly."

Does Stevens believe that W. E. B. DuBois and Marcus Garvey were "supported and financed by monopoly"? Whatever their differences, these were leaders of Pan-Africanism.

Does Stevens believe that the Pan-Africanist organizations which initiated and organized mass demonstrations on African Liberation Day (May 27, 1972) to protest U. S. support to racist regimes in Southern Africa, are agents of monopoly? Did these demonstrations, involving over 30,000 people in mass action against the U. S. government's racist foreign policy, serve the interests of imperialism?

Above all, how does the CP justify this ready resort to ugly slanders against those with whom it has political differences?

In the July 1971 *Political Affairs*, Tony Monteiro



Jarvis Tyner, critic of Black nationalism.

launched a more general attack:

"... nationalism and separatism within the movement are capitulations to racism. The ideologies of racism and nationalism have the same bourgeois class essence and cannot serve to advance the common struggle of all workers for socialism and national liberation."

Monteiro then leveled an extremely grave charge against Black nationalism:

"U. S. imperialism will use racism for whites and nationalism for oppressed peoples in America to divide the peoples' opposition and to create the conditions for a fascist takeover."

Monteiro makes it clear that it is not only the widespread separatist and Pan-Africanist sentiments of Black people that are the CP's target but *Black nationalism in all its forms*. The equation of white bigotry which spurs most whites to accept or defend national oppression, with the nationalist self-assertion of Black people, which inspires them to struggle against oppression, shows how shallow the CP's understanding of white racism really is.

The unfounded character of Monteiro's charges is thrown into relief if one imagines someone evenhandedly condemning the racism of Nixon and the nationalism of the Vietnamese people, concluding that both "create the conditions" for the Thieu dictatorship.

Black nationalism is the tendency of the oppressed Black nation in the U. S. to organize themselves in Black organizations with Black leadership for the struggle against their oppression. It means winning Black control of the schools, police, hospitals, and all the other institutions in the Black community. It means identifying with and supporting the struggles of Black people all over the world. Carried to the end, it means Black people leaving the political parties of the capitalist oppressor and forming their own party to carry out the struggle on the streets and in the elections. As we shall see, it is this aspect of nationalism that most frightens the CP.

The Communist Party rejects the Leninist position that Blacks in the United States constitute an oppressed nationality, and not just a section of the working class in general. As a nationality they have the right to self-determination, including the right to separate from their historic oppressors if they so choose. It is the height of arrogance for the CP to decide for Black people that the right of separation is a "capitulation to racism."

Lenin, unlike his self-proclaimed followers, was unequivocal on this question. In his "Draft Theses on National and Colonial Question" written for and approved by the Second Congress of the Communist International in June 1920, Lenin wrote:

"In all their propaganda and agitation. . . all Communist parties should render direct aid to the revolutionary movements among the dependent and underprivileged nations (for example, Ireland, the American Negroes, etc.) and in the colonies.

"Without the latter condition, which is particularly important, the struggle against the oppression of the dependent nations and colonies, as well as *recognition of their right to secede*, are but a false signboard, as is evidenced by the parties of the Second International." (*Collected Works*, Moscow: Progress Publishers, Vol. 31, pp. 147-48. Emphasis added.)

At this point the majority of Black people have not

yet decided whether or not to struggle for their own state. That is their decision to make. If the majority of Blacks in this country should opt for a separatist solution, the duty of Leninists will be to support them wholeheartedly, not to berate them with being agents of monopoly or harbingers of fascism.

The CP charges that Black nationalism divides white and Black workers and impedes struggles against white racism. They do not believe white workers can be won to support Black struggles for self-determination. They believe that Black people must make *concessions* on these questions in order to achieve "unity" with whites. This kind of unity—which resembles the unity between horse and rider—is false to the core and would fall apart at the first blow.

The independent struggle of Blacks for equal rights in the early sixties played a major role in setting off the radicalization process in other sectors of the population. The development of mass nationalist sentiment and struggles around nationalist demands has deepened this process rather than "alienating" whites as the CP seems to believe.

The road to unity between workers of the oppressor nationality and the oppressed Black nationality in the United States is that laid out by Lenin: *Unconditional* support of the struggles of the oppressed nationality by the workers of the oppressor nationality, up to and including support for the right of Black people to separate from this racist government, should they so decide.

The CP's attacks on nationalism inevitably lead to attacks on the role of Malcolm X, who did more than any other individual to develop and spread Black nationalist ideas. According to Monteiro, "Malcolm's critique never provided the basis for the development of a mass movement which could effectively challenge the system he so eloquently criticized."

If Monteiro would look around him, he would observe that Malcolm's ideas provided the inspiration for the actions for Black control of the Black community and in support of African liberation which are taking place today.

Before Malcolm's ideas became widely popular, the CP did not hesitate to turn the weapon of slander against him, just as it does against Pan-Africanists and other nationalists today. James E. Jackson's article, "A Fighting People Forging New Unity" appeared in the July 7, 1963, *Worker*. It was also reprinted as a pamphlet. Jackson wrote (*italics added*):

"The Muslim organization, in general, and Malcolm X in particular are *ultra-reactionary forces* operating in the orbit of the Negro People's movement with the *strategic assignment* to sow ideological confusion, to dissipate the organizational energies of the Negro masses, to promote divisionism within the Negro movement, and to alienate the Negro movement from fraternal ties with and support of comparably deprived or democratically inclined white masses. . . .

"They counterpose a mystique of Black racial superiority to the racist doctrine of white superiority; they do not fight racism, *they merely advocate their own brand of the poison*.

"Malcolm X describes the suffering and misery of Negroes under the heel of the jimcrow system. . . . *But this is a demagogic come-on by a conscious huckster of worthless nostrums, which succor only the enemy of the Negro people, and debilitate the unity and vi-*

sion of the masses. . . .

"Malcolm X in no sense of the word can be considered a leader of the Negro people, *he is an agent of their enemies* and consequently an enemy of their progress." The CP continued to attack this "enemy agent" and his ideas until his assassination. When, after his death, he became generally recognized as a heroic figure in Black history, the CP switched to the current policy of damning him with faint praise.

At the heart of the CP's hostility to nationalism lies the strategy of keeping Black people working for reforms in the Democratic party. The CP rightly fears that the dynamic of nationalism will lead the Black community to break from the tutelage of capitalist politicians and to create their own political party. The CP also fears that this would set a "bad" example of independence for the labor movement which is beginning to show signs of restiveness.

Malcolm X understood the nature of the role played by the Democratic Party in the Black community. "In this country," he said, "it's impossible to be aligned with either party. Either party that you align yourself with is suicide. Because both parties are criminal." (*Malcolm X Speaks*, p. 132.)

And again: "We won't organize any Black man to be a Democrat or a Republican because both have sold us out; both parties have sold us out." (*By Any Means Necessary*, p. 46.)

The CP is alarmed by such statements, claiming that independent Black political action will "divide" the working class. The Democratic Party, however, cannot and does not unite Black and white in a struggle against oppression. It "unites" them with the racist capitalist ruling class in an organization owned and controlled by the latter. This is the unity the CP seeks in practice—unity of the Black people with supposedly "progressive" capitalists, unity of Black people with really "conscious hucksters of worthless nostrums" like George McGovern who will not solve a single problem Black people face. The CP is afraid that an independent Black party would split Black people from politicians who support the racist system—and it would.

Nothing would bar such a Black party from uniting with other oppressed groups in struggle around common goals. The Raza Unida Party, a nationalist Chicano party, has frequently done this in actions directed against the war, in support of the struggles of migrant workers, and on other issues. What the Raza Unida parties have refused to do thus far is unite with their oppressors in the electoral arena. Unfortunately, this is the kind of alliance that the CP is most interested in creating under the deceptive rubric of "Black and white unity."

Hence, in a series of articles in the *Daily World* on the March 10-12 National Black Political Convention held in Gary, Indiana, Ted Bassett denounced the idea of an independent Black party, an idea he incorrectly attributed to conference organizer Imamu Amiri Baraka:

"Far from advancing the cause of Black freedom. . . . Baraka's all-Black political Party would play into the hands of the white ruling class." (*Daily World*, March 11.)

Bassett is disarmingly frank about the alternative he proposes:

"As an independent movement *within the Democratic Party* growing out of the 13-member Black congressional caucus, the National Black Political Conven-

tion . . . can bring a comprehensive program embracing the special demands of Black people into the center of the 1972 Presidential contest." (Italics added.)

This is the program that the Hall-Tyner ticket is defending in 1972—a program that subordinates the nationalist demands and independent struggles of the Black community to the pipe dream: a reformed, refurbished, revamped and renewed Democratic Party.

Labor Movement

A central theme of the Hall-Tyner campaign has been its claim to speak in the interests of organized labor. In a broader context the Communist Party has frequently tried to explain away the growth of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance by claiming that the present currents in the radical movement—feminism, Black and Chicano nationalism, the predominance of students in the antiwar movement—are "petty bourgeois." The alleged working class orientation of the CP and its 1972 election campaign is as deficient as its position on all the other areas of struggle.

George Morris, for example, laid out the Hall-Tyner strategy for fighting administration economic policies in an article in the March 1972 *Political Affairs*:

"Speaking engagements for the [CP] candidates at union halls and other working class gatherings, at plant gate meetings, will help create a campaign that can *force the Democrats to reverse themselves* and call for an end of the 'New Economic Policy'. . . ." (Italics added.)

McGovern, unfortunately for the CP analysts, has no intention of reversing himself. He has consistently voted over the years for the most reactionary "right-to-work" laws and for other antiunion legislation. As far as the "New Economic Policy" is concerned, McGovern, shifting further to the right as the election approaches, announced his own system of wage controls on September 15. While throwing in the sop that he would try harder to restrain prices and profits, he refused to give an inch on upholding the government's "right" to regulate wage settlements. He proposed the creation of yet another class-collaborationist "Review Board" with representatives of "the public," management, and labor to oversee the controls.

But the main *action* the CP is urging on the labor movement is to vote for McGovern! As we saw in the August *Political Affairs* editorial, "Of key importance [in electing McGovern] is the mobilization of the trade union movement at all levels and in particular the development of a powerful rank-and-file movement in opposition to the Meany-Abel-Fitzsimmons sellout."

This, the *Daily World* has been repeating continuously, is to be accomplished in an "independent" way. This newspaper, since the Democratic convention, has carried on a high-powered campaign hailing every union endorsement of McGovern. This is usually defensively headlined as a blow to Nixon or to George Meany's declaration of neutrality. A banner headline in the September 19 issue reads: "Steeler Delegates Oppose 'Neutral' Politics." The article is a glowing report of the activities of the pro-McGovern caucus at the Las Vegas convention of the United Steel Workers.

The fact is that the Communist Party has little influence in the trade-union movement. But it uses what forces it has to promote the continued entrapment by the labor bureaucracy of the ranks of labor within the confines of the Democratic Party.

The Socialist Alternative



Linda Jenness, 31-year-old secretary from Atlanta, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party.



Andrew Pulley, 21, ex-GI, railroad worker and Black nationalist, the SWP's candidate for vice-president.

Nixon and McGovern have staked their careers on the Democratic and Republican parties and the capitalist system they both represent. The politicians of the capitalist parties, regardless of the passing differences among them, have cooperated to wage imperialist wars, maintain the exploitation of working people, and perpetuate racism and sexism in this society.

There is no such thing as a "lesser evil" among capitalist politicians. Although some profess to be more "progressive" or "responsive" than others, all are committed to upholding an unjust social system. The war in Southeast Asia, which has been waged during the administrations of Democrats and Republicans, liberals and conservatives, graphically illustrates the extent to which politicians of both parties will carry out this commitment.

The candidates of the Socialist Workers Party—Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley—advocate a fundamental change from capitalism to socialism. They believe that control of this society and its resources must be wrenched from the hands of the millionaires and billionaires who profit from exploitation. Production must be organized to meet the needs of the majority of people, not the needs of a few, in order to end the war, poverty, pollution, and oppression which aid the rulers in increasing their profits. A mere switch in the occupant of the White House will obviously never accomplish this.

In contrast to Nixon and McGovern, Jenness and Pulley are campaigning in support of all of the independent movements for social change. They call for the immediate, total, and unconditional withdrawal of all U. S. forces from Southeast Asia because they support the right of the Vietnamese, and all other oppressed nations around the world, to self-determination. The U. S. government does not have the right to prevent other peoples from controlling their own countries by playing the role of world cop.

Jenness and Pulley support the demands raised by women, including the demand for the repeal of all

antiabortion laws so that women can be guaranteed the right of control over their own bodies.

The socialist candidates support the demands being raised by Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Native American and Asian American people for complete control over their own communities. They call for a mass Black political party, independent of the Democratic and Republican parties.

To fight the government's assault upon the rights and wages of working people, Jenness and Pulley call for a united mobilization of the entire labor movement. They call for a national congress of labor, with delegates democratically elected by rank-and-file workers, to map out a campaign of struggle on all fronts against wage controls, inflation and unemployment. They advocate an immediate end to war spending, the primary cause of inflation; cost-of-living escalator clauses in all contracts to protect workers from inflation; and cost-of-living increases in all pensions, social security payments, and welfare and unemployment benefits.

In addition, the socialist candidates support the organization of committees of the unions and consumer groups with the power to regulate prices, and a shortening of the workweek with no reduction in pay, so that all available work can be spread to those who need jobs in order to end unemployment.

Jenness and Pulley call for the formation of an independent labor party based on the trade unions to defend the rights and standard of living of working people against the parties of the bosses, and to fight for a workers' government.

Jenness and Pulley give no support to any candidates of the capitalist parties. They know that, whatever their promises, these parties exist to preserve oppression and not to abolish it.

Many young people today are abandoning the parties of McGovern and Nixon to support Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley in '72. Make your first vote count. Join the socialist campaign!

The Socialist Alternative



Linda Jenness, 31-year-old secretary from Atlanta, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party.



Andrew Pulley, 21, ex-GI, railroad worker and Black nationalist, the SWP's candidate for vice-president.

Attend the Young Socialist Nat'l Convention

No matter who wins the November elections, young people are not going to be able to sit back and watch the world go by. We're still going to have to organize the antiwar movement, fight for women's liberation, demand better jobs and housing, participate in future election campaigns, struggle for Black and Chicano liberation, and do all of the other things necessary to change society.

If you're beginning to ponder the question of what to do when the elections are over, plan to attend the Young Socialist National Convention in Cleveland, Ohio, November 23-26, 1972. Young activists from high schools and campuses and communities around the country will meet at the Sheraton-Cleveland Hotel to map a course of action to continue the struggle beyond November. Come and participate!

For more information: Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, 706 Broadway, 8th fl., New York, New York 10003; (212) 989-7676; or, Young Socialist Alliance, Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003; (212) 989-7570.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

School/Organization _____
(for identification only)

SUPPORT THE SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN

I endorse the Jenness-Pulley ticket as the only positive alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties, although I do not necessarily agree with all of the planks in the SWP platform.

Enclosed is a donation of \$_____ to further the socialist campaign. Send me more information.

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