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OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

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Ten Cents

SSEU Ranks Demand No Contract; No Work While Mage Leadership Plots Deal With City

by a welfare worker
NEW YORK -- The rank and file welfare workers in the SSEU have made it very clear that they are willing to fight City Hall for their just demands. It is equally clear that the policy of the SSEU leadership is preparing this membership for defeat and demoralization.

While President Mage has been seeking to back off from a Jan. 3rd strike deadline, the ranks have become increasingly restive. The entire East End Welfare Center staff has issued a leaflet demanding: "NO CONTRACT; NO WORK!" The same position was expressed forcefully from the floor at a recent general membership meeting and received 40 per cent of the vote. President Mage was able to defeat this position only by seeking to make her position of postponement look as if it were a "No Contract; No Work" position.

The most positive new development within the union is the appearance of the Rank and File Committee. This group has spearheaded the campaign for No Contract; No Work! through its newsletter and has fought for an orientation of rallying the entire labor movement for a struggle against the City.

In the meantime President Mage's plans are becoming increasingly clear and ominous. At the most recent general membership meeting she forced through proposals paring down the negotiating committee to a handful and barring members from attending executive committee meetings. Both steps make clear her intent to work out a deal with the city behind the backs of the membership.

It is also significant that Mage proposed that one of the reduced negotiating committee members be a leading official of the Sanitationmen's Union. This union has already made its peace with Lindsay. We must assume the Sanitationmen's leadership will now seek to maneuver a similar deal in "behalf" of the SSEU-- and in the process bring the SSEU under its tutelage.

confrontation

The SSEU is moving toward a confrontation with the City at a time when Lindsay finds himself in extreme financial difficulties. The City faces a

massive deficit and Lindsay is desperately seeking ways to save money and increase revenue by increased taxes and fares on New York workers. The big New York banks that use the city as their own personal money farm are dictating that the City must attack the living standards of city employees and cut back on welfare expenditures if they are to continue extending the credit that runs the city. This is not an isolated incident but is happening in every major city in this country. The results are increasing militancy on the part of municipal employees and the growing ghetto revolts.

changes

For welfare in particular, major changes are planned by the new Human Resources Administration. The long range perspective is to eliminate the caseworker altogether and reduce the client to a number on an IBM card. Any serious idea of really providing service or help for people in need will become a joke. Caseworkers are allowed to do little enough as it is. The new plan, when put into effect, may very well leave people to die, particularly the old, because of the complete neglect and contempt of the City for the poor. This is the reality of the "Great Society" to come.

We repeat, these plans for city workers are long range. Lindsay's task right now is to take the offensive and begin the process. He has done this (Continued on Page 4)



MINNEAPOLIS OFFICIALS TRY TO JUSTIFY BUDGET CUTS TO HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS.

High School Students and Teachers Union Protest Minneapolis Board's Criminal School Budget Cuts

by Bob Johnson
MINNEAPOLIS -- Following the "advice" of the Citizens School Emergency Advisory Committee, the Minneapolis School Board, on December 13, slashed \$5,150,000 from the 1967 school operating budget.

This "Citizens" Committee was appointed by the board to give authority to the budget cuts made necessary (says the board) because of the defeat on election day of a pro-

posed Minneapolis property tax increase which was counted on in setting up the original budget last June.

Labor representatives walked out of a Dec. 6 meeting of this Citizens Committee when the chairman arbitrarily excluded labor members from its steering committee. The Committee then proceeded to recommend cuts in many vital school programs, including summer school, library book purchases, extra-curricular

activities, bus service, clerical help, classes for the handicapped and health services.

students

Students at Vocational High School were the first to protest the threatened cutbacks at their own school, including drama, athletics and other extracurricular programs. There was a brief sit-in Friday; then students at North and Edison high schools picked up the theme and hundreds boycotted classes Dec. 13 to demonstrate before the board meeting.

But without leadership, and without a program to fight these cuts in the quality of school life, things quickly returned to "normal", to the relief of the officials.

teachers

Then the picture took on a new and important aspect. The Minneapolis Federation of Teachers, Local 59, after an emergency executive board meeting Dec. 14, the day after the school board rubber-stamped the budget cuts, threatened to call a strike at the Jan. 4 meeting of the union if the cuts are not rescinded by Jan. 1.

These attacks on the schools (Continued on Page 2)

CALL PICKET LINE--PROTEST MEXICAN JAILINGS

The Mexican Government is running a vicious campaign of persecution against the small revolutionary forces in that country who have refused to give support to the capitalist government. The most recent incident is the arrest of Comrade Dr. Fausto Davila, a well known Trotskyist from Poza Rica, where a large Pemex refinery is located.

Davila has been charged with "conspiracy" and is now being framed up for supposedly smuggling arms. Similar charges were made some time back against the journalist Adolpho Gilly and a number of Mexican supporters of Posados, who once was part of the Fourth International. These militants are still in jail awaiting trial.

Davila is quite well known in Mexico. In 1958 he ran for mayor of Poza Rica.

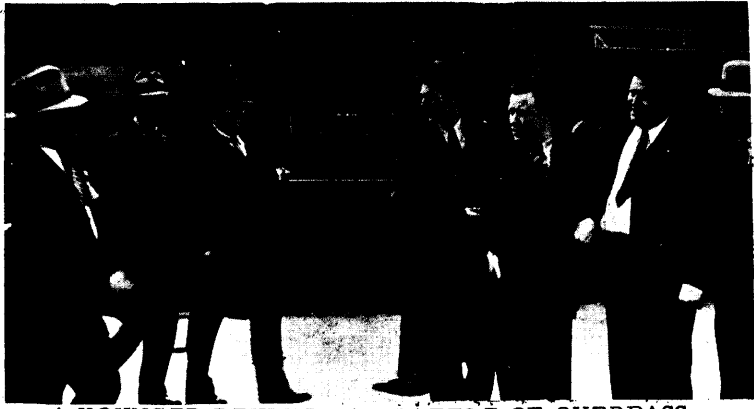
When he was not elected several thousand people marched through the streets to protest phony elections. The people were fired on by hidden gun men and 10 people were shot down.

It is worth noting that one of the Kremlin's main supporters in Mexico, has chosen this time to attack Trotskyists as counterrevolutionaries. This same Tolledano supported the present reactionary government in the last elections.

Now is the time for a united demonstration calling for a BOYCOTT of tourism until the Mexican government releases its political prisoners. The Workers League announces it will picket the Mexican Reservation Center, 152 W. 42 St., NYC on Sat. Jan. 7th from 1 to 3 P.M. We invite all organizations and individuals to join us.

a conviction; a feud

Reuther, Hoffa and Labor's Crisis



A YOUNGER REUTHER AT BATTLE OF OVERPASS

by Fred Mueller

Despite the apparent differences, Auto Workers President Walter Reuther and Teamsters President Jimmy Hoffa have much in common. Both are now involved in struggles they would rather not face up to. The New York Times summed it up on Dec. 16 in two headlines placed alongside one another: "Hoffa Plea Ends Teamster Strike" and "Reuther Asserts UAW Seeks No Allies in Fight With Meany."

The long-simmering dispute between top AFL-CIO officials Meany and Reuther has flared openly in the last month. Reuther openly attacked the Meany leadership. He has said that his differences with Meany are "fundamental matters of program, of philosophy and of principle." But he has refused to detail these differences at this time.

On the issues of the Vietnam war and the civil rights struggle, Reuther takes a so-called left line, much as Robert Kennedy disagrees with the Johnson Administration. Like Kennedy, however, his views amount to no more than a timid murmur of dissent. He would like to see capitalism run just a little more fairly and peacefully if possible, but he is not interested in posing an alternative to the bosses and to their influence in the labor movement, exercised through the labor bureaucracy.

That is why Reuther is so

MINNEAPOLIS

(Continued from Page 1) must be seen in a broader context. Students felt powerless. The "logic" of the school officials smothered the real issues. Students were told by the board that they should have been demonstrating (very politely, of course) in November for the passage of the property tax increases. Now that the money was not available, "there was nothing that could be done", so "go home kiddies and be nice" was the attitude of these "Gentlemen". The "Minneapolis Tribune" took up the theme and insulted the students as just being interested in sports and not in the quality of their education.

crisis

This skirts the real question that this experience brings out. With war inflation and rising taxes the working family is hit too hard as it is. It is understandable that in November the tax increase was defeated. Those who tell the students that the cuts are unavoidable and leave it at that are asking the students to ac-

cept lock, stock, and barrel the present crisis of capitalism, the shortage of money for domestic programs because of the war against the people of Vietnam, as a God-given, permanent fact of life.

Today the capitalist system is in a crisis, the clearest expression of which is the savage war it wages against the Vietnamese people. Billions are being spent to "contain" the revolution in Vietnam and other parts of Asia and secure U.S. capitalists' investments there for present and hoped for future profits. Another reflection of this crisis at home is the policy of the government to take out of the hides of the workers extra profits for the capitalists to help them solve their crisis. Hence the anti-strike legislation, the wage restraints and anti-union policies that are growing in viciousness as the capitalists step up their attacks on the working class. Not only the unions are being hit, but especially the youth, white and black, who are faced with unemployment and the

pressure

is also just a part of this crisis. We must make the bosses pay for their own crisis. This means opposition to their war in Vietnam, a real fight for the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay to fight for long term unemployment, and a serious fight for wages and working conditions to keep pace with the inflation and prevent the bosses from getting more profits by speed-up. This kind of serious struggle from the trade union movement requires a complete break with the boss parties and the building of an independent labor party. On all of these crucial issues, which have been raised many times in the BULLETIN, Reuther as well as Meany is opposed to us. It will be necessary to sweep away the Meany's and Reuther's as well as all those who refuse to give a lead to the workers in struggle.

It is not Reuther who is significant, but the powder keg of dissatisfaction and militancy that he is sitting on top of. Militant unionists must not turn their backs on this development or simply accept Reuther as good coin. We must use him and his phony "opposition" to expose the role of the entire bureaucracy. Independent left-wing caucuses must be built in the trade unions, including the UAW. It was Reuther who openly attacked the demand for a labor party when it was raided at the last UAW convention. Reuther is feeling pressure from the rank and file but this pressure must be turned into independent caucus organization in the union if it is going to accomplish anything.

The capitalists and their government are faced with a tremendous crisis. The bloody war against the Vietnamese people and the resulting inflation are two important indications of this crisis, and Reuther, with his timid and fake opposition,

cept lock, stock, and barrel the present crisis of capitalism, the shortage of money for domestic programs because of the war against the people of Vietnam, as a God-given, permanent fact of life. Today the capitalist system is in a crisis, the clearest expression of which is the savage war it wages against the Vietnamese people. Billions are being spent to "contain" the revolution in Vietnam and other parts of Asia and secure U.S. capitalists' investments there for present and hoped for future profits. Another reflection of this crisis at home is the policy of the government to take out of the hides of the workers extra profits for the capitalists to help them solve their crisis. Hence the anti-strike legislation, the wage restraints and anti-union policies that are growing in viciousness as the capitalists step up their attacks on the working class. Not only the unions are being hit, but especially the youth, white and black, who are faced with unemployment and the

draft as their future in the "great society". Youth are struggling, and need to deepen and develop that struggle. It is imperative that youth all over the country struggle to build a revolutionary socialist movement of the youth which will not take this capitalist produced crisis for granted, will not be satisfied with this decaying society as "the best of all possible worlds" but rather will struggle against the capitalist system that benefits the few at the expense of the many. Youth need to develop a program for such a struggle. They have allies in the workers, who more and more are brought into conflict with the bosses as the latter increase their attacks on the trade union movement.

broadened

The teachers have power in their union. They are threatened as well as the students by the recent budget cuts. Students have an opportunity to support the strike demands of the teachers and thereby struggle for their own de-

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any persecution. The capitalist executives in the electrical industry caught in the price-fixing scandal got off with token sentences and almost with apologies from all concerned for the inconvenience and embarrassment caused to them! This simply proves who really rules in this country. It is not so-called Big Labor. The biggest labor bureaucrat retains his influence only so long as he maintains the favor of the capitalist government.

The bosses set out to get Hoffa as an example for the labor movement. They did not go after him because of any great concern with crime and with the funds of union members, although his behavior may have made him an easier target than some others. All the talk about morality from the same government which murders civilians by the thousands in Vietnam and refused to lift a finger to aid the South African Negroes or even those fighting against racist oppression in the U.S. South must be exposed as complete hypocrisy.

reject

The unions themselves will have to decide what responsibility to the interests of the workers means. It will not be the same as the government's definition. The labor movement itself must and will take care of Hoffa and those like him at the proper time. It

must reject any interference in the affairs of the labor movement by the government to pick its leaders. We must for these reasons defend Hoffa against all attacks by the bosses and boss politicians.

The attack against Hoffa is an attack on the Teamsters Union, an attempt to purge it of "irresponsibility" and make it as tame an instrument of government policy as are sections of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy. The attack is an attack on the working class itself--make no mistake about it.

protest

In this situation, the more strikes and other protest actions which make clear that this attack is an attack against us, the better. If at this late date Hoffa can no longer avoid jail, the attack on Hoffa himself, even if successful on an individual level, can backfire. It can expose the true aims of the government and thus create more and not less hostility to the government in the labor movement.

The rank and file must see the real aims of the government for what they are, and begin to struggle against the bosses and their government. When the rank and file in the Teamsters, UAW, Steelworkers, Mineworkers, NMU, longshore and elsewhere begins to link up their struggles, the days of the Meany's, Reuther's, Hoffa's, Currans, etc. will really be numbered.

name people, who really want little else than to get rid of the "Citizens Committees" thrust on them by an American invader, using a forcefully drafted citizen army of the youth and the workers in America who otherwise would be unemployed.

The struggle is both economic and political. As long as the labor leaders are tied to the two capitalist parties they will be unable to respond to the needs of the workers, increasingly being attacked by these very parties in power. Both the youth and the trade unionists should begin now to push for a labor party as an alternative to the two capitalist parties.

The Workers League has been formed to fight for this kind of program within the trade unions.

join

The Workers League is also struggling to build REVOLT, a youth organization committed to a working class program. Join us in this vital battle.

declaration of socialist labour league

Course of the Socialist Workers Party

IT IS ALMOST exactly six years since our National Committee sent to the leadership of the Socialist Workers' Party a letter (January 1961) which voiced our grave disquiet at the expression of revisionist theories and policies by the SWP, which at that time was formally in support of the same International Committee as we were, though barred by the United States Voorhis Act from any international political affiliation.

Our letter of January 1961 marked a new stage since December 1953. At that time James P. Cannon, on behalf of the SWP, denounced Michel Pablo and his supporters in the International Secretariat of the Fourth International for capitulating to the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Pablo and his followers had accepted the idea that the Stalinist parties would be forced by mass pressure to lead a struggle for the overthrow of capitalist state power.

Cannon rightly pointed out that this led directly to the liquidation of the Trotskyist movement.

TROTSKYISM AND THE STALINIST BUREAUCRACY

Trotskyism and the Fourth International were born in a struggle against Stalinist bureaucracy, a struggle to defend the heritage of Marx, Engels and Lenin and the Russian Revolution.

It is appropriate at this time to ask, six years after, where the SWP stands and to what extent we were correct in urgently requesting a discussion, fearful as we were that the SWP leadership was capitulating to the same revisionism which they had condemned in 1953.

Has the SWP continued a struggle for Trotskyism against bureaucracy, or has it capitulated via Pabloism, to this bureaucracy?

We consider that Stalinism remains what Trotsky called it—the principal counter-revolutionary force in the international class struggle. As imperialism's crisis has deepened, so we have witnessed the inseparably linked deepening crisis of Stalinism, because in its opposition to the working class, Stalinism leans on the imperialists, whose pressure upon the first workers' state it really represents.

THE SWP AND PABLOISM

1956 marked a major turning-point, with the Kremlin's bloody suppression of the workers' councils in Hungary.

But in the years which immediately followed, the SWP leaders, instead of building on this confirmation of Trotsky's programme of political revolution, discovered the theory that a series of basic reforms by the Soviet bureaucracy would 'equal' a political revolution.

This theory led them closer to the Pabloites who had proved incapable of supporting the revolt of the East German workers in 1953 or the Hungarian Revolution of 1956.

Our letter was an attempt to halt the process, to establish a firm alliance to fight against the revisionism of Pablo, Germain and their supporters. But in fact the gap between us has widened ever since that day.

We found it extremely difficult to get a discussion with the SWP leadership, and we never did get a discussion involving the rank and file of the SWP. This rank and file was deprived of our many documents while the SWP leadership prepared its unprincipled 'reunification' with the Pabloites in 1963.

We say 'unprincipled' because it was done on the basis of ignoring past differences and splits, and with different reasons given to the members on both sides for the drawing together of the SWP and the Pabloites.

In the period since 1961 the

policies and outlook of our two organisations have diverged until today they are in direct opposition.

We set our course towards the defeat of revisionism and the building of the independent revolutionary party in every country, as the necessary weapon of the working class against imperialism in its crisis, and against its bureaucratic agents.

The SWP has reacted to this crisis in an entirely different way: via the acceptance of Pabloite revisionism it has reacted to this deepening crisis by turning completely away from the working class, towards middle-class 'radical' circles, with the politics of pacifism and radical protest which in fact serve imperialism.

This has necessitated a series of bitter slanders and attacks against the Marxists of the SLL and the International Committee.

BETRAYAL IN CEYLON

Between 1961 and now, of course, Pablo himself has been expelled from the 'Unified Secretariat'. His departure was preceded by the historic events in Ceylon.

The Lanka Sama Samaja Party of Ceylon was always acclaimed by the Pabloites as the 'largest Trotskyist party in the world'. Almost overnight, the situation was transformed.

In the summer of 1964, the leaders of this Party joined the capitalist coalition government of Mrs. Bandaranaike, and won the support of a large majority of the LSSP for their action.

A minority immediately split and formed the LSSP (Revolutionary Section), and after some hesitation the Unified Secretariat proceeded to expel the LSSP majority. What a reunification!

Were not certain lessons to be drawn, about the role of revisionism, about the unprincipled character of the 'reunification'?

Not only did the SWP leadership refrain from any comment for a whole period, but they took disciplinary measures against those SWP members who demanded discussion.

Before the coalition inside the Pabloite Secretariat, they had rejected discussion of the rightward course of the LSSP traitors, on the grounds that it would be 'divisive'!

In fact the government's crisis in Ceylon was only part of a whole change in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. After it came a series of moves to the right, as the middle-class 'left' nationalist alliances broke up.

Ben Bella, Nkrumah and Sukarno toppled, and military coups succeeded each other in a series of countries. Imperialism could not sustain the old equilibrium.

The Pabloite revisionists had staked everything on the 'natural' development of left nationalists into Marxists, using Castro as their model. In Ceylon, in Algeria, they paid bitterly for their mistakes. They prepared active defeats for the working class.

THE SWP AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN THE USA

But the basic revision of the SWP took place on the question of the USA and the American working class. Worship of the left petty-bourgeois nationalists in the colonial countries, particularly Cuba, was in fact a cover for an abandonment of the American labour movement.

Instead there was a turn to the so-called 'radical milieu' of middle-class 'protest' politics which abound in America but sprout especially with the approach of imperialist crises.

The Cuban missile crisis of 1962 revealed these politics for

what they were. So far had the SWP fallen into the dominant pragmatism of the US bourgeois world outlook that Cannon, adducing Nehru and Bertrand Russell in support, praised Khrushchev's withdrawal of the missiles, on the grounds that there was no alternative 'in the given circumstances'!

Not a trace of proletarian internationalism and the independent class politics of the working class in the approach to, all problems.

So prostrate were the SWP leaders before Castro that they welcomed as 'the fight against bureaucracy' Castro's insistence on the unchallengeable right of the state machine to appoint all personnel in government office!

Today, George Novack excuses Castro's vicious attack on China (linked with his attack on Trotskyism) with the explanation:

'However, Peking's sectarian attitude in dealing with the neutrals in the Sino-Soviet conflict, coupled with Cuba's inescapable economic and military dependence upon the Soviet Union, have nullified this sympathy [towards China]. (International Socialist Review, Fall 1966.)

Such are the depths to which 'Marxism, Trotskyism' would be reduced by Novack and the SWP leaders.

Inside the USA, the revolt of the Negro workers, requiring as it does a revolutionary programme of political independence of the US working class, has been derailed by bourgeois-nationalist types of policies, to which the SWP has continuously lent itself, with its uncritical support of the Black Muslims.

Worse, the SWP actually called upon the Democratic Administration to enforce de-segregation by sending Federal troops to the Southern states. The Negroes were to be freed by the monopoly-capitalist state!

The telegram of condolences sent to President Kennedy's widow by Farrell Dobbs on behalf of the SWP was not a bad joke. It summed up the politics of the SWP, expressing as it did the guarantee to the bourgeoisie that they did not regard violence as the solution to America's problems.

Lenin and Trotsky fought to free the Russian labour movement from the illusion that primitive individual terrorism could destroy Tsarism. The SWP leadership tried to twist these ideas to shield itself against the jingoistic backlash of imperialist America.

In all issues of American politics the SWP has turned towards petty-bourgeois 'democratic' and 'radical' opinion. While US imperialism finances a massive ideological campaign against Marxism on every front, the SWP in fact helps them by presenting as Marxism, as Trotskyism, a turning away from the working class to liberal reformism and pacifism.

What we pointed out in the discussion on abandonment of dialectical materialism now has its full political expression.

TROTSKYISM AND PACIFISM

With this type of politics it is inevitable that the revisionists of the SWP and the 'Unified Secretariat' find themselves on the other side in the struggle of the workers' movements to shed the Stalinist and social-democratic bureaucracy.

This has now become more openly than ever before the main question before the workers, in the capitalist countries and in the deformed and degenerated workers' states.

The fact is that these 'radical' and pacifist circles, so necessary as safety-valves under imperialism, can find a stable centre only in the Stalinist bureaucracy and its politics of 'peaceful co-existence'.

In Britain, in solidarity with the forces of the International Committee in other countries, the Socialist Labour League has fought and fights now for a programme of total opposition to the government of Wilson in its support for the imperialist war in Vietnam.

We raise the slogans 'Victory for the National Liberation Front', 'The enemy is here at home'. Their victories are ours, and blows we strike against Wilson are blows on their behalf. There is no 'peace' in Vietnam without the defeat of imperialism.

What is the position of the SWP?

It is worth examining this par-

ticular question in detail, because it is the immediate background to the latest unprincipled move of the SWP leadership against the SLL.

Consistently with its liquidation into the middle-class 'radical milieu' the SWP has merged itself in the 'peace' movement without any independent proletarian Marxist programme.

Indeed, SWP members are mobilised to vote down Trotskyists in Seattle, for example, who raised the question of international working-class solidarity against the imperialist war.

Even this elementary duty of Marxists to oppose their own imperialist government on class lines is impossible for the SWP. They have become part of the 'radical milieu' towards which they turned.

No longer a proletarian tendency, they are the left wing of this radical middle class.

The transferring of this policy to Britain is only the latest of a series of our experiences of intervention by these revisionists, from which we are obliged to draw definite conclusions.

THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS

Between 1960 and 1965, the Young Socialists, led by members of the Socialist Labour League, inflicted a major defeat on the bureaucracy of the Labour Party.

Their youth movement was won from them in political battle at two successive conferences.

When this process was completed, the forces trained in that fight set up their own independent revolutionary youth organisation.

It was this organisation, together with the magnificent French contingent from a movement inspired by the victories of the YS, which dominated the Liège demonstration of October 15, 1966, and frightened to death every revisionist in Western Europe.

The SWP's 'Militant' went five weeks before it could make a comment on the most significant international action of our movement since its foundation.

But all through the struggle in the Labour Party, the co-thinkers of the SWP in Britain, the Pabloites, condemned our fight as 'ultra-left' and 'adventurist'.

Their theory of 'deep entry' made them subordinate everything to staying in the social democracy. They characterised Wilson's government in October 1964 as a 'left-centrist' government, and so were utterly unable to mobilise any opposition to its capitalist policies.

When the SLL and YS took the initiative in the fight against the anti-trade union legislation of Wilson's government, we not only received no help from the Pabloites: they teamed up with the Stalinists and 'state capitalist' in the organisation of diversionary action.

They tried to confine the seamen's strike, a political strike, to questions of economic demands and industrial solidarity. Never once did they condemn the betrayals of the Stalinists, who helped the Labour government to defeat the strike.

All their wrath was reserved for the SLL.

AN ANTI-TROTSKYIST ALLIANCE

And now we find supporters of the Unified Secretariat in Britain lining up with precisely the same kind of petty-bourgeois towards which the SWP is turned in the USA.

Bertrand Russell and Ralph Schoenmann organise their 'Vietnam Solidarity Campaign' and 'War Crimes Commission' with the day-to-day assistance at every level of the British Pabloites.

This same Schoenmann tried to suppress the spokesmen of the SLL when they warned, at a meeting of the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign, against the betrayals of the Stalinist bureaucracy. The Pabloites have even defended the position of Schoenmann that fascists like Colin Jordan should be protected against discrimination in the interests of free speech.

This is the 'regroupment' which the SWP has been talking

about since 1956! It is a middle-class alliance against revolutionary Marxism, especially when Marxism attacks the bureaucracy.

Together with its middle-class allies, the SWP leans on this bureaucracy.

Instead of defending the Chinese Revolution against the threats of US imperialism, the SWP and the revisionists condemn the 'sectarianism' of the Chinese, while the Soviet leaders call for the overthrow of Mao Tse Tung naturally on the programme of a more conciliatory policy towards imperialism.

As the crisis of US imperialism worsens at home and abroad, it becomes increasingly difficult for the ruling class to maintain the fraud of the two-party system. New gimmicks have to be improvised in order to keep the working class from breaking away and founding a Labour Party of its own.

As in the '30s during the New Deal, the American ruling class has found willing and unsolicited help from the Stalinists in deluding the radicalised sections of the working class, in particular the Negroes.

While significant sections of the US working class such as the airline mechanics are demanding a complete break with the two capitalist parties, the Stalinists are doing their utmost to maintain the deception that the Democratic Party is the servant of the working class. While opposing the more reactionary sections of the Democratic Party, they urge the workers to vote for the 'progressive' or 'reform' Democrats.

The SWP, despite its Trotskyist pretensions and talk of 'independent politics', is just as much a part of this cynical fraud as the Stalinists.

APTHEKER AND THE SWP

The proof is to be found in its explicit support of Herbert Aptheker, the CP candidate, in the last Congressional Elections in the 12th Congressional District of New York. Its support for Aptheker is in no way different from the support extended to the CP in Ceylon by the LSSP in 1963 which paved the way for the support of Mrs. Bandaranaike's SLFP government in 1964. It is capitalist politics and we agree completely with the Bulletin for the International Committee of the Fourth International which states:—

'For Herbert Aptheker and the Communist Party the Kelly district (the 12th Congressional District) was a perfect choice. Being a conservative Democrat the CP could run against Kelly while at the same time continuing to plug reform Democrats elsewhere. The Aptheker campaign not only does not represent a break from bourgeois politics, but it rather functions as a cover for the CP's continued support to the "liberal" capitalists.

In fact Aptheker's campaign specifically avoids any mention of socialist or class politics. While mentioning that Aptheker happens to be a member of the Communist Party, one is urged to vote for him on the following basis: "As a citizen, soldier and scholar, my life has been devoted to the struggle against fascism, against racism, and against McCarthyism; as a candidate, these aims remain central." We take him at his word—central to him is a liberal bloc against "reaction", not the independent struggle for the working class. Any socialist who gives an ounce of support to the Aptheker campaign is betraying class principles.'

(Bulletin, September 12, 1966)

From the Moscow Trials through the Hungarian Revolution, and now into the preparations for 'ideological co-existence' with capitalism, Aptheker has been and remains the model of a Stalinist 'intellectual' hack, finding 'Marxist' justification for every crime and betrayal of the bureaucracy.

We support unreservedly the characterisation of our co-thinkers in the USA who denounce the SWP for its latest betrayal of the working class.

A radical 'regroupment' around the US Stalinists is one of the hopes of the Democratic Party in rolling back the swing towards the Republicans.

It is this to which the SWP is really orientated: the firm tying of the US working class to the two-party system and the capitalist establishment, despite the propaganda protestations to the contrary.

The Liège demonstration, the real fight against the bureaucracy on the Hungarian Revolution, the Vietnam war and the support for Stalinist politics, these are the

turning-points which have accelerated the degeneration of the SWP.

A BETRAYAL OF TROTSKYISM

We tell the SWP:

The days when you could address us as 'comrades' are long since gone.

Your political actions have placed you outside the camp of Trotskyism and of the working class.

You have placed the phrases of Trotskyism at the service of the middle-class pacifists and compromisers with imperialism.

There can be not the slightest question of your telling us what we must do to re-establish our reputation with you.

On the contrary: the more vicious becomes your opposition to us now, the more you are forced into one unified opposition with the middle-class 'radicals' against us, the surer we are that our political course is absolutely necessary and correct.

The 'Unified Secretariat' into which you retreated, once we raised sharply with you the revisionist direction of your politics in January 1961, is decomposing in Europe as all over the world.

This was exposed at Liège, in contrast with the growth and political strength of the International Committee.

In the course of this decomposition, the SWP and its collaborators run into the arms of the centrists and the bureaucracy.

Adapted to this milieu, they accept and indeed excel in the methods of scandalmongering and gossip against the revolutionaries, methods which typify these middle-class groups.

THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL AND THE USA

We understand how important it is for the SWP and its friends to attack the Socialist Labour League and the International Committee.

For years they have sneered at the supposed 'British insularity' of the SLL, but their attacks against it have become necessary internationally for the SWP revisionists precisely because it is from Britain, from the SLL, together with its comrades in the IC, that the rebuilding of the Fourth International is being undertaken successfully. This rebuilding is the death-blow for the revisionists.

One final word. At the front of our preoccupations is the central role of the working class of the USA. The building of a Trotskyist leadership in that country should have been the task of the SWP. They have abandoned it.

American imperialism has built up an enormous ideological barrage to corrupt the American labour movement, and the SWP, by failing to develop Marxism in struggle against this, has succumbed to it.

The work of the International Committee, supported by our comrades in the ACFI in the USA, will provide the basis for a Trotskyist party in the USA. But such a party will only be built in opposition to the middle-class sect, viciously anti-Trotskyist in its service to the bureaucracy, which the SWP has now become.

Internationally, too, the revisionism of the SWP has become an obstacle which must be removed from the path of the working class and the Fourth International.

The SLL is part of the Fourth International.

That is the basis of our existence.

Henceforth we have no relations with the SWP: it is a fight between the working class and the servants of the class enemy.

Adopted by a unanimous vote at the special national delegate conference of the Socialist Labour League.

November 26 and 27, 1966

The above special resolution is reprinted from the December New Letter.

letter from paris

French Trotskyists Run Candidates to Challenge Capitalism

by Yves Dupont

PARIS--For the first time in recent history French workers will have a real alternative to vote for in the elections. The Central Committee of the O. C. I. (Organisation Communiste Internationaliste), French section of the International Committee of the Fourth International, has decided to run two candidates in Parisian electoral districts. The candidates are two well known Trotskyist militants, Stephane Just, a worker and Gerard Bloch, a teacher.

Marxism and experience has taught us that the proletariat is not able to emancipate itself through the ballot and even less in parliament. Periodically the exploited masses from the cities and in the country are given the "choice" to vote for either a left wing candidate or a right wing candidate who supports the interests of capital in parliament.

1936

In 1936 the workers voted for "bread, peace and liberty" and sent to parliament a Popular Front majority.

In 1939 this Popular Front government liquidated the social conquests of June, 1936 by: waging war; sending to jail, by the thousands, militant workers; giving power to Petain who dissolved all the organizations of workers.

1956

In 1956 a majority of workers

voted for a Republican Front for peace in Algeria and for democracy.

On June 2, 1958 the Republican Front government gave DeGaulle dictatorial power.

These events have sown the seeds of disillusionment among the masses on reaching socialism through a parliamentary road.

In 1957 DeGaulle was ordered by the bourgeoisie to reorganize the state instruments of oppression to secure the rule of the ruling class. He has been faithfully carrying out this task day after day through his notorious Fifth Plan, which will produce 600,000 unem-

ployed workers by 1970 and is already contributing to unemployment.

He is subsidizing corporations with billions of francs. He furthers mergers and monopolies which is producing unemployment.

automation

The enormous development of technology possible now through automation, under the control of elected workers councils in the factories would lead to a higher standard of living and a higher level of culture for the workers. Automation under the control of capital leads to unemployment and misery.

Mitterand, the candidate for president of the Republic last year who was supported by both the Communist Party and the Socialist Party, agrees with the bosses and the government on these basic policies. Workers organizations in France pretend to defend the working class but in actuality, they are participating in the Fifth Plan which prepares the defeat and misery of the working class.

robbers

One question then is clear: If an honest man is in a cave of robbers and realises it, what must he do? He must not be part of them. We cannot support at the same time the

interests of the workers and the bosses.

Everything depends on the militant vanguard of the working class organizing itself and acting. This is why the O. C. I. has decided to participate in this electoral campaign.

We do not claim that the ballot will solve anything or that as labor deputies we can change anything. Rather we urge workers to vote for a workers' platform to defeat DeGaulle. This electoral campaign can be of great educational value for the working class and in that way further a real united front on an anti-capitalist program.

Ceylon: SWP's Friend Deserts to Coalitionists

by Tim Wohlforth

In the summer of 1964 the majority of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP) entered the bourgeois government of Ceylon. This party had for many years been an important prop to the "Pabloite" international formation which poses as part of the Fourth International.

At the time the group inside the Socialist Workers Party which was to launch the Bulletin of International Socialism demanded a discussion of the meaning of this event and its relation to the fusion of the SWP politically with the Pab-

loites. For the mere raising of the need for such a discussion our group was forthwith thrown out of the SWP without even the formality of a trial.

After the LSSP entered the government a minority split away called the LSSP (Revolutionary). The Pabloites sought to continue relations with this group. Instrumental in this was V. Karalasingham, a member of the Central Committee of the LSSP(R). Karalasingham operated as the direct agent of the SWP-Germain Unified Secretariat attending their international

conference in December 1965.

Edmund Samarakoddy, secretary of the LSSP(R), has just announced that Karalasingham has been expelled from the party because he had been acting as an agent of the LSSP (Reformist). This is the second desertion of SWP-Germain agents to the camp of the coalitionists since 1964. The first was Osmund Jayaratne, a close personal and political friend of Germain.

We suspect that if anyone were to ask for a discussion of this matter in the SWP today they would receive the same treatment we received



LSSP(R) LEADERS

in 1964. THE TRUTH CAN NO LONGER BE HIDDEN. THE SWP AND ITS POLITICAL COLLABORATORS ACT AS TRANSMISSION BELTS TO THE CAMP OF THE BOURGEOISIE.

SSEU RANKS

(Continued from Page 1)

but he faces enormous problems. His major problem is that the working class in New York City has no intention of allowing their living standards to be destroyed.

Welfare workers, teachers, nurses and transit workers have gone on strike and the prospects are for continuing militancy. Lindsay is facing one of the most powerful forces in the world. As the transit strike proves, the municipal employees have the power to completely shut down the most important city in the world. This is why Lindsay must be careful. He pushes a little, steps back a bit, and all the time tries to keep on the pressure. So far city workers have been on the defensive reacting to the City's moves. The task is to take the offensive.

This is what the SSEU members must understand. Their contract has been mutilated for the last two years. Their living standards and conditions on the job are rapidly deteriorating. To win a raise and a new contract similar to the old one is to suffer a defeat. The pressure will increase and for two more years their rights will be torn to shreds. The threat to their jobs will grow. The SSEU must beat the City and force a new contract that represents a decisive advance or they will have been thrown back.

To do this requires a totally mobilized staff with the determination to really take on the City and win. The threat of an all-out strike must not only be possible but very very real. Nothing else can influence the City. Force is the only threat Lindsay can understand.

facts

President Mage has completely disoriented her membership with chatter about fact finding and arbitration. There are no facts to be found. There are no issues to arbitrate.

APOLOGY

The following apology appeared in the Dec. 10 issue of "Socialist Leader". A similar statement appeared in the Dec. 9 issue of "Peace News". Both are published in England.

MR. GERRY HEALY--
AN APOLOGY

An article headed 'Violence on the Left' in our issue of 26th November quoted from and commented on a letter from a reader suggesting that

Every fact about conditions on the job and the needs of the workers is known and understood by the workers and only the workers. No dean of social work can arbitrate this. The workers are right. The City is wrong. The workers know the truth. The City lies. The issue is just that clear. The issue is that clear in every confrontation between city workers and the City. The job of a welfare worker stinks. Change it!

President Mage must be forced to make it clear to every worker exactly what they are fighting for. What are the demands that there can be no compromise on; the demands the union will strike to obtain. She has no intention of doing this.

The SSEU membership must make sure that their demands be clarified and met. Mage offers every possibility of selling them out by leaving them confused and disorganized. Without an offer the membership can accept they must be prepared to walk out Jan. 3. Mage must be forced to accept this.

Mr. G. Healy, National Secretary of the Socialist Labour League had instigated several of his supporters to assault and prevent him from selling literature outside the Caxton Hall, where the Socialist Labour League meeting was being held.

We have since been informed that Mr. Healy asked a steward to clear the pavement in front of the entrance of the Hall so that passengers alight-

The SSEU can defeat the City but it must be prepared to run a political strike, not just a trade union struggle. A strike against the City is by its very nature political and must be fought politically.

To do this the SSEU must rely on the only force the City of New York really fears -- the working class. The SSEU can run a strike that will force Lindsay to give in. The union has the resources to put out a daily strike newspaper directed at city employees, other workers and welfare clients. Every lie in the press can be answered day by day. Other workers know the press lies about their strikes. They will read this paper. The paper can take up day by day the issues as they come up. Open letters to subway workers, to sanitation workers, to other union, to welfare clients can be run. The paper can go to the National Federation and be read all over the country. The union has the resources and the membership to do this. The SSEU can force support from other unions. The entire SSEU membership will read this paper and know

exactly what is going on every day.

The SSEU can turn the strike into a political struggle against the City and enlist the sympathy of every city worker who hates his boss. The same boss! The SSEU will only be continuing the fight the transit workers started last year. The transit workers will have to take it up again next year. These connections can be made. Imagine the impact on the press of 200 SSEU members distributing their strike paper to TWU workers appealing for support. This is the "public" the union must reach.

This is the kind of struggle Mage must be forced to conduct. This pressure can come only from the ranks. In order to do this a broad left wing rank and file caucus must be built capable of offering a real alternative to the policies of Mage and Co. A new leadership must be prepared.

COME HEAR:

REVOLT on the Campus

The meaning of the current upsurge on college campuses, the relation of students to the working class.

Speaker: Melody Farrow
Thurs. Jan. 12 7:30 PM
Room 8, 243 E. 10 St.,
NYC (corner 1st Ave.)

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Bulletin Supplement

PERSPECTIVES FOR BUILDING REVOLUTIONARY PARTY IN U.S.

1. The United States emerged from World War II in complete dominance of the world capitalist system. However, this system was in the throes of a deep crisis. Only the collaboration of the Stalinists, as well as the labor bureaucrats and social democrats, allowed the capitalists to temporarily emerge from this crisis. The period of the 1950s was marked by a capitalist boom based primarily on the economic development of Western Europe. While the European capitalists grew in economic power in this period, the United States grew even more. U.S. imperialism entered the 1960s with its dominance unshaken.

2. By the end of the 1950s the expansion of American capitalism upon the basis of the European economy had begun to run its course. The 1960s has been a period of growing crisis and instability in the capitalist system as a whole. This crisis is expressed on an international scale primarily in the world liquidity crisis, the conflicts and rivalries among the imperialists as seen most clearly in France's attempt at economic autarchy, and the deepening crisis in the underdeveloped capitalist nations.

3. The greater and greater reliance of U.S. imperialism on military force (Vietnam and the Dominican Republic) and its successful efforts in toppling left nationalist regimes and setting up military dictatorships (Algeria, Indonesia, Ghana) are not signs of the strength of capitalism. Rather, they are a reflection of the deep crisis of capitalism--the inability of the capitalist system to carry through the democratic revolution in the colonial countries, which could thus open up a new period for world capitalist growth. Incapable of providing an economic base for any serious independent economic development in these countries, the U.S. is forced to supplant the more independent representatives of national capitalism with subservient military regimes.

4. To state that capitalism is today in a period of crisis and that this crisis undermines in particular the dominant capitalist nation--the United States--does not mean that this crisis has yet reached the point of a conjunctural downturn of large proportions. Nor do we exclude temporary periods of considerable economic growth such as the U.S. has recently passed through. While the U.S. entered a general period of stagnation in the late 1950s, there have been specific years of substantial economic growth. The U.S. capitalists have accrued tremendous resources which give them a certain room to maneuver. The role of the working class leadership has been an even more important factor in propping up capitalism. The international cooperation of the Stalinist bureaucracies, the opening up even partially of the great Eastern European and Russian markets to capitalist penetration, as well as, of course, the role played by the labor bureaucracy in the capitalist countries, are no doubt contributing to propping up capitalist rule. However, it is important to recognize that the rightward turn of the Soviet bureaucracy itself accentuates the contradictions of the bureaucracy and prepares a tremendous political-economic crisis in the Soviet orbit.

5. A conjunctural downturn is definitely building up within the world capitalist structure and in particular within U.S. capitalism. We cannot predict exactly when or how it will occur, for this will be determined by the course of the class struggle itself and our intervention within it, not by some automatic process. Nor is it that important that we know exactly when it will take place. Preoccupation with this question of when the downturn will come, and equating this downturn with an awakening of the working class, are manifestations of a passive objectivist perspective so clearly expressed by the Socialist Workers Party. For years this party predicted a bust which would propel the working class into the ranks of the party, assuming from the postwar period that quiescence was the rule for the American working class in this period and that when the "crisis" came the workers would wake up--or perhaps wake the radicals up! This neatly reversed the relationship between the working class and its vanguard, abandoning all pretense of leadership. The problem with this outlook was not simply that the coming crisis became a more and more distant event in the minds of the membership, but that it reduced the vanguard party to at best a subsidiary role, abandoning the field to such "instinctive Marxists" as Fidel Castro, Ben Bella, et al. Our alternative to their approach is not to

main resolution adopted by founding conference of the workers league

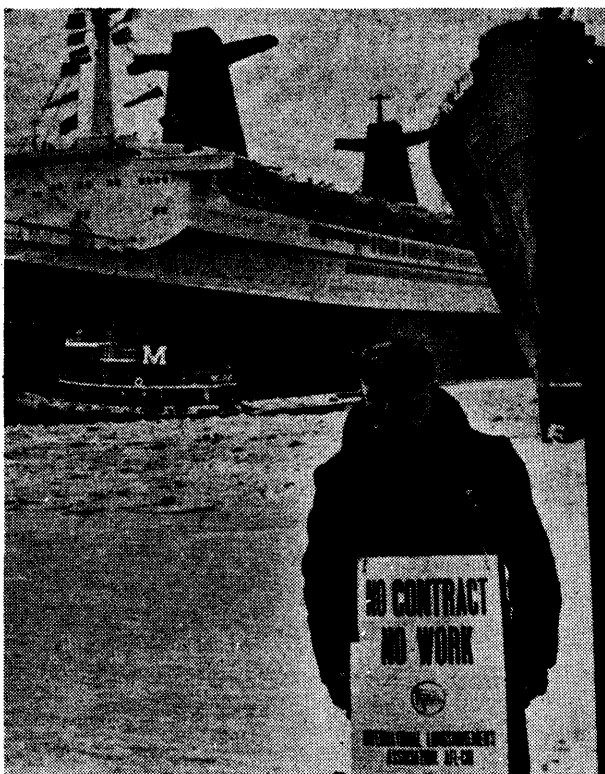
predict a bust sooner and mean it more fervently. Rather we must understand that the current crisis of world capitalism, partly hidden though it may be behind the surface of aggregate U.S. wealth, is being expressed today within the United States. American society is in every respect a reflection of the class struggle, and this class struggle must be related to the world wide class struggle which is intensifying as the capitalists seek to get out of their present bind.

6. American Marxists must see the crisis of capitalism as a world crisis and the class struggle as a worldwide struggle. The struggle within the United States must be seen as interrelated with struggles in Western Europe, the Soviet Bloc countries, Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The particular history of the United States has produced the present anomalous situation. On the one hand, the U.S. dominance is felt in every corner of the globe, and on the other hand the American people maintain their insular, provincial and isolationist prejudices. This outlook has a deep impact on the socialist movement, making the struggle for working class internationalism doubly difficult. The Workers League was born in a struggle for international principle within the SWP. It has maintained its internationalism despite the most extreme national pressures reflected by the Robertson group in 1962, the Philips group in 1964 and the Robertson group, this time joined by Marcus, once again in 1966. We can maintain and deepen this international outlook only by a constant and conscious theoretical struggle against nationalism within our own ranks. Only such a struggle can equip us to lead the American proletariat in a battle to overthrow the U.S. ruling class, the imperialist rulers of the world.

american working class

7. The world crisis of capitalism is presently having an impact on the American working class, though, as we have noted, not yet in the form of a conjunctural downturn. It is our task to understand the nature and character of this impact and to work out a program for mobilizing the working class to struggle against the capitalist class under the current circumstances. This is central to the task of building a proletarian Marxist party in the United States.

8. The revolution in technological development which we call "automation" is a central factor affecting the American working class. Present and projected technology threatens to wipe out whole



AMERICAN WORKER ENTERS NEW PERIOD

categories of workers. Underneath the statistics of general economic prosperity and generally full employment, technological change has already had a profound impact on sections of the working class. These techniques create an actual shrinking of jobs in many industrial fields despite an overall growth in the economy. While older seniority workers are able to hold onto their jobs, younger workers either cannot find work, or, being on the low end of the seniority pole, are the least secure and the first to be fired with even a minor dip in the economy. Thus in the midst of a period of great economic growth in the United States this problem of job security plagues longshore, auto, steel, coal mining, maritime, and printing--to mention just a few fields.

9. The impact of this process on minority workers is particularly intense. The Negro has been fleeing the rural South since World War II in tremendous numbers as farm technology first supplanted the sharecropper and now is supplanting the farm laborer. In the wartime and immediate postwar years the Negro was absorbed into Southern and Northern industry in large numbers. More recently capitalism has used the Negro to maintain the pool of unemployed at the level which is necessary for capitalist stability. Negro unemployment is approximately double that of whites and this is even more severe for the Negro teenager. A similar process has affected the Mexican farm worker in the Southwest and this can be expected to intensify with the spread of automated farm machinery. The Puerto Ricans fled the poverty of this American colony in tremendous numbers in the postwar period. As some Negroes moved up into industry the Puerto Rican filled the lowest paid service and sweat shop jobs in the industrial Northeast. The postwar wave of Puerto Rican migration has passed, having resulted in a Puerto Rican population of over 1,000,000 on the mainland, concentrated in the Northeast. Today the Puerto Rican youth faces either low-paying dead end jobs or permanent unemployment.

10. During the 1950s the trade union movement rode the crest of the general prosperity of the expanding economy. While there were important strikes, the capitalist class was generally able to contain the working class by allowing it to share in the overall prosperity. Needless to say the working class' share was nothing compared to the capitalists' share, and the end result was a greater concentration of wealth in the hands of the capitalists. However, this was tolerated by the workers as long as they felt their jobs were secure and their own living standards had noticeably improved. The 1950s was the great heyday for the labor bureaucracy, which grew fat as the mediator between classes during a period when the economic substance to allow for such a mediation existed.

11. The trade union movement today faces a different situation. The trade union bureaucracy still seeks to play the role it has always played. On the surface, in fact, things appear to be much as they have been. But the international crisis of the capitalist system is beginning to have an impact on the trade union movement. Johnson's policy of "wage restraint", centering around the demand that wage increases be kept within the 3.2% range, is a sign of the intention of the capitalist class to seek to maintain its increasingly fat profits and its world position at the expense of the American working class. It must be understood that the U.S. capitalists require an "incomes policy" just as do their British counterparts and every capitalist class in this period. All those impressionists who do not recognize the forces which are impelling the ruling class to prepare a serious attack on the working class remain blinded by surface appearances. They are completely incapable of intervening in the deepening class struggle.

12. The recent New York City transit strike has importance in this regard. First, that the strike took place at all is a clear sign of the changing class relations in the United States. The weaknesses of the American economy are particularly felt in New York City, which has been milked for years by the bankers. The middle class white population has been fleeing, being replaced by poor Negroes and Puerto Ricans, many of whom are unemployed. The bankers and Lindsay decided they would no longer deal with the TWU in the usual manner but force a strike. During the strike the capitalists did a generally effective job of turning the rest of the population against the strikers, thus seeking to create an antiunion bias

which can be helpful to them in future class struggles. However, the strike was settled, if not on the basis of meaningful concessions to the workers, at least not on the basis of a serious defeat for the union. Rather the settlement reflected a stalemate -- the working class being weakened by its lack of a class conscious leadership and the capitalist class not yet ready for an all-out war against the working class.

13. The working class is affected by this general crisis of capitalism in other ways in addition to its direct relationship to production. This can be seen most clearly by the current Vietnam war. While the war has produced a very high level of employment it has also created a growing inflation. The inflation threatens to take away the gains the working class makes at the bargaining table whenever the workers go to the supermarket. There is no doubt that there is rising resentment of the constant rise in the cost of living which has its greatest impact on the workers. The increases in direct and indirect taxation are eating away at the living standards of the workers whose wages are fixed by long term contracts. The tendency for transportation costs to increase hits particularly hard at the lowest-paid workers. To those millions of workers who the government admits do not now earn enough to support a family adequately, increased public transportation costs and increased state and local taxes will mean as much as another 5% decrease in real wages. This is in addition to increases in living costs due to increases in food, housing and clothing costs. Johnson's efforts to impose wage restraints under these conditions should enable us to expose unmistakably to the workers where he stands and whom he represents.

transitional program

14. The strategic task of the Workers League is to elaborate a transitional program for uniting the working class in a common struggle against the capitalist class in this current transitional period. Our ability to grow and develop as the capitalist crisis deepens will depend on our ability to become a part of the struggle today. Such a program can only be developed by a deepening of the theoretical development of our organization as, in the political sense, part of an international party. At the same time we must deepen our actual intervention into the mass movement. Such intervention depends primarily on political line. We reject the concept that our tasks flow primarily from our numerical size. Rather our tasks flow from the application of a Marxist program developed by means of a strategic analysis of the current stage of the class struggle internationally and in our own country. The struggle against revisionist currents within the working class movement is a part of the process of developing such a transitional program and implementing it. It is false to view such a political and theoretical struggle as separated from the class struggle itself.

15. The development of a specific transitional program for the working class today must essentially be an elaboration of, concretization of the Transitional Program adopted by the Founding Conference of the Fourth International in 1938. This document was no episodic matter. It was based on an understanding of the entire epoch in which we live and struggle today. However, it is not a matter of delving into the Transitional Program as one does into a recipe book, seeking a phrase or a slogan to repeat, the content of which one does not understand.

16. Our aim is to unify the working class as a class, to sharpen its break from the capitalist class and to break it from the politics of the ruling class. In the course of this struggle we must show the working class that it can and must overthrow the capitalist class and create its own state, a workers' state. For unity, for struggle, the working class needs its own party, a Marxist party, the party we are seeking to create.

labor party

17. At this stage in the development of the American working class our central transitional demand must be the creation of a labor party, a party of the American working class. The working class must be shown that it must of necessity go beyond isolated economic struggles to a fundamental political struggle against the ruling class and its political instruments. The labor party demand thus becomes the unifying demand of all our work in the United States. It must permeate all our propaganda and agitation: among the working class youth, in the trade unions, among the minority peoples, around the war question. Until such time as the American working class starts on the road to independent political struggle the class can make little progress. Only on this fundamental political plane can the broad class issues which unite all sections of the class come to the fore and the parochial, separatist, dividing issues



CRISIS LIES BEHIND NEW NEGRO MILITANCY.

be pushed into the background.

18. While a labor party is a beginning of the process of the American working class entering the political arena it will be by no means the end, for the working class must develop a conscious Marxist party. Nor can we seek to impose on future political development too rigid a formula from the past. It is in no sense laid down that the American working class will create a labor party in the same way that the British Labor Party was created. In fact it is far more likely that the development of a labor party in the United States will take on a more radical character. A class with such immense power which has waited so long to enter the political arena can hardly be expected to enter it peacefully, nor can the capitalist class be expected to react peacefully to such a fundamental change in what it views as the accepted "rules of the game." From its very origins it can be expected that the first real party of American labor will be a tumultuous and contradictory development.

19. It is important that we develop our propaganda and agitation around the labor party slogan in such a way that we link the existing struggles and the related level of the more conscious militants with the generalizing concept of the labor party. We must avoid presenting the concept in a formal and abstract way. Thus, while a labor party must rely on the American trade union movement as its major base, it does not follow that the main impetus for the labor party now and in the immediate period ahead will necessarily come out of the trade union movement. Embryonic developments in the direction of a labor party can begin within the Negro movement in the South, among Negroes and other minority peoples in Northern ghettos, and even around the war question. In all such cases we must struggle within these movements to turn the movement towards the broad layers of the class and the trade union movement in particular. While the movement towards a labor party can get its start outside the trade union movement it must develop a base within the organized labor movement before it can develop into a serious force. Further, unless such movements struggle to become a movement of the class as a whole they will of necessity lose what ever class program they have achieved, as they maneuver between the existing capitalist parties rather than struggling to supplant them.

20. In our work in the trade union movement we must expose the class character of the Johnson Administration as well as city and state administrations. We must expose the government's union-busting aims and counterpose to the policy of supporting the parties of the bosses a new party of the American working class. In our work in the ghetto communities and among minority workers in general we must sharply counterpose class politics, in the form of the call for a labor party, to race politics. While the Negro people must have their own organizations of struggle within their own communities it does not follow that they should have their own separate political parties. A polit-

ical party formed on race, not class grounds can only tie the Negro masses to the system rather than breaking them from the system. (Since Negroes are only 11% of the population, even if they could achieve a multiclass unity on a racial basis, they would find themselves capable only of maneuvering between class forces in the United States and incapable of replacing the ruling class which lies behind both class and race oppression.) We must struggle for a labor party which will unite black and white workers in a common struggle against the common oppressor rather than concede to race politics. The concept of a labor party must also be taken into the antiwar movement. The struggle against the war policies of the U.S. imperialists cannot be separated from the other anti-working class policies of the imperialists. Middle class political parties set up on a "classless" basis to fight the "war issue" are futile efforts and serve to obscure the class issues involved rather than to explain them.

21. We must develop a transitional program to combat the threat of automation to the working class. Here the slogan of 30 hours work for 40 hours pay must be actively fought for as a method of placing the burden of the costs for new automated techniques on the capitalists rather than the workers. It also is central to developing the unity of the employed and unemployed workers. Thus it can be a bridge to connect the organized working class with the Negroes and other minorities who suffer the greatest unemployment. The technological changes taking place in the economy are causing important shifts in industry. Particular industries, such as coal mining, almost face extinction, while other industries, such as electronics, expand at a rapid rate. Certain sections of the working class develop a high level of income while others, such as sweat shop workers, municipal workers, teachers and hospital workers lag behind. The general prosperity among unionized workers spurs on the organization of the unorganized as in the current agricultural workers' struggles in California and Mississippi. In addition to 30 for 40 we must actively struggle for the organization of the unorganized. We may find that some of the most important openings for the intervention of our movement will be in organizing campaigns (the grape pickers) and in new unions (teachers, welfare workers, hospital workers). We must unite these newer sections of the union movement with the older sections, struggling all the time against divisive forces. 30 for 40 combined with organizing the unorganized and organizing the unemployed is the key to a transitional program for the trade union movement. These demands must also be related to the struggle for a political party of the working class. We can do this by exposing the role of the capitalist state in supporting the capitalists' effort to place the costs of technical change and of the general crisis of the system on the backs of the workers.

22. The building of rank and file caucuses in struggle against the labor bureaucracy must be a major task of ours in the trade unions. The central demand for the creation of a labor party must be acted upon, must become a weapon of struggle. The rest of our program for the trade union movement and the working class as a whole must also develop with experience, in response to its being acted upon and its being taken up within the union movement. This development of our program along with the building of militant caucuses can only proceed along with the most fierce struggle against the trade union bureaucracy and all its hangers-on.

23. We must develop a transitional program for the workers as consumers as well as producers. Here we must expose the capitalist government's policy of wage restraint while prices gallop upward. The way in which inflation is used, as another method of decreasing the wealth of the workers and increasing that of the capitalists, must be exposed. The ever increasing burden of taxation must also be exposed. We must show how the workers are being made to pay for the capitalist state's wars and general bankruptcy -- how the banks milk both the federal and local governments and how we are forced to pay higher taxes to pay off loans to the banks. The housing question is related to this. We must expose the role of the banks as the real recipients of the exorbitant rents charged by the slumlords, as the real vested interests perpetrating the slum conditions under which masses of poorer workers, particularly minority workers, live. In relation to the above we must fight against the rise in prices under the slogan of a sliding scale of wages. We must demand taxation that really affects the rich and an end to all taxes aimed mainly at the most exploited workers, and all taxes on incomes below \$5000. We must raise the demand for the nationalization of the banks under workers' control to rid the country of their domination and their exploitation of the working class. We must demand the nationaliza-

**world capitalist crisis
prepares the radicalization
of american workers**

tion of housing as the only real way to eradicate slums. Related to this, we should develop a program demanding that people be put to work in a new building campaign to tear down the slums and build decent housing for all. Such a demand unites the construction workers and the minority peoples who live in the slums and need employment in a common struggle against the banks, the slumlords and their state. It is about time American socialists started talking about nationalization under workers' control to the working people of this country.

24. The questions of workers' power, workers democracy, and armed self-defense of the working class are a critical part of the struggle for the transitional demands. The working class must struggle to control its own organizations. It must rely only on itself to defend these organizations from attacks by fascists and the bosses. We must relate the elemental struggle for workers' democracy with the struggle for workers' power, for a workers' government. The labor party is an essential link in the struggle for a workers' government. The struggle within the trade union movement for transitional demands must be a struggle to develop a militant wing to dump the labor bureaucracy and restore democratic control by the rank and file to the unions. Tenants committees and other grass roots community organizations also raise the concept of workers' control at the consumer end of the process. Police terror in the Northern ghettos and throughout the South already is raising the need for armed self-defense of the working people. Strikes in the future will also raise this issue, as they have in the past. These are all extremely embryonic defensive forms and it is our task not only to foster such forms but to explain that these elementary forms must develop into full-fledged organs of power which can overthrow the existing state and replace it with the dictatorship of the proletariat. It must be emphasized quite strongly in regard to community work and in reaching the working class as consumers that nothing can be settled on this level. While we do not ignore these struggles we seek to turn them at every point toward the organized working class and we fight all trends which seek to substitute social work among the poor or unemployed for the struggle to bring revolutionary consciousness to the organized working class.

negro movement

25. The Negro movement must be an important field of work for our organization. Clearly this work poses particular problems and requires a special orientation. But once we lose sight of its place within class relations in the United States we are abandoning the Negro people to continued oppression. It is our specific task to bring class issues to the fore within the Negro movement despite the current dominance of separatism and opportunism of various stripes.

26. As we have noted, the development of the Negro struggle has its origins in the changing position of the Negro within the economic structure. The flight of the Negro to the city combined with the failure of the U.S. economy to absorb the Negro are essential ingredients of Negro radicalization. It is precisely the general prosperity of the country which spurs on Negro resentment at the failure of the system to allow the Negro an equal share in the prosperity. It is this which lies behind not only Watts but the struggle in the South as well.

27. With class pressures felt more intensely by the Negro, the Negro responds with a militancy and a radicalism that is generally in advance of that of the working class as a whole. However, the Negro sees his oppression as essentially a race oppression and his struggle as an isolated one. It is within this framework that both the nationalists and the opportunists develop their strength. The separatists seek to transform the isolation into a virtue, seeking to build a separate economy, while the opportunists seek to break down the isolation by transforming the revolutionary struggle into a mere begging for concessions from the ruling class, concessions which largely benefit the Negro middle class. This racial outlook of the Negro is reinforced by the failure of large sections of both Northern and Southern Negroes to be integrated into the economic structure as workers. There has thus developed a largely unemployed or underemployed plebian mass particularly susceptible to racial demagoguery. Separatism and opportunism have a great deal more in common than is commonly suggested, and both reflect non-working class pressures in the movement.

28. Our task is to pose a class program within the Negro movement with the greatest sharpness. There is no other way out for the Negro mass but to become a part of the struggle of the class as a whole. The solution for the Negro lies in the Negro playing as much of a vanguard role as possible

creation of labor party must be the central task of the working class

in the kind of transitional struggles outlined above. This means mass struggles to organize the unorganized, as is being done with the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union, the NFWA (grape pickers), and the hospital workers, and as should be done for the hundreds of thousands of minority workers who are exploited in the sweat shops of large cities -- especially New York. A housing program as outlined earlier is essential. Particular racial problems related to job discrimination and other issues must be seen within this framework. Above all we must raise the labor party demand within the Negro movement. Recent developments in the South clearly show that the Negro masses are beginning to realize that they must seek a political solution to their racial and class oppression. But they have no program for effective political struggle. While independent black parties at least represent an understanding of the need to break from capitalist politics. We must urge a class program on these parties. We must urge them to view themselves as a vanguard for the formation of a party of the class as a whole.

29. Both the Puerto Ricans and the Mexicans play a role in our society similar to the Negro. Only a class program can unite the Puerto Rican, Mexican and Negro with the rest of the working class in a common struggle against the ruling class. The ruling class does its best to pit black against white and Negro against Puerto Rican or Mexican. The SWP and other groups, by their uncritical support of separatism and their ignoring of the class struggle, encourage this process rather than struggle against it. This must not be our role.

vietnam war

30. The war question should concern us not simply because of the current war in Vietnam. By the very character of capitalism, the policy of U.S. imperialism will require greater reliance on military might as each day passes. The struggle against imperialist war thus will continue to be before us until we come to power. The ruling class is able to survive because the working class fails to generalize. The worker sees clearly the role his employer plays but he does not relate this to the role the employers' government plays. Every attempt is made to atomize the worker, to pit one worker against another, to line up the worker in a common cause against an external "enemy", hiding at every point the interrelatedness of the whole development. Our task is to break through this by showing the real connection between the role of the employers, their government and the war in Vietnam, and the real solidarity of interest between the American working class and the workers and peasants of Vietnam.

31. We must expose the war in Vietnam for what it is, an imperialist war of oppression against the workers and peasants of Vietnam. We must explain that the young workers are being asked to die to defend increased taxation which is eating away at the gains of the working class while the capitalists profit. We must demand nationalization of the war industries, and transformation of these industries and the arms budget which feeds them into instru-

ments designed to eradicate slums and poverty in the United States and to aid workers everywhere. We must take our stand at the side of the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front and struggle for the line of their military victory against all pacifist and reformist elements in the peace movement.

32. The imperialist draft sharpens all the issues posed by the war. The ruling class is finding it more and more difficult to disguise its brutal policies with liberal phrases, and the war in Vietnam is undoubtedly the most unpopular war in U.S. history. The workers in particular are directly affected by the draft. While the capitalists conduct the war to defend their own interests, they demand as usual that the working class fight the war for them. Despite the vocal chauvinist statements of most union leaders and the undoubtedly widespread impact of 'chauvinist propaganda on the workers, there is also a restiveness over U.S. war policies among workers which was almost totally absent during the Korean war. This potential anti-war sentiment is most profoundly felt among the working class youth, particularly among young minority workers. With inevitably sharp increases in the number of casualties and fatalities if the war continues to be widened, present doubts can be turned into determined working class opposition to the war. This is the kind of opposition to the war which can and must be built.

33. We consequently can have as little in common politically with the liberal-pacifist chatter about personal responsibility and individual action as we have with the liberal, Social-Democratic and Stalinist program of ending the war by exerting "pressure" on the government and supporting the so-called doves. This means that we call for collective opposition to the war and not individual acts of heroism or pacifism. We do not hold the individual soldier responsible for the war any more than we hold the German "Nation" responsible for Nazism. At the same time as we stand for the defeat of the American troops in Vietnam we explain and appeal to the soldiers that this position is in their interests because they are fighting for their masters and not for themselves. We do not advocate that students or workers evade the draft or burn draft cards. We do advocate a real fight against the draft. We oppose student deferments as well as the entire selective service system. All opponents of the war must reject personal solutions or class privileges. They must go to the young workers wherever they live and work and convince them in struggle of the need to oppose the war.

34. Because the Vietnam war is the sharpest expression (but of course not the only expression) of the world capitalist crisis, the attitude taken towards the war and how to fight it is crucial and puts different tendencies in the working class movement to the test. Our differences with all types of revisionists are clearly expressed through the issue of how we relate to the working class and the existing antiwar movement. This movement itself is at present essentially a pacifist-dominated middle class movement, isolated from the working class. Our role within the movement is to turn it towards the working class as well as to struggle against anti-working class political currents within it who preach one or another variety of international class collaboration. Whether the peace movement as it is grows or dies is not essential. The only real potential antiwar force in the United States or anywhere is the working class and the working class and its struggles cannot disappear. Our task is to the best of our ability bring working class consciousness into the antiwar movement and antiwar consciousness into the working class.

against revisionism

35. The struggle for political and theoretical clarity within the socialist vanguard of the working class is a central part of the general struggle



WE MUST TAKE OUR STAND WITH THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT.

of the working class against the capitalist class. However it cannot be viewed in isolation from that struggle. We reject completely the concept of seeking some kind of "hegemony" within the socialist movement first and then later proceeding to intervention in the mass movement itself. At every step along the way to power in the United States we must fuse our struggle against alien class views and methods both within the socialist movement and as are found among the broader masses of the population. We cannot wait to do mass work until we have "radical hegemony" or a certain arbitrary number of members, or even a certain theoretical level ourselves. Rather we must do this work as best we can with the forces we have presently, seeking to develop ourselves theoretically in the process while at the same time conducting a ruthless struggle against revisionism nor work in the mass movement can move forward if they are not seen as two parts of the same struggle to build a Marxist party. We suspect our ability to do this will be more limited by our own development than it will be by numbers.

36. Our primary concern in this struggle against revisionism must continue to be the SWP. The SWP represents the center of the international Pabloite tendency whose central role is to bring alien class views into the Trotskyist movement. We have yet to come to a final reckoning with this grouping and our success in the United States will be very definitely related to our struggle in this regard. It is not primarily a question of how many members we may win from the SWP, but rather of an obstacle which must be removed and of completing our break with the revisionism of the SWP. The collision of the SWP with the interests of the working class in the U.S. cannot help but produce an explosive internal crisis.

37. The Spartacist must be understood as a "left" expression of the nationalism and revisionism of the SWP. As this group never faced up to the history of the SWP and understood its essential character, so they inevitably fall prey to its nationalism, its theoretical bankruptcy, its unprincipled school of politics. Spartacist is a group without perspective or principle. Like the Abern group in the SWP before it, it represents a sick and dangerous tendency within the radical movement. A conscious theoretical and political struggle against this group is part of the struggle against the revisionism of the SWP.

38. We must remain open to every opportunity to intervene politically within the radical organizations in the United States as we have in the past, especially with the Progressive Labor Party. The developing class struggles in the United States cannot fail to put each organization to the test and open up new opportunities for winning over new forces to Marxism. In addition, despite their isolation from the working class in most instances, we must take account of the various currents in the radical movement because they reflect the historical development of the working class movement. They are in this way connected to the class, even in the most indirect way, and we must confront them and struggle against them in order to learn the lessons of the past history and struggles of the working class.

39. It would be a serious error to ignore the potential for betrayal of the American Stalinist par-



WORKERS LEAGUE OFFERS ALTERNATIVE

ty. The Communist Party must be dealt with seriously, and will remain a serious enemy until the worldwide struggle for socialism defeats and removes the counterrevolutionary Soviet bureaucracy. This will be equally necessary in relation to the youth movement and in some sections of the trade unions.

40. In all our work -- in the trade union movement, the Negro movement, the anti-war movement, and the existing radical movement -- we must recognize that the crisis of capitalism affects different sections of social classes in different ways. It will be primarily the young workers and students who will be most receptive to our program at this stage. This crisis affects them more deeply and they have fewer conservatizing ties to hold them back from struggle. Our aim must be to reach these young workers and those students who can be integrated into the working class movement, and with these young cadres seek to link up with the older sections of the class in common struggle against the class enemy.

workers league

41. Our own organization is susceptible to all the pressures of American economic wealth, es-

pecially as reflected through the middle class strata. This problem of middle class pressures cannot be solved by a syndicalist organizational turn as the French Voix Ouvriere group proposes: Nor can we afford to make no attempt to break out of a petty bourgeois radical existence. We must take an objective and scientific attitude to our own organization and its development. What is necessary is to combine a struggle to penetrate the mass movement as best we can equipped with the transitional program with a constant internal struggle for dialectical materialism. This must be our means to achieve proletarianization and in this we have already made very significant progress. Marxist organization is a conscious struggle, the only arena of conscious struggle against the class system and its reflections. We must view our organization as part of an international movement, although formal affiliation is impossible for legal reasons, and recognize that only through the subordination politically of our group to the world party can we avoid succumbing to the dominant class pressures in the United States. Those groups which break from internationalism, like Spartacist, cannot fail to succumb in time to the pressures of their own bourgeoisie. Super militancy and super activism will not help one whit.

42. It cannot be stressed too strongly that the building of the Marxist party is impossible without the most strenuous and constant struggle for the philosophy of dialectical materialism. We can never be satisfied with orthodox phrases as a substitute for a truly scientific approach to the constantly changing reality. The struggle against the Pabloite revisionists, represented in the U.S. above all by the SWP, has taught us over and over again the absolute necessity for a rounded theoretical and philosophical struggle against pragmatism and empiricism. Non-revolutionary habits of thought and of work are inevitably carried into the Marxist movement and must be constantly fought. The SWP has already succumbed to the pressures of the bourgeoisie in the form of pragmatism. The Workers League alone represents the continuity of revolutionary Marxism, of Trotskyism in the United States.

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ADDENDA TO PERSPECTIVES RESOLUTION ON WORKING CLASS YOUTH MOVEMENT

1. All the contradictions of capitalist society bear down with particular pressure upon the working class youth. The working class youth represent the most potentially revolutionary strata of American society. It is the youth who face the alternative of either the draft to fight Johnson's imperialist war or permanent unemployment because of the combined impact of a stagnating economy and automation.

2. A central task of the supporters of the Fourth International in the United States must be the struggle for a mass revolutionary youth movement. Such a movement would base itself primarily on teenage working class youth-- black and white. It would be an action organization giving leadership to youth around such questions as: the fight against conscription; the battle for jobs and job training for youth; the struggle against fascism and racism among youth and for the liberation of the Negro people. The organization would also provide a social life for youth and conduct a constant educational campaign to develop young revolutionaries theoretically.

3. The youth movement can only be built in the course of political struggle against revisionist and reformist political currents among the youth. The Stalinist DuBois Clubs will be a major obstacle in this work and will require a special concentration on the role of Stalinism in the United States.

4. The revolutionary youth must see themselves as part of the working class struggle as a whole. In particular the youth must be encouraged to enter industry and to play a role in the trade union movement. The youth move-

ment has a special responsibility to aid all strike actions and to bring revolutionary ideas to the broader sections of the class organized in the trade union movement.

5. As a first step, the W. L. must immediately set up an "Organizing Committee for a Revolutionary Youth Movement" composed of our younger comrades as well as contacts. The young comrades must be released from other external assignments to have time to devote to this work. The "Organizing Committee"'s primary arena of work at this juncture must be the high schools.

6. The "Organizing Committee" will not be formally affiliated with the W. L. and membership in this committee will not mean acceptance of the complete program of the W. L. However we see this Committee as part of the same general movement as the W. L. and as supporters of the Fourth International. The "Organizing Committee" will collaborate closely with its co-thinkers --the British Young Socialists and the French Revoltes.

7. The "Organizing Committee" is to be responsible for its own work, is to have its own social functions, carry on its own demonstrations and leaf-letting, produce, if the resources are available, its own organ. The W. L. as an organization as well as its members in the "Organizing Committee" will assist the Committee in every way possible and both groups will collaborate closely especially on the circulation of the Bulletin.