

HOOPER
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INSTITUTION

aftermath of 1966 elections

Anti-Strike Legislation Threatens Unions

by James Verrill

The Congressional elections held on November 8, 1966 were a major defeat for the American working class.

This is not because the Republican Party made major gains in the House and a small gain in the Senate (although no joy should be found from these facts)

The Democrats still retain control of both houses, and "liberal" as well as "conservative" elements of both major parties are preparing, on the basis of all kinds of "national emergency" and "strikes-against-the-government" pretexts to enact severe limitations on strike action--and the strike is labor's basic weapon in its own defense.

Even before the election, union leaders and rank-and-file had been worried about the prospects of anti-labor legislation.

failures

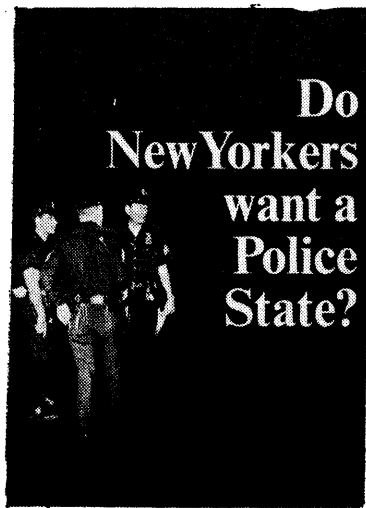
LBJ's 89th Congress (of "Great Society" fame) which was overwhelmingly Democratic, demonstrated its complete subservience to capitalism by failing to: (a) ease restraints on construction site picketing, (b) establish Federal standards for unemployment compensation--and, most important of all, (c) failing to repeal Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act (the phony "right-to-work" provision) which permits states to ban the union shop--a provision which many states have used.

W. Don Ellinger, Political Director for the International Association of Machinists, called the election "a catastrophe for labor," and went on to say that "anti-strike and other anti-labor legislation will be pushed by labor's enemies at the first opportunity...any major advance in social legislation now seems remote. The next two years will be tough for organized labor."

But where were labor's "friends" in the last Congress, and how can labor guarantee the type of Congress which will defend the working class?

"friends"

The Democrats have proved to be only verbal "friends", who become open enemies of labor, whenever the needs of capitalism demand the crushing of the workers. Mounting pressures of the Vietnam War, which strain the economic structure, have pushed the bosses (with the aid of their government) to put "guidelines" on labor's demands, and now they will try



Do
New Yorkers
want a
Police
State?

LABOR ANSWERED YES.

to harness the labor movement. This forces both major parties to cast aside their phony faces and to step on the working man. The labor movement has the elementary responsibility of building its own party, a labor party, based on the trade unions.

The entire labor leadership ignore this necessity, and collaborate with the Democratic Party--thereby selling out their rank-and-file. Sometimes, a few of the above bur-eyacrats bolt--to the Republicans, as in New Jersey and New York.

individuals

Where does this leave workers? Given the choice of two anti-labor parties, they are beginning to vote for Capitalist candidates strictly as individuals. The man they vote for usually does not appeal to them on the basis of any "labor planks," but on the basis of carefully selected issues such as open housing, inflation, crime, welfare, the war etc.

Needless to say, these "attractive" individuals also go along with the rest of their parties' attempts to crush labor.

"Liberals" Javits (Rep.) and Morse (Dem) are two of the most outstanding advocates of anti-strike legislation--this shows where the heart (and pocketbook) of the pro-

fessional liberal lies. We can expect no better (but it could be worse) from the newly elected avowed conservatives.

A counter-movement against the impending reactionary activities of the capitalist parties, is desperately needed now. The 90th Congress opens in a month.

It has been shown, that if people think that they have a decent alternative to the two major parties, they will support other parties. About one million New Yorkers voted for other parties on November 8th, and although these other parties (the Liberal and Conservative Parties) were thoroughly rotten, they demonstrated the potential for a new party--especially one with real politics.

17,000,000 workers are in trade unions today--this is a huge base for a labor party, unambiguously representing the wage-earner. Only this type of party can begin to solve the racial strife that has struck the United States. Millions of workers, black and white, have the same in-

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LIEGE: THE BANNER THEY DIDN'T WANT. PAGE 3.

gallagher - liberal as redbaiter

CCNY Students Vote Against Draft

by Marilyn Wells

The cooperation of colleges and universities with the draft is forcing a long-beclouded issue into focus: who controls the colleges and for what purpose? New York's City College is now a center of controversy over this question.

City College students voted against releasing class rankings to the Selective Service Administration by an overwhelming nearly 2 to 1 with over 5,000 students taking part. By almost the same proportions they voted against making college facilities available for administering Selective Service tests and for a committee to seek separation of colleges and un-

iversities from the administration of Selective Service.

In a similar referendum at the University of Michigan students voted almost 2-1 against compiling class standings for use by the Selective Service System.

Whether these expressions of student opinion will have any influence on the administration remains to be seen. The CCNY referendum was held, in the first place, as the result of student pressure last spring culminating in a sit-in at the Administration Building. A second sit-in sponsored by the Student Government was held the week before the referendum, which demanded that the draft ref-

erendum be binding and also demanded that the faculty-student committee draw up plans for increased campus democracy to be submitted to a vote in January.

redbaiting

The sit-in brought motions of support from student governments at the University of Minnesota, University of Michigan, Queens College and Hunter College (Uptown). It also provoked CCNY President into a red baiting attack on TV, in which he accused the sit-in of being "communist led" and said that he had proof that CCNY was a "Number One target" for Communist activity. This "proof" was a CP resolution in 1928 that CCNY was an important arena of activity for its young members! A later attempt by Gallagher to retract his charges only angered them more, for he stated that "irresponsible left-wingers" should not be allowed to gain control of the student leadership.

By resorting to these McCarthyite tactics, not befitting the sophisticated liberal image which Gallagher has aided the students immeasurably. Conservative student leaders who had previously not supported the sit-

EDITORIAL: WHITHER INDEPENDENT POLITICS?

This was the year of the independent campaigns. Activists in the peace movement particularly turned to political action and thus the Weinstein, Silberman and Levin campaigns in New York City, the decision of the Conference for New Politics in California not to endorse either Brown or Reagan and many other independent campaigns scattered across the nation.

The returns are now coming in and in New York City's independent campaigns are any

sign, as we expect they are, these campaigns produced little noteworthy in the way of votes. The soul-searching has already begun. "Was it all worth it?" "What do we do now that the campaign is over?" These are the questions plaguing the militants who worked for the independent tickets. The kind of answer given to these questions will determine whether the forces gathered with so much sweat are to be demoralized and dispersed or whether

these campaigns become stepping stones to even more important struggles in the future.

The campaigns were well worth it; let there be no doubt about that. They were worth it because they meant a break on the part of a section of American radicals from any form of support to the two capitalist parties. They symbolized a correct understanding that single issue demonstrations were not enough.

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LABOR SCOPE



UNEMPLOYMENT PLAGUES CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY IN NEW YORK AND ELSEWHERE.

by Dan Fried
FARM WORKERS

The success of the NFWA in California has given an impetus to the organization of farm workers in other parts of the country from Texas to New Jersey, and there are reports that upstate New York is also slated for organization.

If DiGiorgio in California has been a toughnut to crack, it could well have been child's play as compared with the current strike of the Rio Grande Valley farm workers in Texas which began last June 1. Here in LBJ land the Rio Grande strikers aim to bring themselves up to the minimum wage of \$1.25 per hour from their present 40¢ to \$1.00 per hour. But, according to the Starr County (Texas) Grand Jury which is indicting the union organizers, the contented farm workers are being "harrassed", "intimidated", "threatened" and generally terrorized into supporting the union. The organizers are pictured by the Grand Jury as a small conspiratorial group--as "un-American, outside elements" in much the same way as Southern racists usually characterize even the most modest efforts of Negroes to rise up in revolt against their alleged state of blissful ignorance and shuffling contentment.

Like the workers who organized the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union, the Rio Grande farm workers are not going to say "yassah boss" any more. Consequently, we see the local ruling class taking the most desperate attempts to stop the organizing drive. This drive, conducted

by the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, once more shows that organizing farm workers is not a matter of simply signing up workers and then petitioning for an NLRB election--it is a matter of a life and death, no-holds-barred struggle with their employers and their agents who run the government.

PLUMBERS STRIKE

The announcement by the Department of Commerce that October housing starts were at the lowest since November 1946 simply represents a sharp turn in an industry which for a long time has been sinking into a state of chronic depression. This situation has been especially sharp in New York City where construction workers have faced unsteady employment even when there has been relatively full employment in other local industries.

The most recent developments in the New York housing crisis is a plumbers strike that at the moment has gone on for some 120 days, virtually crippling \$500 million in construction and according to Mayor Lindsay, having a "disastrous effect" on the city economy and disrupting completion of housing, school, hospital and other municipal projects.

Naturally, the response of the Mayor has been to call for the formation of an "impartial" board of inquiry by the State Industrial Commissioner, rather than apply the pressure on the building contractors. The board that was subsequently selected has not even got one union representative among its three members, which includes a retired official of the New York Building Trades Employers Association!

The key demand at issue in the strike is the union's insistence that 25% of all plumbers chosen for projects be selected by the union in order to spread work more evenly. The contractors who chose all plumbers under the old contract have offered to allow the union to select only 10%. Also at issue is the union's demand for a six hour day with no reduction in take home pay instead of the current 7 hours.

These demands of the plumbers union are partial attempts to alleviate the chronic underemployment in the stagnating construction

industry. While they must be strongly supported, they are both modest and inadequate. The union leadership, trapped by its own shortsighted, narrow conservatism, fails to see the broader problem underlying unemployment in the sick construction industry.

The basic solution to construction unemployment as well as massive sub-standard housing must consider the following reality: As long as construction is dependent on private investment on the one hand and subsidy by a government committed to a more guns-less butter approach on the other hand, construction workers will face unemploy-

ment and slum dwellers will multiply.

MEANY'S WAR

The war in Vietnam has produced such strong inflationary tendencies that even sections of the trade union bureaucracy are expressing uneasiness about it. Undoubtedly recognizing that the war is becoming a hotter issue within the labor movement, UAW president Walter Reuther has refused to go along with George Meany's 100% support to LBJ's Vietnam policy. Reuther expressed his dissent by absenting himself from the recent AFL-CIO executive council meeting which unanimously supported Meany. The support given Meany by such "progressives" as Joe Curran of the NMU and Jacob Potofsky of the Amalgamated

Clothing Workers despite their hints of foreign policy differences, indicates that they fear a split by Reuther and the UAW from the AFL-CIO and are not yet prepared for such a step.

In the wake of Reuther's well publicized absence from the council meeting, a group of 250 local union leaders in the New York - New Jersey area adopted a resolution criticizing the Council's support of the Johnson Vietnam policy. This group which among others, includes a UAW assistant regional director, Leon J. Davis of Local 1199 (Hospital Employees Union), Victor Gottbaum of District 37, Municipal Workers, is associated with the Sane Nuclear Policy Committee.

Despite the timid nature of these critics, there is no doubt that the question of Vietnam will be coming more and more to the fore.

SANITATION-WELFARE

The November SSEU (welfare workers) general membership meeting saw the beginning of a very significant development. The membership unanimously endorsed a proposed alliance between the Union of Sanitationmen's Association (U.S.A.) and the SSEU. The alliance as presently proposed is seen primarily in terms of a leadership to leadership affair. Nevertheless, the enthusiastic endorsement signifies a growing awareness of the part of welfare workers of the need for working class allies.

The alliance was born out of the struggle against the Lindsay Tri-Partite plan. The U.S.A. leadership strongly opposes any infringement of collective bargaining and sees the SSEU as a militant ally against Tri-Partite. The move can also be viewed as an attempt on the part of the U.S.A. to play a leadership role in forging an alliance of other city unions possibly including the TWU as a counterforce to the sweetheart arrangement between the Lindsay administration and District Council 37.

The SSEU hopes to gain from this alliance some strong support in the increasingly likely Welfare strike in January. In addition they believe that such an alliance will afford the opportunity to utilize the very strong lobby of the U.S.A. in Albany. Thus for totally pragmatic reasons and in an entirely bureaucratic fashion the first steps toward an alliance have been taken. On a rank and file basis such steps can have a long range effect not at all calculated by the union leaderships.

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Inside a California Cannery

by A Cannery Worker

I'm a cannery worker for S&W Fine Foods, which is owned by the DiGiorgio Corp. For more than a year DiGiorgio has been fighting attempts of farm workers to form their own union. The company even brought in the Teamsters Union to break the farm workers strike. By coincidence the Teamsters Union already have the cannery workers in S&W under their control. The teamsters have proved that they are a nice responsible union that doesn't go on strike and will do as little for farm workers as they have done for cannery workers. Here are some of the conditions we work under:

Inside the cannery the floors are covered with puddles of orange juice and water. I wear heavy shoes with two pairs of socks but within four or five hours the water soaks through. The lighting in the plant is bad. After working all day when you finally walk out into the sun it blinds you.

The work is seasonal. Only a small percentage of cannery workers work all year round. For the rest the job is for the summer. But the stuff will spoil if it isn't canned, so we work 12, 14, even 16 hours a day. Once I had to work from 7 A.M. to 2 A.M. the next morning bottling orange juice. The tank cars full of juice had piled up outside. Employees are "asked" to work overtime, but are

threatened with firing if they refuse.

The plant is in the process of being automated. However many of the operations are still done the same way as they were done 100 years ago. For instance, the glazed cherries are kept in huge vats. The vats are emptied by carrying a bucket full of cherries back and forth over and over again till the vat is empty! Many cherries land on the floor. They're just shoveled off the floor, canned and sold.

An operation which is actually dangerous is the moving of barrels off the conveyor belt onto wooden pallets. Each barrel weighs 350 pounds and only one person is allowed to roll each barrel. The pallets used are often of inferior quality which increases the chances of a worker losing control of a barrel. Several workers have had their hands wrecked this way.

For a while I worked on the pickle relish belt. The apparatus used to "wash" the pickles before they are chopped up is coated with large quantities of rust. Particles of this rust chip off and are processed with the pickles.

S&W is out to make money. It does it by keeping farm workers and cannery workers divided. The Teamsters Union has been helping the company in this. But one day when farm workers and cannery workers get together the combination will be unbeatable.

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by Tim Wohlforth

The recent international youth demonstration in Liege, Belgium was a political development of great importance. The character of the political forces and the struggle between these forces will undoubtedly shape the course of the international socialist movement for some time to come. This demonstration of over 2,000 socialist youth from throughout Europe requires careful examination.

Except for the German SDS (Socialist Students) and a few anarchists and "provos", the youth on the demonstration were either under the leadership of organizations who look to the International Committee of the Fourth International or "Pabloists", that is supporters of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. The latter international formation is supported in this country by the Socialist Workers Party. It was the conflict between these two political tendencies--between revolutionary politics and centrism--which dominated the conflicts at Liege.

The two major groups with Pabloite leadership were the JGS of Belgium (Young Socialist Guards), organizers of the conference, and the French JCR (Young Revolutionary Communists). The International Committee was represented by the 500 strong British Young Socialist delegation and the 400 strong French Revoltes delegation.

central divergence

The central political divergence at Liege was over the relation of the Pabloite centrists with the pacifists and Stalinists. The centrists were seeking to make a political bloc with pacifism and Stalinism primarily over the Vietnam War in a way essentially similar to the functioning of the SWP in the U.S. peace movement. They limited their demands to ones acceptable to those elements and at the same time sought to bar any criticisms of Stalinism on the part of other tendencies.

Much as does the SWP here, this political amalgam was pawned off as a "united front". The united front was seen as limiting political slogans to those acceptable to the Stalinists and pacifists. In a true united front all participants are allowed to carry their own banners, stating their own politics. There is no covering up of differences but rather the guarantee of the right of mutual criticism among the participants.

two lines

The French Trotskyist paper "Informations Ouvrieres" describes the political intervention of Revoltes and the Young Socialists as follows: "Refusing to accept the division of the world into blocs, they proclaimed the international unity of the proletarian struggles, in the underdeveloped countries, as well as in the USSR and in the strongholds of imperialism. One read on their banners and signs: 'THE ENEMY IS IN OUR OWN COUNTRY'; 'IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL OF U.S. TROOPS FROM VIETNAM'; 'LONG LIVE THE HUNGARIAN SOVIETS OF 1956'; 'LONG LIVE LENIN! LONG LIVE TROTSKY! LONG LIVE THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!'

"On the other hand", the French paper continues, "the line of the organizers of the demonstration, the JGS of Belgium, capitulated to Stalinism and the pacifist petty bourgeoisie. They limited themselves

CCNY STUDENTS

(Continued from page 1)

in--including the president of the Interfraternity Council were forced to come to the aid of their colleagues. One student leader who tried to apologize for Gallagher during the very sit-in saying, "recognize that Gallagher is not a monster; that Gallagher is not a Clark Kerr" reversed his opinion of the next day, after Gallagher's TV statement. The sit-in, which at its low point during the night had dwindled to 40 people, grew to 500 the following day after the newspapers carried the Gallagher red-baiting story.

Why did this sit-in demand-

ing greater student autonomy provoke Gallagher's red-baiting attack? Is it, as the president claims, that he acted "unwisely" because of being under a great deal of pressure? There are various "unwise" things he could have done instead, such as call in the police and have the students arrested, a la Berkeley. This may yet happen, of course. The red-baiting is related to another question: How could a self-proclaimed communist, PLer Rick Rhoades, get elected to the student government by a higher vote than anyone else?

expose

First, during the past cou-

ple of years the war, and the draft have forced large numbers of previously unpolitical students to see the blatant way in which the universities cooperate with the war aims of the U.S. government--aims which run directly counter to the needs and wishes of the majority of people in the country, aims about which they were never consulted. In addition to the war and the draft, a whole host of other events have shown that the CCNY Administration makes decisions vital to the lives and work of the students and faculty without even informing them until after the decisions have been made and imple-

mented.

liberalism

Gallagher, a long-time liberal, leader of civil rights and civil liberties causes, is forced now to shed his liberal mantle and act in the same way as a right-winger. He is not acting contrary to liberal nature; he is acting as a liberal must act when he is placed in a position of responsibility for administering the institutions of an imperialist government.

On the other hand, while liberals in positions of power must act in the interests of the status quo, it is the radicals, the socialists, alone

who are capable of explaining the reasons for the war and the draft, and who can point a way to end them.

direction

As to what kind of leadership these student radicals will provide, a step in the right direction has been taken by the SDS and PL chapters at Columbia, who recently organized student support to the striking workers at the GE plant in Schenectady. For as long as students remain remote from and isolated from the class struggle, they will remain as they are now, ineffectual and helpless.

future course of world socialist movement shaped in battle with centrism

to such slogans as: 'DOWN WITH THE ARMY'; 'NATO OUT OF BELGIUM'; 'US AGGRESSORS GET OUT OF VIETNAM'; 'UNITED ANTI-IMPERIALIST FRONT', trying to create a new 'London Bureau', the crystallization of centrism."

hungarian banner

This divergence was expressed in two major incidences. The first was the battle over the Young Socialist and Revoltes banners hailing the Hungarian Revolution. The march was held almost on the eve of the tenth anniversary of that heroic workers' struggle. The Pabloite paper of the SWP's comrade Ernest Mandel "La Gauche" stated that the JGS considered "that introducing these banners in a united-front demonstration in defense of the Vietnamese revolution was out of place." They considered this so strongly that they threatened to use the police to prevent the young revolutionaries from marching with these banners. Only the adamant stand of the youth forced the JGS Pabloite leaders to retreat and permit the banners.

The reason for the JGS's action becomes clear. The small band of Stalinist youth and their pacifist allies present informed the JGS that they would refuse to march in the demonstration if these banners were kept allowed. In typical fashion the Pabloites, instead of rejecting the blackmail of the Stalinists, turned against the revolutionaries.

imposing democracy

The next incident occurred later that evening at the mass rally held after the march. At the very end of the rally the Pabloite chairman sought to force through "by acclamation" a resolution which nobody had had a chance to study or discuss earlier.

At this point the revolutionary youth of Revoltes (the Young Socialists had already left for home) let it be known by shouting from the floor that they had no intention of tolerating such undemocratic maneuvers. As Informations Ouvrieres put it succinctly: "Revoltes then had to impose respect for workers democracy."

fourth international

The degeneration of the great October Revolution, and because of this degeneration the destruction of the Third International, were momentous blows to the world working class. Trotsky who stood up almost alone against Stalin and for a revolutionary course, was able to gather a small unseasoned cadre around him before he fell dead under Stalin's axe in 1940.

But the new beginning was made; the continuity with the Third International and October was not completely broken. This was and is the great historic significance of the founding of the Fourth International in 1938. Decades of misleadership under Pablo and Germain neglect and no leadership on the part of the SWO almost destroyed this

precious creation--but not quite.

For almost 15 years Trotskyists fought against the degeneration and revisionism of their own international movement. First the French stood alone, completely alone, against the revisionists. Then they were joined by the British Trotskyists and the SWP. Shortly thereafter the SWP deserted the struggle against revisionism only a little later to take up the revisionists' banner as their own.

The British and French struggled on and today their struggle is bearing fruit among the youth of Europe. We, the American supporters of the International Committee, are proud of our collaboration in common battle with these comrades, a collaboration which goes back to the struggles inside the SWP in 1961.

Trotskyist mask

Our French comrades sum it up very well indeed: "The rottenness of bourgeois society as expressed in the war in Vietnam and in unemployment among youth, the betrayals of the Stalinist social democratic apparatuses which help the bourgeois apparatus of workers organizations, the present crisis of Stalinism, frees thousands of young workers who confusedly seek the politics of revolution. The bourgeoisie and the bourgeois apparatus of workers organizations must prevent at all costs the union of this youth with the vanguard of organized Trotskyism. The "Trotskyist" mask, and verbal anti-stalinism are necessary in order to do this. This is the true meaning of the line that JCR and JGS developed at Liege.

Mary Alice in Wonderland

The November 21st Militant contains a report by Mary Alice Waters, Young Socialist Alliance representative at Liege, which makes clear where this supposedly "Trotskyist" organization stands. Miss Waters sees the Young Socialist's banner defending the Hungarian Revolution as "an unnecessary obstacle to building a united-front demonstration in defense of the Vietnam revolution" because it was used as a "pretext" by the Stalinist youth to refuse to participate in the demonstration.

We suspect she honestly sees no relationship between one revolution and another--between the heroic struggle of Hungarian workers against the Stalinist bureaucracy and the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese workers and peasants against American imperialism.

The very next day after Miss Waters' article appeared, the New York Times reported that Gromyko, representative of the very same bureaucracy that crushed the Hungarian workers, sat down with Johnson and Rusk to discuss military arrangements against China!

The wrath of the YSA's representative is turned against the British Trotskyist youth for defending the Hungarian workers--not against the Belgian Stalinist youth who walked out on the demonstration.

on junking trotskyism

YSA Offers Hollow Program in Minnesota Vietnam Group

by Robin Hill

Minneapolis -- To continue our analysis of the Minnesota Committee to End the War in Vietnam elections we now turn to the YSA-SWP "position paper". Consisting of six propositions, each defined by two or three sentences, this statement calls for a single issue committee, support for Vietnamese self-determination, withdrawal of American troops, defense of dissent within the army, non-exclusionism in the anti-war movement, and a national organization of independent committees. All in all, a rather innocuous summation of their "Trotskyism". But before we deal with the individual proposals let's consider a few premises about war in this epoch that a Trotskyist analysis is based on.

trotskyism

First, war is an integral and necessary product of imperialism. Currently Vietnam is the most blatant example of this harsh reality but hardly unique except in the desperate determination of the U. S. government to win. Analyzing the causes of another imperialist war -- the Korean -- in "The Road to Peace: According to Stalin and According to Lenin", James P. Cannon demands those interested in peace "look behind the official statements, speeches, prayers and pronouncements emanating from Washington and examine the economic necessities and drives of American imperialism. The real program of the U.S. is rooted there..." (p. 28).

Second, the war in Vietnam is part of the international class struggle. And as long as the present anti-war movement refuses to face this fact the independent committees will prove as ineffectual as their hundreds of predecessors. (Of course, this refusal to face reality is to some degree the responsibility of "Socialists" more interested in organizational games than

ANTI-STRIKE LAWS

(Continued from page 1)

terests, which will be represented by such a party.

racism crisis

The filthy racism injected into the last campaign (NYC Civilian Review Board defeat, successful Republican campaign in Illinois, the near victory for Democratic Party racist Mahoney in Maryland, both parties' segregationist candidates in Georgia, Reagan's victory in California, etc.) shows that racism is the number one tool of capitalism to divide the working class, to separate the workers from meaningful struggle on their own behalf.

No doubt many labor leaders and liberals (and some "socialists" too) will say now: "Look at these workers. Give them half a chance and they vote for racism and reaction. What can we do about it?" The truth of the matter is that labor's policy of support to the Johnson Administration has created the condi-



WHILE YSA PLAYS WITH PACIFISTS NLF FIGHTS ON.

in presentation and defense of their ideas.) Cannon in his pamphlet repeatedly stresses a Leninist understanding of imperialism as an absolutely necessary basis for ending war. "The class struggle of the workers, merging with the colonial revolutions in a common struggle against imperialism, is the only genuine fight against war.... The workers and colonial peoples will have peace when they have the power and use their power to take it and make it for themselves. That is the road of Lenin. There is no other road to peace." (p. 36)

slogan

Now let us examine the YSA-SWP "position paper" on their road to peace in Vietnam. They maintain the single issue "as the basis for the broadest possible unity". In practice, the "single issue" usually becomes a debate over the "single tactic" which is inevitably resolved (at least in the minds of YSAers) by the "single slogan". Even theoretically the

tions for this attrition of the workers away from the Democrats towards a more conservative political formations.

This is because a crisis is building up within American society. War in Vietnam, racial upheavals, joblessness and dissatisfaction among youth are just signs of this developing crisis. The Johnson Administration, far from offering any solution to this crisis, represents the forces which created it. But all the trade union leaders tell the workers to support Johnson.

One way or another workers are seeking a solution to their problems. The rightists offer them a false and reactionary solution which blames the workers' problems on other workers of another color. The only effective way the trade union movement can counter this serious threat is by itself offering an independent solution to the crisis -- not by defending an indefensible status quo.

We all know, with the ex-

"single issue" is a hard line to follow -- for example, where does the idea of self-determination leave off? On the borders of South Vietnam? Perhaps North Vietnam also? Or China? The Dominican Republic? Harlem? Actually the single issue becomes a device to contain the anti-war movement -- it formalizes the limits of student protest and encases it in the concrete of moral outrage and ultimate impotence.

"Unqualified support for the right of self-determination" can only be taken seriously as a socialist demand if this support is given workers and peasants against their own bourgeoisie as well as the American invaders. The battle in Vietnam is a class struggle and should not be misrepresented in any way. In this regard, the withdrawal of American troops is a correct demand, but unless it flows from a class analysis it is simply a pious pacifist mouthing. We likewise call for the withdrawal of U.S. troops but only as a necessary prelude to the es-

ception of two or three unions with large minority memberships, the trade union movement in New York City sat on its hands over the review board issue while masses of workers were taken in and voted against the board. These very same workers are being led to support the vicious anti-labor conservative forces in the state. We blame not these misguided workers but their bankrupt trade union leadership which has simply abandoned political leadership of the class.

Advocates of peace, civil rights and social progress in order to succeed in their efforts must put aside any fanciful schemes, and unite around the millions of American workers -- pushed to the wall by the capitalists and their stooge parties, and must start a struggle for the building of a labor party.

Rank-and-file workers must open fire on their sellout misleaders, and demand an independent movement of their own, a labor party -- now!!

establishment of a worker's state. American troops must return in defeat not after military or negotiated victory.

droppings

Occasionally the flight of revisionists from Marxism leaves some odd droppings in their path. The most odious within this "position paper" being "Complete defense of, and solidarity with, the GI's who must fight this dirty war." We quote this statement verbatim. Even coupled with its qualifying sentences dealing with civil rights in the armed forces it still stands as a crystallization of the abandonment of a working class consciousness. In refutation we offer, "Complete defense of, and solidarity with, the Viet Cong who must fight this dirty war."

Finally the YSA summa paxologica: a national organization of independent committees. This strikes us as an application of the principle of the illogical extension of confusion. If small groups are ineffective, well, don't waste time analyzing the sources of this

impotence, simply assume that lack of systematization is the problem and demand a national organization of confusion, of lack of political understanding. Lack of political understanding is precisely the difficulty before the anti-war movement. Somehow it must make its way out of its confusion and impotence, and accept a minimum program for self-survival. What is that minimum program? J. P. Cannon said it well in 1951, "Imperialist capitalism is the cause of war, and the struggle for peace is inseparable from the struggle against capitalism."

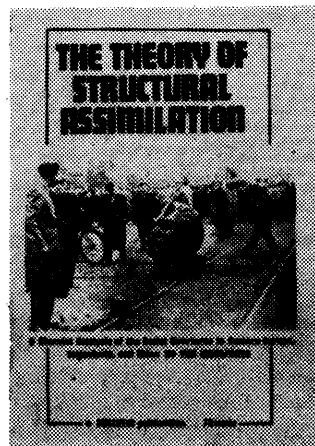
Because our first article might be misinterpreted we would like to make the following correction: The American Committee participated in "independent caucus" meetings in order to present a political line to confront the YSA leadership. Because the caucus did not develop any political line we did not then nor do we now support their candidates-elect.

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EDITORIAL

(Continued from page 1)

The question raised by the Vietnam War required and requires a political solution and this is what these militants attempted. They sought to relate the war question to the basic questions affecting the American working class -- such as inflation, unemployment and racism. And finally the campaigns allowed the militants to reach a wider audience with the truth about the war.

But the question still remains: "Where do we go from here?" True, a political solution is necessary. But it is also correct to state unambiguously that these campaigns did not really offer a meaningful vehicle for that solution. This is because of the narrow base of the campaigns -- primarily the already convinced middle class radicals and to some extent the momentarily embittered middle class liberals. This social strata does not offer a serious basis for a real political alternative to Johnson.

There is only one social force in the United States capable of stopping Johnson and those who will inevitably follow him -- the American working class. It is this class

which must break with the two capitalist parties and create its own party -- a labor party based on the trade unions. The trade union movement in the United States is the most powerful class organization in the whole world. It is this power which must be released from its capitalist political chains so it can assert its proper leadership role in American society. This will be the beginning of the end for capitalism -- the system which necessitates the criminal war in Vietnam, the inflation, the racism, the poverty that plague our society and the world.

To win the American working class over to an understanding of the need for a labor party is not an easy task. It is an extremely difficult task. It will take time and hard work. But it is the only politically meaningful task in the United States today. It is the central task for all who consider themselves socialists.

We call on all activists in the independent campaigns to transform their campaign committees into Committees for a Labor Party and to begin the great historic task of bringing political consciousness to the American working class.