

International Youth Build For Socialism

Bulletin

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Ten Cents

GHETTO REBELLIONS SHAKE OPPRESSORS



WITH GUNS IN HAND TROOPS SEARCH HOMES IN PLAINFIELD, N.J.

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**SWP
Expels
Founder**



ARNE SWABECK

Ex-Spartacists Support WL

EDITORIAL: CONFERENCE FOR NEW POLITICS

EDITORIAL:**Labor Party Offers Only Real Alternative to Johnson in '68**

In April over 400,000 Americans marched against the war in Vietnam but the war continued, was intensified, escalated. This summer Negroes in city after city across this nation rose up in rebellion against centuries of oppression. Johnson brought in the National Guard and U.S. troops, troops trained in the war against the Vietnamese people, and shot them down. They remain oppressed and all the government has to offer is more troops and better riot training for the National Guard and the cops. Recently railroad shop craft workers went out on strike nationally. Their just demand was for equality of pay with skilled workers in other industries. Johnson answered their demands with a compulsory arbitration law, a model for the future of U.S. labor as a whole. And who is to head this anti-labor arbitration board? None other than Senator Wayne Morse--a Democratic "good guy" we are told. This summer the youth roam the streets of the cities looking for jobs. All they are offered is a chance at death in Vietnam.

This is the context within which the National Convention for New Politics is being held in Chicago this Labor Day. The struggle against the war, the uprising of the Negro masses, the strike battles of American labor, the demands of American youth for a future, all these struggles come up against the same obstacle--the Government, federal, state and city. The two major parties in the United States are dedicated to the continuing oppression of the American people at home and the masses abroad. There is no way out through these parties. There is no way out through ignoring politics. A political alternative must be built in the United States.

Socialists and anti-war activists can play an important role in building this political alternative. But the alternative must be a real alternative. The time has past when propagandistic socialist election campaigns, the stock in trade of the Socialist Workers Party, can play any meaningful role. At the same time, so-called "political alternatives" which are in reality but another form of the class politics which maintains the oppression of the American workers black and white, and which perpetuates U.S. imperialist domination internationally are no alternatives at all. And this is the kind of politics which has dominated the "new politics" movement, and which will undoubtedly dominate the Labor Day Convention.

What is required is a struggle for a new political party which will unite the American working class in a political battle to wrest power from the class which conducts a war of genocide against the Vietnamese people, and suppresses the Negro and white masses at home--the capitalist class. Such a party cannot be built on the middle classes, the base of the current peace movement. It cannot be built by separating the Negro masses as a political force from the working class as a whole, as Stokely Carmichael and other black nationalist-oriented Negroes advocate.

working class pays**Why the United States Is Losing Vietnam War**

by Marty Jonas

Despite reassurances from the high command that "we are winning" and further escalation of the Vietnam war to ten miles from China, the NLF is clearly an unstoppable force. The figures of NLF against allied deaths since 1961 are four to one, yet the NLF keeps on coming. Surely, they do not grow on trees. The NLF are the workers and peasants of Vietnam, who will keep on fighting so long as U.S. imperialism and its stooges remain.

The U.S. is sinking everything into seeing that it does remain. Thousands of troops and billions of dollars are being poured in constantly. An elaborate pentagon-type building has been set up in Vietnam at a cost of several millions. These factors, combined with the desertion and understandably bad performance of the South Vietnamese troops, make it more obviously each day an American war. But even this much commitment is not enough. After such great expense of men and money the imperialists are only assured of the "loyalty" of one hamlet out of six. To provide a shield against the North -- which would hardly do anything toward effective occupation -- would require of the U.S. eight million men -- a figure out of science fiction.

No longer does the government speak of alternatives to arms and men. As is becoming more and more the case in the capitalist war against the black workers here, there is no longer any dilly-dallying in

Vietnam over reforms and winning over the enemy through good works. Imperialism is at an end of wasting words with the world proletariat.

But imperialism's further escalation of its necessary war brings further risks. Besides the growing impossibility of gulling the American working class over the nature of U.S. involvement, there is the matter of explaining where the money and men for further escalation will come from. From the working class, of course.

LBJ's calls for more troops and his latest 10% across-the-board tax scheme are aimed against the working class. But, necessary though it be, the U.S. could not afford to send the eight million workers to cordon off Vietnam; they are beginning to have trouble justifying the several thousand a month. The 10% surtax combined with wage-price guidelines and anti-strike legislation will also be a big pill for the workers to swallow. LBJ may do the choking.

This is part of what we mean when we talk about the crisis of U.S. capitalism: the necessity for it to carry out its imperialist aims in order to survive as a system throughout the world: and, on the other hand the ways in which it finds maneuvering more and more difficult. It can less afford to do its dirty work in its accustomed liberal way; buying off sections of the masses becomes harder and harder -- so it resorts to methods cruder and more expensive econom-



POSTER REFLECTS DETERMINATION OF VIETNAMESE TO BEAT BACK U.S. INVADER.

ically and politically.

It is no coincidence that the man sent to lead the U.S. troops into combat in the Detroit uprising was formerly assistant to General Westmoreland in Vietnam. One soldier actually remarked how killing in Detroit was just like killing in Vietnam. The victims are the same and so are the murderers. When unions resist the imminent anti-strike laws -- as they will -- the picture will be the same.

Just as the NLF has nothing to gain from the two parties of capital here, neither does the American worker. All he can ever expect from these two parties is more of everything he's getting now -- more taxes, more unemployment, more draft, more repression. More of everything except what

We must build a party based on the American trade union movement-- that gigantic force which is only now beginning to struggle. These struggles of the trade union movement are taking on more and more of a political character as the government is forced to intervene on the side of the bosses in order to preserve the stability of the system as a whole and continues its genocidal war. With the trade union movement as a base, this party must champion the cause of the Negro masses and give leadership to a campaign to wipe out the slums, the poverty, the discrimination which bear down upon the Negro masses. This party must embrace the working class youth and give leadership to the fight for job training for the youth and for an end to the draft.

Now is the time to start. Socialists must begin the struggle to bring the labor party demand into the American trade union movement, into the Negro ghettos, to the working class youth. This is the challenge before the New Politics Conference. Are socialists and other militants gathered there to divert the striving toward a real political alternative back into the camp of the oppressors through middle class peace campaigns, cover separatist black parties, or even support for one or another candidate within the parties of the oppressors? Or will they make a clear class break from the system which oppresses us all and start the struggle for the next great leap forward of the American working class--the struggle for a new party of the American working class?

We say:

IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL OF U.S. TROOPS FROM VIETNAM!

VICTORY FOR THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT!

END THE ANTI-LABOR OFFENSIVE AGAINST THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT LAUNCHED BY LBJ AND HIS LACKEY WAYNE MORSE!

DISSOLVE THE NATIONAL GUARD; NATIONALIZE MULTIPLE DWELLINGS AND WIPE OUT SLUMS; JOBS FOR ALL!

END THE DRAFT; JOB TRAINING FOR YOUTH AT UNION WAGES; VOTE AT 18!

BUILD A LABOR PARTY FOR 1968!

ONLY A CLASS PARTY OF THE AMERICAN WORKERS CAN REALIZE THESE DEMANDS!

he is entitled to -- the wealth he produces. All that these parties represent are those who daily rob and murder those of his class here and abroad. The workers must have their own party.

Within his unions the workers must organize into rank-and-file committees for the formation of a labor party that will represent their interests for the first time.

All those who consider themselves revolutionists must call for the formation of a labor party based on the trade union movement in whatever arena they are working. The issue is always pertinent.

The revisionists of the CP and the SWP-YSA are dead wrong when they say or imply that the U.S. working class is dormant and unreachable at

this time. Strikes and uprisings are everywhere. These are not just samples of unrest that look important and are mystically tied by brotherhood to revolutions in Vietnam, China and the Arab countries. These are all manifestations of a decaying system in crisis. In that respect they are all connected and all important. The motion is unmistakable and must be given direction. The first step in giving that direction -- towards politics, towards power -- to the American working class is the labor party.

A step towards the labor party and the victory of the working class is a step towards the victory of the NLF. U.S. imperialism is now in severe crisis -- let the world proletariat profit from it.

Hold International Youth Assembly



INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY VOTES FOR MANIFESTO.

by the editors

800 young people from 12 countries gathered on the South Coast of England for the First International Youth Assembly on July 29th to August 5th. It was the largest gathering of Trotskyist youth and sympathizers since the Fourth International was founded in 1938. The assembled youth, after a full week of reports and discussions, voted overwhelmingly with only one abstention for a Manifesto and went on to elect a committee to organize an international youth conference for 1968. This conference will be an important step forward in the building of a revolutionary youth international.

There were delegations from England, France, the United States, Nigeria, Ceylon, Greece, Italy, Ireland, Belgium, Germany, Madagascar, and Algeria. The Workers League and Revolt sent a delegation of 16 to the Assembly.

The reports from the different delegations illustrated that the international crisis of capitalism was having its impact in every country of the globe. Report after report described the attacks of the capitalists upon the working class and upon youth and the beginnings of struggle in these countries against the capitalists. It is this capitalist crisis and the renewed combativity especially of the younger section of the working

class which has turned youth towards the international program of the Fourth International.

In country after country the great bureaucratic apparatus of the Stalinist and socialist democratic parties and of the trade unions are being used to contain the workers rather than to lead the workers into struggle against the capitalist offensive. The crying need in each country is the creation of an alternative leadership for the class and only the forces of the Fourth International address themselves to this task.

Despite the great differences in the conditions of struggle and the level of development of the revolutionary forces from country to country, the main lesson of the Assembly lay precisely in the identity of the struggle in each country. There before your eyes was a world movement in birth, in different stages of development but all part of the same movement. The comrades who made up the American delegation for instance, could see their struggle as an integral part of this world wide struggle, and see their own organization as a stage in this world wide development.

Of particular importance was the fact that youth from the colonial and semi-colonial countries were represented and these youth took an active role in the proceedings. The Nigerian comrade brought

greetings to the Fourth International from a country being ripped apart by tribal divisions as behind the scene various imperialist predators battled it out for control of this country's wealth. The Madagascar comrade came from a country only a few years removed from open chattel slavery where the mere mention of socialism can lead to imprisonment or death without trial, and where the imperialist bandits continue their exploitation of the country now formally "independent". He ended his report with the cry: "Long Live the Fourth International."

Also important was the presence of a delegation from Greece, a country recently taken over by the military junta. The collapse of bourgeois democracy right in Europe itself is a warning sign to the world proletariat of the depth of the capitalist crisis and of the extreme urgency of the struggle to build a world revolutionary alternative to the capitalists.

The largest delegations came from England and France. In both of these countries connections have been made with workers in basic industry who now find the capitalist state bearing down upon them to deepen their exploitation in order to preserve their rule of the bosses.

Another important feature of the Assembly was the experience a number of delegations had gained in the struggle a-

gainst the revisionists -- in particular the Pabloite revisionists. The Ceylon delegate represented a group of youth who have battled the reformist LSSP which supports the capitalist government in Ceylon and the left centrist LSSP(R) which has proved itself incapable of breaking with the fundamental methods of the reformists. Most important these youth have developed a deep interest in the struggle to build an international movement breaking from the nationalist traditions which have dominated the socialist movement in Ceylon and prepared the way for the degeneration of the LSSP.

The Belgian delegation represents a youth group formed in battle against Ernest Mandel, a major figure in the Pabloite United Secretariat. The real nature of Mandel's politics were exposed at the Liege demonstration in 1966 when his supporters blocked with the Stalinist youth and sought to prevent the British Young Socialists from marching with banners declaring support for the Hungarian Revolution of 1956.

Not only the strength of youth but its weaknesses were also represented at the Assembly. This took the form of a section of the German delegation, a group of 10 Berlin students. These students conducted personal struggle against the democratic discipline of the

Assembly. They opposed a conception of leadership and discipline, opposing to this their own "emancipated" spirits. At one point, while they denigrated the security problem at the Assembly, a police helicopter hovered overhead.

These students were given full rights to present their views to the Assembly but finally left the camp under their own volition before this discussion was completed.

The basic political outlook of the 800 assembled youth is expressed in the Manifesto of the Assembly. This Manifesto states:

"The first aim of youth all over the world must be the overthrow of the capitalist system and the establishment of workers power for the construction of socialism. The continuation of capitalism brings ever-increasing dangers to humanity's very survival. Atomic energy and automation, conquests of human science and industry which could bring abundance of wealth and the abolition of manual toil for the whole human race, are transformed by capital into instruments of super-exploitation and sheer destruction. Only war or the removal of hundreds of millions from production and culture, can result from the continuation of capitalism. Private property in the means of production, the control of the world's resources by a few giant trusts and finance houses, and the division of the world between the great imperial powers, together with the aim of the imperialists to regain what was lost in the October Revolution and later in Eastern Europe and China, all this turns the vast promise of abundance into the threat of destruction and mass misery. Only the victory of the working class and socialism can carry humanity forward."

Canada's NDP Deserts Nationalization; Rallies To Capitalism

by Charles Henry

TORONTO--The New Democratic Party of Canada held its fourth national convention here on July 3rd to 7th. The delegates, representing local NDP ridings and affiliated trade union locals, discussed and voted on resolutions ranging from Canadian independence, the French Canadian question, to international issues like Vietnam and the Middle East crisis.

The NDP was formed out of a combination of the old middle class social democratic Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) with the trade union bureaucracy. The rank and file workers played little role in its formation and still have little connection with the party. Recently the party has sought to develop some base among workers with a social welfare program talk of nationalization of some industries, and by posing as an alternative to the capitalist Conservative and Liberal parties. At the same time, especially in the last year or two, it has moved in a rightward direction seeking the middle class vote of the Liberal Party.

independence

Perhaps the most important issue to come up at this year's convention was the question of "Canadian Independence." The right wing leadership of the party offered a resolution spelling out a 12 point program including a huge government fund for the mobilization of capital for development research and to retain Canadian savings within the country. The whole aim of the program is to build up Canadian capital at the expense of foreign capital--primarily United States capital.

Thus the NDP announces to the Canadian working class that its main aim is not the overthrow of capital in Canada and the establishment of a socialist economy, but rather to bolster the Canadian

exploiters of the Canadian workers at the expense of the U.S. exploiters of the Canadian workers. But Canada is no underdeveloped colony. The Canadian bourgeoisie is an imperialist power in its own right. And the NDP leadership sees its role as aiding this class enemy of the Canadian workers.

communists

The Canadian Communist Party greeted this openly chauvinist program with the greatest enthusiasm. They have, for years, advocated a similar program having long since given up even a semblance of struggle for socialism in Canada.

The opposition to this rightward turn within the NDP concentrated on the nationalization question. Most of those in the opposition were old left wingers from the CCF days. This opposition was supported by the Canadian Pabloites organized in Ross Dowson's League for Socialist Action.

Of course the nationalization question is a critical issue within the NDP and of great importance to Canadian workers. But it is extremely important to link this issue to the actual struggles of the Canadian working class. This way Canadian Marxists can expose the failure of the NDP leadership to give a real lead to the struggles of the Canadian workers and thus aid the battle for an alternative leadership of the class in Canada as part of the world wide struggle of the workers.

parity

The one issue above all others which concerns Canadian workers and around which they can achieve the maximum unity is the issue of parity in wages with American workers.

This issue is also very much related to the French Canadian question. French Canadian wor-

kers have shown great militancy in strike after strike as they strive to reach wage levels already achieved by English speaking workers in other parts of Canada. At the same time the English speaking workers, many of whom are members of international unions based in the United States, are demanding parity with American workers.

So far the militancy of the French Canadian workers has been sidetracked by petty bourgeois nationalists around the program of French Canadian separatism. The NDP has gone along with this separatism and vague statements of a "separate status" for French Canada were made at the current NDP convention. The Dowson Pabloites have also tended to tail the separatist movement.

While Canadian Marxists must of course favor the rights of French Canadians to their own separate culture and language they must also struggle to bring together French and English speaking workers in a common struggle against the capitalists--be they U.S. or Canadian. We must fight for parity in wages with U.S. workers for all Canadian workers. American trade unionists must also support the fight of their Canadian brothers for this just demand.

nationalization

We must demand that the NDP take the leadership of this struggle and favor nationalization of basic industries as the answer to those who cry bankruptcy or who threaten to pull out of Canada when faced with this demand.

Supporters of the International Committee of the Fourth International in Canada declare their determination to struggle along these general lines in collaboration with the Workers League in the United States.

NEGRO GHETTO REBELLIONS MARK FIRST STAG

STRUGGLE FOR CLASS POLI

by Fred Mueller

The ghetto rebellions that erupted in Newark, Detroit and dozens of other cities during the month of July, bringing the city of Detroit to a halt for several days, are an important and heroic chapter in the struggles of the American working class.

In these struggles, as in all struggles of the masses, there can be only one stand for us to take. We must unconditionally support the fights of the oppressed against the oppressor. Detroit and Newark must be seen as part of the class struggle, of the international battle between the workers on one side and the imperialists and their agents on the other. This class struggle is intensifying along with the deepening crisis of capitalism. This is the basic reason for the ghetto rebellions. In their courage, their readiness to sacrifice their lives rather than continue to endure oppression, the black youth and workers of Detroit demonstrated the same fighting qualities their working class brothers demonstrated in the fights against imperialism and Stalinism in Hungary, Vietnam, Hong Kong, China, Greece and elsewhere.

U.S. capitalism, the leader of world imperialism, is fighting for its very existence by waging its bloody war in Vietnam. The capitalists constantly fight the class war at home and they are preparing to intensify this war by anti-strike legislation and by making the workers pay in every way for the crisis of the system. At this moment, faced by mounting pressures from the working class at home and abroad, they can't provide even a few crumbs for the exploited Negro workers.

bankrupt capitalism

The day-to-day issues of existence and of survival are posed now to sections of the Negro masses as they will be to the entire working class. The capitalists are completely incapable of dealing with automation without throwing millions out of work. Alongside technological upheavals and even capitalist boom conditions, welfare tolls skyrocket and the unemployment rate of Negro youth remains at or above the 25% mark. This decaying system cannot even pretend anymore that it is able to provide jobs for all, that it is able to give the most exploited sections of the working class a stake in the system or even a place in the system of production.

The ghetto masses see the war in Vietnam constantly escalated, with working class youth bearing the brunt of the draft calls and the casualties. These same youth are denied jobs at home. All that capitalism can provide for them are jobs killing or being killed in the fight against their class brothers in Vietnam, the Dominican Republic and all over the world. In one week in July just before the biggest ghetto uprisings the bloated Congressional representatives of the bosses passed a so-

called "anti-riot" bill and laughed down a paltry administration request for \$20 million to fight rats in the slums. It is no wonder that the Negro masses say, Enough! We have tolerated this system in silence for too long and will tolerate it no longer.

Nothing exposes the capitalist system more than Johnson's call for a day of prayer for jobs and for reconciliation. This call to look to Heaven for comfort is a confession of bankruptcy. Perhaps God can help out, since the U.S. ruling class can't do anything! We must not be tricked into believing that this is a matter of bad will, that, as Rev. King suggests, electing more liberal spokesmen for the same bosses will change the situation. The inability of the capitalist class to deal with this crisis is a proven fact. Even the simplest and most piddling reforms are no longer possible.

young, old workers

It is not simply a matter of mass unemployment or poverty. Black and white skilled workers, relatively well-paid workers, also joined in the uprisings and in the repossessing ("looting") at supermarkets, furniture stores, etc. These workers are more aware than ever before of the gap between what they have and what is available, what is denied to them. It is this gap which leads to revolutionary feelings. Hope and frustration, not utter despair, are what lie behind the rebellions. The capitalists' ability to bribe the working class is severely restricted not only by the growing capitalist economic crisis but also by the aggressiveness and combativity of the workers.

The bosses and their agents fear the youth and the adult workers. They fear the power of the long-silent masses, and seek at all costs to prevent a linking up of youth and adult workers, black and white, which can sweep capitalism away forever. The strategy of the bosses is to divide the working class, to divide black and white workers and to divide the youth from the older workers. More and more the decisive section of the ruling class realizes that meaningful concessions to the masses are impossible. Humphrey called for a "Marshall Plan" for the cities and was forced to correct himself two days later. The strategy is more and more the same as in Vietnam. "Reforms" are a cover for the basic strategy of repression, of brute force. No money, not even a pittance is forthcoming. Johnson's blue ribbon commission is also a smokescreen to whitewash the system. The carrot is giving way more and more to the stick.

Combined with the repression is the constant attempt to divide. This is the meaning of the statements, not only of the spokesmen of the ruling class (Johnson, Humphrey, Mayor Lindsay and others), but also of the agents of the bosses in the working



U.S. TROOPS IN VIETNAM? NO--TROOPS PREPARE FOR C

class and Negro movements (Reuther, Wilkins, Randolph, King and others). All the bureaucratic

Negro and trade union leaders have shown their true nature by calling for federal troops to put down the uprisings. They have taken the side of the oppressors against the oppressed. Their betrayal could not be more open or complete.

The older workers are told that their homes were illegally searched and shot up and their wives, husbands or children injured or murdered only because of the wild and irresponsible youth. They are told that this is not their fight, that they can save what small gains they have made if they allow the government to isolate and smash the youth. The bosses lyingly assert that the uprisings are the work of only a handful, when everyone knows that they could not have continued as they did without cooperation between the adult workers and the youth. We must fight the attempts of the capitalists to find and punish scapegoats. We must expose the jailing of H. Rap Brown as an attempt to divert attention from the real culprits, the system and those who rest upon it.

unity is key

How do we fight the strategy of the enemy? The only answer is the unity of the working class in struggle around a revolutionary program. The struggle itself makes this unity necessary, it is not something imposed from the outside. What unites the ghetto uprisings and the trade union struggle itself. They are both aspect of the overall struggle. They take place because the interests of the capitalists conflict with the interests of the workers, and because capitalism is not able to solve

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Johnson and Morse Strikebreak Against Railroad Workers

by Jeff Sebastian

Government strike-breaking in the railroad strike is a warning to the entire working class. The decision to impose compulsory arbitration must be seen as part of a general preparation for anti-strike legislation to be used against all workers.

There can be no question as to the railroad's ability to meet worker's demands. Profits for 1966 approached one billion dollars! Mergers and consolidation combined with investment tax credits and reduced corporation taxes

have enriched railroad bosses. Since the 1950's freight traffic has increased while employment has been reduced 50%. Freight rates are to be increased by \$300 million this year.

Johnson recognizes that a victory for railroad workers would be a tremendous spur to rising labor militancy. It is this fear of the working class that forces him to come down so hard on the side of the railroad bosses.

The defeat of the railroad workers is largely due to the betrayals of the labor bureau-

crats. The leadership of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) refused to lead a struggle against government strikebreaking. After compromising for months it showed itself only too eager to lead the ranks back to work as soon as Congress provided the legislative excuse.

LBJ's blue ribbon arbitration panel headed by scab Senator Wayne Morse and including Theodore Kheel who helped eliminate tens of thousands of railroad jobs in a 1965 arbitration decision is graced by none other than George Meany. This traitor, by his very presence, invests the panel with an ill deserved legitimacy.

In 1966 the airline mechanics not only rejected two contracts negotiated by the IAM leadership, but the four largest west coast locals, L.A., S.F., Portland and Seattle, sent telegrams to Meany, Reuther, Hoffa and Bridges demanding that immediate steps be taken to break from the Democratic Party and form a labor party. Had such

steps been taken the railroad machinists would have been in a much stronger position today to oppose government intervention in the unions.

Instead, Meany sits on Johnson's strike-breaking panels. Reuther maneuvers behind the scenes to support Kennedy while preparing a betrayal of his own ranks in September. Hoffa rots in jail, put behind bars by the very government he refused to fight. As for Bridges, despite his "left" talk, he shows his true colors by supporting Democrats Burton and Shelley. Indeed Bridges, who claims to oppose the war, showed himself every bit as timid as the railroad leadership when during the recent ILWU warehouse strike the union caved in to government pressure and continued to handle all war goods.

lessons

The lessons of the railroad strike are clear. The battle to maintain living standards and defend the unions leads to direct confrontation with the

government. In these confrontations the labor bureaucracy cannot be depended on to defend the ranks. Indeed, as the crisis deepens these bureaucrats join hands with the bosses and the government to control the rank and file.

The task before the working class is to return control of the unions to the ranks by building rank and file committees as alternatives to the labor fakers. These committees must launch a struggle to unite all workers against anti-labor legislation. This means that any union forced into confrontation with the government will be backed up completely up to and including sympathy strikes by all other unions.

Basic to the program of these committees must be the recognition that the struggle against government intervention in the unions is political and must be fought politically by building a working class party in opposition to the strike-breaking Democratic and Republican parties.

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STAGE OF WORKERS' STRUGGLE FOR POWER

CLASS POLITICAL POWER



COPS PREPARE FOR COMBAT AGAINST DETROIT NEGROES.

any of the problems which it faces. It would be foolish to ignore the extent of racial divisions in American capitalist society. The bosses need racial prejudice, they have skillfully developed and used it to maintain their rule. Hatred of racial oppression is bound to find expression in black chauvinism and in anti-white feelings. The revolutionary movement cannot lead the working class to power unless the racial antagonisms are overcome in struggle against the common enemy. It is not a matter of pretending that these antagonisms can be easily removed, that preaching of harmony is the answer. Racism can only be fought by class weapons, only through struggle, only by showing that what unites white and black workers is more important than what divides them.

Detroit proved that black and white workers have common interests. How else can the smashing of stores labeled "Soul Brother" be explained? How else can the widespread integrated struggles in that city be understood? Here is living proof of the basic identity of interests which under revolutionary leadership can bring the entire working class to power and end racism and capitalism for good.

But Detroit is just the most concrete recent example. Day in and day out, in the trade unions, Negro and white workers face the same boss, despite the fact that discrimination exists and is used in the trade unions and must be constantly fought. The Labor Department reports 2600 strikes involving 1,280,000 workers in the first 6 months of 1967, the most in 15 years. The trade unionists and the ghetto fighters (and many trade unionists are also ghetto fighters) are forced to fight for the same reasons and against the same enemy.

unions defend

All trade unionists have the obligation to defend the Negro masses in struggle. The attack on the black masses is preparation for intensified attacks upon the organized working class as a whole. The bosses have no choice. Workers who turn their backs on the ghetto and refuse to support the rebellions are inviting disaster. The same union bureaucrats who sell out the struggles of their members, like Reuther of the UAW, also demand the crushing of the ghetto revolts.

The battle in the cities has reached an insurrectionary pitch. We must not confuse this upheaval, as important as it is, with the more long-range

LABOR PARTY PROGRAM

**Abolish National Guard!
Form Defense Guard!**

**Nationalize Housing!
Wipe Out Slums!**

**30 hr Work, 40 hr Pay!
Jobs for All!**

struggle for power which it poses but does not completely express. The struggle for power by the entire working class requires a revolutionary leadership and program.

The two parties stand exposed more than ever before as betrayers of the Negro workers. Black Democrats, even so-called militants like Conyers of Detroit, were quick to demonstrate their loyalty to capitalism. Black militants are coming to recognize the real character of the Democrats and the Republicans, and the need for breaking with these parties.

But black parties, whatever their intentions, are not the answer. What about the Puerto Rican ghetto fighters in Chicago and New York? Must they create separate Puerto Rican parties? Will there be separate Mexican-American parties as well in the Southwest? Of course the Negro minority is much larger than the others. But that doesn't change the fact that separate black parties further divide the struggles and play into the hands of the capitalists.

labor party

The only instrument which will unite the working class is a labor party. Only a labor party fighting against race prejudice as part of its fight against the bosses can unite white and black workers, or even black youth and older black workers. The older Negro workers can only be won to a class program. Once we see this fact we must also recognize that a class program is a program for the white workers as well. If the militant black youth are serious about winning the support of the older workers in struggle, they are going to find that the black and white workers will come into struggle together.

Of course a labor party will have to give proof of its determination to wage a militant and united struggle by giving special representation to Negro and other minority sections of the working class. A constant struggle against racism will be necessary.

The ghetto must fight for many demands which can only be won by a united working class. The nearly all-white National Guard must be abolished, for instance, and its vicious anti-labor role since its origin in 1877 as a reaction to a nationwide rail strike, must be exposed. Against the National Guard in the hands of the bosses, we must pose armed self-defense in the ghetto and also in present and future strike struggles. The labor movement has had much experience with the National Guard, and none of it friendly.

The slumlords must be removed forever by removing the profit system on which they thrive. City welfare departments pay millions in rents for rat-infested slums inhabited by those on the dole. We must fight for the nationalization of all multiple dwelling housing without compensation and under the control of the tenants themselves. This must be combined with relief for small homeowners burdened by heavy mortgages and the ghettos must be destroyed by massive school and home-building programs in the slums, employing the unemployed at trade union wages.

30 for 40

We must fight for the unity of the employed and unemployed. We must demand, above all else, jobs for all, and the 30 hours week at 40 hours pay to accomplish this. All of these demands, for jobs, housing, and self-defense, are the only demands whose achievement will emancipate the black masses. And only a labor party can really struggle for and win these demands. When we talk about a labor party, it is a party fighting for these demands that we mean. Trade unionists and ghetto fighters, employed and unemployed alike, must begin fighting for this party now.

Negro fighters must not confuse the trade unions with their present leaders like Meany and Reuther. Reuther is the enemy of the auto workers as well as the Negro. He is preparing right now to sell out the strike the auto workers face in September. When we talk of the trade unions we don't mean Reuther, we mean fighting unity on the rank and file level against the bosses and the bureaucrats.

How do radical trends and organizations in the Negro movement, which correctly defend the uprisings propose to fight the strategy of the enemy? Instead of fighting for the unity of the class around a revolutionary program SNCC has been playing into the hands of the capitalists. They do not recognize that one section of the working class cannot emancipate itself apart from the emancipation



NEGRO THROWS A SHOE AT COPS.

of the entire working class. Indeed they do not see the struggle in terms of class to begin with. A purely racial outlook will derail and demoralize black militants.

revisionists

The revisionists in the socialist movement, as well as many New Left-type trends which completely and openly reject a working class perspective, can not see beyond the black nationalist analysis of the ghetto rebellions. The Pabloite Socialist Workers Party and its newspaper the Militant play an especially rotten role. They divert youth who are seeking socialist and working class answers to the crisis of capitalism into reliance upon black nationalism. They cover their betrayals with empty phrases about socialism. They demoralize black militants by offering them nothing more than they can find in black nationalist circles.

The August 7 Militant devotes more than half its issue to the ghetto rebellions and to Detroit in particular. It is forced to recognize the integrated character of the struggle in Detroit. But this is completely separated from the struggles of the trade unions, and not a single sentence is devoted to the meaning of the uprisings for the entire working class, to a program for uniting the class by fighting for a labor party. The SWP's bankruptcy is clearly shown in a report on the Newark Black Power conference which offers no program and can only comment as follows:

"Many varied positions on the present and future struggles of black people were heard and discussed. These included socialism, secular and religious nationalism, revolution, reform and separation and autonomy within the society. This discussion was the most important result of the conference because out of ideological exchanges like this will come a philosophy and program best suited to the needs of black people caught in the unholy trinity of Christianity, capitalism, and Caucasianism that make up twentieth century America."

The workers can and must be united in the fight for a labor party and for the overthrow of capitalism. In order to accomplish this, those like the SWP which disorient and mislead the working class, will have to be politically fought and swept aside as part of the fight against capitalism and all its agents.

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REBELLIONS MARK FIRST STAGE OF WORKERS' STRUGGLE FOR CLASS POLITICAL POWER

riot" bill and laughed down a paltry request for \$20 million to fight rats. It is no wonder that the Negro masses have tolerated this system in the long and will tolerate it no longer. The capitalist system more than makes up for a day of prayer for jobs and for a confession of bankruptcy. Perhaps, since the U.S. ruling class can't change the situation. The inability of the ruling class to deal with this crisis is a matter of bad will, that, as Rev. King has shown, more liberal spokesmen for the ruling class will change the situation. The inability of the ruling class to deal with this crisis is a matter of bad will, that, as Rev. King has shown, more liberal spokesmen for the ruling class will change the situation. The inability of the ruling class to deal with this crisis is a matter of bad will, that, as Rev. King has shown, more liberal spokesmen for the ruling class will change the situation.

Young, old workers

Simply a matter of mass unemployment, black and white skilled workers, re-laid workers, also joined in the uprising. The repossessing ("looting") at super-market stores, etc. These workers are more than ever before of the gap between what is available, what is denied to the working class which leads to revolutionary anger and frustration, not utter despair, behind the rebellions. The capitalists' betrayal of the working class is severely re-laid by the growing capitalist economic crisis by the aggressiveness and combativeness of the workers.

and their agents fear the youth and the old. They fear the power of the long-term, and seek at all costs to prevent a youth and adult workers, black and white, from sweeping capitalism away. The strategy of the bosses is to divide the workers, to divide black and white workers from the youth from the older workers. The youth are the decisive section of the ruling class that meaningful concessions to the workers are impossible. Humphrey called for a "moratorium" for the cities and was forced to call it off two days later. The strategy is the same as in Vietnam. "Reforms" are the basic strategy of repression, not money, not even a pittance is given. Johnson's blue ribbon commission is a smoke screen to whitewash the system. The ruling class is giving way more and more to the workers.

with the repression is the constant struggle. This is the meaning of the state. The spokesmen of the ruling class (Humphrey, Mayor Lindsay and others), the agents of the bosses in the working



U.S. TROOPS IN VIETNAM? NO--TROOPS PREPARE FOR COMBAT AGAINST DETROIT NEGROES.

class and Negro movements (Reuther, Wilkins, Randolph, King and others). All the bureaucratic Negro and trade union leaders have shown their true nature by calling for federal troops to put down the uprisings. They have taken the side of the oppressors against the oppressed. Their betrayal could not be more open or complete.

The older workers are told that their homes were illegally searched and shot up and their wives, husbands or children injured or murdered only because of the wild and irresponsible youth. They are told that this is not their fight, that they can save what small gains they have made if they allow the government to isolate and smash the youth. The bosses lyingly assert that the uprisings are the work of only a handful, when everyone knows that they could not have continued as they did without cooperation between the adult workers and the youth. We must fight the attempts of the capitalists to find and punish scapegoats. We must expose the jailing of H. Rap Brown as an attempt to divert attention from the real culprits, the system and those who rest upon it.

Unity is key

How do we fight the strategy of the enemy? The only answer is the unity of the working class in struggle around a revolutionary program. The struggle itself makes this unity necessary, it is not something imposed from the outside. What unites the ghetto uprisings and the trade union struggle itself. They are both aspect of the overall struggle. They take place because the interests of the capitalists conflict with the interests of the workers, and because capitalism is not able to solve

any of the problems which it faces.

It would be foolish to ignore the extent of racial divisions in American capitalist society. The bosses need racial prejudice, they have skillfully developed and used it to maintain their rule. Hatred of racial oppression is bound to find expression in black chauvinism and in anti-white feelings. The revolutionary movement cannot lead the working class to power unless the racial antagonisms are overcome in struggle against the common enemy. It is not a matter of pretending that these antagonisms can be easily removed, that preaching of harmony is the answer. Racism can only be fought by class weapons, only through struggle, only by showing that what unites white and black workers is more important than what divides them.

Detroit proved that black and white workers have common interests. How else can the smashing of stores labeled "Soul Brother" be explained? How else can the widespread integrated struggles in that city be understood? Here is living proof of the basic identity of interests which under revolutionary leadership can bring the entire working class to power and end racism and capitalism for good.

But Detroit is just the most concrete recent example. Day in and day out, in the trade unions, Negro and white workers face the same boss, despite the fact that discrimination exists and is used in the trade unions and must be constantly fought. The Labor Department reports 2600 strikes involving 1,280,000 workers in the first 6 months of 1967, the most in 15 years. The trade unionists and the ghetto fighters (and many trade unionists are also ghetto fighters) are forced to fight for the same reasons and against the same enemy.

Unions defend

All trade unionists have the obligation to defend the Negro masses in struggle. The attack on the black masses is preparation for intensified attacks upon the organized working class as a whole. The bosses have no choice. Workers who turn their backs on the ghetto and refuse to support the rebellions are inviting disaster. The same union bureaucrats who sell out the struggles of their members, like Reuther of the UAW, also demand the crushing of the ghetto revolts.

The battle in the cities has reached an insurrectionary pitch. We must not confuse this upheaval, as important as it is, with the more long-range

Strikebreak Against Railroad Workers

The leadership of the National Association of Machinists (IAM) refused to take a stand in a struggle against government strikebreaking. After compromising for months, it allowed itself only too eager to lead the ranks back to work soon as Congress provided legislative excuse.

The IAM's blue ribbon arbitration panel headed by scab Senator Wayne Morse and including Theodore Kheel who helped negotiate tens of thousands of railroad jobs in a 1965 arbitration decision is graced by no other than George Meany, a traitor, by his very presence, invests the panel with all deserved legitimacy.

In 1966 the airline mechanics not only rejected two contracts negotiated by the IAM leadership, but the four largest west coast locals, L.A., Portland and Seattle, sent telegrams to Meany, Reuther, Hoffa and Bridges demanding that immediate steps be taken to break from the Democratic Party and form a labor party. Had such

steps been taken the railroad machinists would have been in a much stronger position today to oppose government intervention in the unions.

Instead, Meany sits on Johnson's strike-breaking panels. Reuther maneuvers behind the scenes to support Kennedy while preparing a betrayal of his own ranks in September. Hoffa rots in jail, put behind bars by the very government he refused to fight. As for Bridges, despite his "left" talk, he shows his true colors by supporting Democrats Burton and Shelley, who claims to oppose the war, showed himself every bit as timid as the railroad leadership when during the recent ILWU warehouse strike the union caved in to government pressure and continued to handle all war goods.

Lessons

The lessons of the railroad strike are clear. The battle to maintain living standards and defend the unions leads to direct confrontation with the

government. In these confrontations the labor bureaucracy cannot be depended on to defend the ranks. Indeed, as the crisis deepens these bureaucrats join hands with the bosses and the government to control the rank and file.

The task before the working class is to return control of the unions to the ranks by building rank and file committees as alternatives to the labor fakers. These committees must launch a struggle to unite all workers against anti-labor legislation. This means that any union forced into confrontation with the government will be backed up completely up to and including sympathy strikes by all other unions.

Basic to the program of these committees must be the recognition that the struggle against government intervention in the unions is political and must be fought politically by building a working class party in opposition to the strike-breaking Democratic and Republican parties.

struggle for power which it cannot completely express. The struggle of the entire working class requires leadership and program.

The two parties stand exposed before as betrayers of the Negro Democrats, even so-called militants of Detroit, were quick to demonstrate to capitalism. Black militants recognize the real character of the Democrats, and the need for break parties.

But black parties, whatever their name, are not the answer. What about the Puerto Rican fighters in Chicago and New York? Create separate Puerto Rican parties? Separate Mexican-American parties in the Southwest? Of course the Negro population is much larger than the others. But to change the fact that separate black parties divide the struggles and play into the hands of the capitalists.

labor party

The only instrument which will lead the working class is a labor party. Only a labor party can fight against race prejudice as part of the class struggle. The bosses can unite white and black workers, even black youth and older black workers can only be united in a class program. Once we see this fact we must recognize that a class program is a program for white workers as well. If the militants are serious about winning the support of workers in struggle, they are going to unite black and white workers will come together.

Of course a labor party will have to determine of its determination to wage a class struggle by giving special representation to other minority sections of the working class. A constant struggle against racism is necessary.

The ghetto must fight for many years. It can only be won by a united working class. The nearly all-white National Guard must be destroyed, for instance, and its vicious anti-black origin in 1877 as a reaction to the strike, must be exposed. Against the National Guard in the hands of the bosses, the ghetto must be organized for armed self-defense in the ghetto and future strike struggles. Experience has had much experience with the National Guard, and none of it friendly.

The slumlords must be removed, the profit system on which they live must be destroyed. City welfare departments pay millions for rat-infested slums inhabited by the unemployed. We must fight for the nationalization of multiple dwelling housing without control under the control of the tenants. This must be combined with relief for workers burdened by heavy mortgages. Slums must be destroyed by massive social building programs in the slums. The unemployed at trade union wages.

30 for 40

We must fight for the unity of the unemployed. We must demand 30 jobs for all, and the 30 hours pay to accomplish this. All of the demands, jobs, housing, and self-defense, demands whose achievement will be the struggle for and win these demands about a labor party, it is a party for the demands that we mean. Trade union ghetto fighters, employed and unemployed must begin fighting for this party.

Negro fighters must not confuse their present leaders like Meany, Reuther is the enemy of the Negro as well as the Negro. He is preparing to sell out the strike the auto workers. When we talk of the strike, we don't mean Reuther, we mean fight rank and file level against the bosses and their agents.

How do radical trends and organizations in the Negro movement, which correctly recognize the need to fight the struggle, propose to fight the struggle? Instead of fighting for the unity of the working class, they propose to put the struggle into the hands of the capitalists. We must recognize that one section of the working class cannot emancipate itself apart from

LABOR PARTY PROGRAM

**Abolish National Guard!
Form Defense Guard!**

**Nationalize Housing!
Wipe Out Slums!**

**30 hr Work, 40 hr Pay!
Jobs for All!**

Havana Conference and Road to Revolution

by Neil Martin

The Latin American Solidarity Conference held in Havana the past two weeks had as its theme—"the duty of every revolutionary is to make a revolution." In line with the theme, the conference called for armed revolutionary struggle against Yankee imperialism and its Latin American stooges.

The stated purpose of the conference was to build unity among Latin American revolutionists and a permanent committee of the Organization of Latin American Solidarity (OLAS) was set up for "the promotion of anti-imperialist unity and support of peoples that struggle against imperialism and colonialism, especially those who are engaged in armed struggle."

disunity

At the conference however all was not unity. Opposition to this "revolutionary" line came from delegates of Communist Parties following Moscow's line of peaceful struggle. Castro bitterly attacked the Venezuelan CP which didn't show up at the conference, as an "enemy of revolution" and "a tool of imperialism."

Beginning with his battles with the old Stalinist hacks in Cuba and up through the present controversies over revolutionary policy and over Soviet economic policy of trading with and aiding Latin American dictatorships, Castro is finding Stalinism increasingly unreliable defenders of the Cuban Revolution against imperialism.

Castro's apparent split with Stalinism is forced on him as the Soviet bureaucracy and the CP's that support it become more and more subservient to imperialism, actively helping it to maintain world "peace" by policing the world of revolution. The Soviet Union's alliance with imperialism against the Chinese Revolution, her virtual neutrality in the Vietnamese Revolution, her meekness in confronting imperialism in the Middle East are object lessons in the meaning of Stalinism today that Castro is obviously learning.

revolution

In order to defend the Cuban Revolution Castro sees as necessary the spreading of revolution in Latin America. And correctly so. But what kind of revolution does he mean? From what has been coming out of the conference, it appears that just nationalist, anti-imperialist and not socialist revolutions are meant. However, the perspective of free, independent national states that can develop their countries and pull them out of backwardness and into the twentieth century cannot possibly succeed. The "progressive" nationalists Jagan, Goulart, Nkrumah, Sukarno, Ben Bella, etc. tried it, and where are they now?

Their demise is a reflection of the developing economic crisis of world capitalism. One of the extremely relevant aspects of this crisis is the increased strain being put on the United States economy--the kingpin of imperialism--to maintain the capitalist system throughout the world. The U.S. is footing the bill in Vietnam, she paid for the intervention in the Dominican Republic, she is now supporting the Congolese government. As Britain pulls out from East of Suez, she will have to shoulder the burden there alone. There are two

direct consequences for Cuba and other underdeveloped countries. First, no concessions on the world market will be given to underdeveloped countries and almost no industrial development aid can be expected.

Secondly, the Yankee imperialists are not accepting this additional burden without demanding the accompanying control and decision making power. Britain for example is pulling out of Asia not because she wants to but because her economy no longer permits her to stay. Thus Britain's role in determining imperialist policy is reduced. Castro has projected for Cuba a course of increased trade and support from European capitalism, but the increasing dominance of the entire world by Yankee imperialism precludes any sort of permanent solution in that direction.

Cuba has avoided the fate of the other nationalist regimes mentioned above, and remained independent of imperialism only by tying herself to the Soviet Union. Now, however, with the changing relationship between the Soviet Union and U.S. imperialism, this tie is becoming precarious. What course then is possible for Cuba and other underdeveloped countries if a bloc with Stalinism leads to a sell out to imperialism and if the entire capitalist world is being engulfed by the bloody hands of U.S. imperialism?

socialism

The alternative is the socialist revolution. It is to extend the October Revolution and get back on the path begun by Lenin, Trotsky and the Bolsheviks. This is the path of building revolutionary marxist parties.

In Latin America this means penetrating the working class and building a leadership of the class that will lead it and the peasantry to a socialist revolution. The world crisis of capitalism is already having a profound impact on the Latin American working class. In country after country runaway inflation is wiping out what small gains the workers have made over the past period and actually cutting into their standards of living. The workers are fighting back threatening the very existence of capitalist regimes in these countries.

Uruguay is an excellent example of this. This country, known as the Switzerland of Latin America, has long been held up as a model of liberal capitalist tranquility. Today the very existence of the nation is threatened by a headon clash between labor and the capitalist government as inflation destroys the living standards of the workers.

Castro and the OLAS Conference has turned its back on the Latin American proletariat. Castro's orientation toward guerillaist peasant revolutions is in fact a rejection of proletarian revolution at a time when proletarian revolution is on the agenda in Latin America. Under these conditions Castro's political line in Latin America can only be viewed as reactionary and deeply dangerous to the proletariat. It also places Cuba itself in the gravest danger. Castro's bloc with the Soviet countries no longer offers Cuba any real defense from the destruction of the revolution by the imperialists. Seeing the Latin American revolution as a nationalist revolution led by peasant-based guerillas rather than a socialist revolution led by working class based Marxists, Castro's policy

will lead only to the further isolation of Cuba in the hemisphere.

At the same time Castro is deepening Cuba's trade links with European capital including the fascist regime in Spain. In fact a major theme of the January 1st celebrations this year was an appeal to European capitalists to support "revolution" in Latin America. This raises the very serious danger that as the impotent guerillaist movements in Latin America offer no real solution to Cuba's problems the Cuban regime will find a way back to imperialism through its European agents. Let there be no mistake about this: there are no "good" and "bad" imperialists. An imperialist is an imperialist; an oppressor is an oppressor regardless of nationality. There is no real independence from imperialism outside of the world struggle of the proletariat.

slanders

Castro not only rejects the program of proletarian revolution in Latin America but he also fights and slanders those who stand for this program. At the first Tri-Continental Congress last year Castro made a vicious and slanderous attack on Trotskyism revising the crudest epithets from the days of Stalin and the Moscow trials. Since then government after government in Latin America has jailed all those with even the slightest connection with Trotskyism. There have been repressions in Mexico, Peru and Bolivia. Both Castro and the Latin American capitalists fear Trotskyism today precisely because they know a Marxist-led working class will open the road to socialism in Latin America and thus mean the end to radical nationalists like Castro as well as the right wing and "liberal" governments.

In the heartland of imperialism--the United States, it shouldn't be necessary to mention that ignoring the working class is giving up the possibility of the revolutionary overthrow of imperialism. Yet this is exactly what Castro and the OLAS are doing. Their perspective here sharply reveals the bankruptcy of the whole perspective of the conference. As expressed by Stokely Carmichael, an honorary delegate to the conference, its perspective is urban guerilla warfare. Thus in the biggest cities of the mightiest industrial country in the world, Castro rejects any orientation toward the industrial working class and gives his support to those like Carmichael who work to isolate the Negro masses from the class as a whole. No wonder Castro, in his interview with Playboy Magazine, rejects for centuries any proletarian revolution in the United States.

victory

Castro and his OLAS allies offer the Latin American workers and peasants a policy which will lead to defeat after defeat. The only real perspective for the defense of the conquests of the Cuban Revolution and for the further development of that revolution along socialist lines is the program of Lenin and Trotsky and the October Revolution--the struggle for an alliance of the workers and peasants around a program of socialist revolution. Such is the perspective which the International Committee of the Fourth International, and only the International Committee fights for.

TWO FORMER SPARTACISTS SUPPORT WORKERS LEAGUE, INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE

(The following letter was written by two former members of the Spartacist League and of the Workers Party of Maryland, a recent split-off from the Spartacist League. The experience of these comrades should be of interest to the many individuals and groups which have recently split away from the Socialist Workers Party because of its rightward revisionist course. It is not enough to break organizationally with the revisionists. Without an understanding of the roots of revisionism all those who organizationally have broken from the SWP will be forced to continue this revisionism in one form or another.)

Workers League
Dear Comrades,

It is a hard thing to critically evaluate one's political past, but it is necessary. Our experience in Spartacist and later in the Workers Party of Maryland would probably have remained unaccounted, save for the intervention of the comrades of the Workers League. In a negative way of course, our ignoring and turning away from our part would have caught up with us by our becoming what, in a primitive way, we were struggling against.

The Leninist conception of the party is central and is what the centrists--Marcus, Robertson, SWP, Kaufman, etc.--all reject. The party isn't something abstract and for the future but is what we are, being the continuators of Marxism, Leninism, and Trotskyism. Being the party we are participants, not commentators. No matter what our numbers, the struggles of the Vietnamese, Arab and Chinese masses

are our own. A continuous struggle against Pabloism is necessary insofar as Pabloism is an outgrowth of our movement. Those who reject the struggle against this form of revisionism reject the struggle for Marxism. Those in the USA who put their faith in a "regroupment" of "revolutionary socialists" as some sort of cure and counterforce to the SWP are actively rejecting the Leninist conception of the party. Only the Workers League and the International Committee of the Fourth International are waging a continuous struggle against Pabloite revisionism and for a Leninist Party.

We consider ourselves to be in political solidarity with the Workers League and the International Committee and consider ourselves bound to the discipline that flows out of our political agreement. We feel that what disagreement we might have over the nature of the post World War II peasant-guerilla war "soviet-style" states are not of a methodological nature and resultantly should not reflect on our basic political solidarity.

Fraternally, Robert Hartley Ellen Maronge

Fourth International and Spartacist

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SWP EXPELS FOUNDER AND LEADER ARNE SWABECK

scramble to the right

(The following letter has been received from Arne Swabek. His expulsion is clearly a criminal act and a sign of the degeneration of that party.)

My membership in the Socialist Workers Party since its inception has been arbitrarily terminated by expulsion.

This action taken by the present SWP leaders represents another sordid example of a method that has now become standard practice. They seek to settle internal party political disputes by organizational means -- in this case the long standing dispute about the real essence and the real meaning of the Chinese revolution. It is an attempt to establish the monolithic concept of party organization which destroys free and open discussion and which, in the end, can lead only to complete political degeneracy.

Needless to say, this method of party organization and function has nothing in common with Bolshevik practices. It is extracted from the murky recesses of trade union bureaucratic rules and procedures.

It might be recalled that among the Bolsheviks in Russia, during the very heat of stormy battles for the seizure of working class power, different tactical and strategic lines clashed and important issues were subjected to intense debate. These issues were debated in the party press before the eyes of the working class public.

Long before these developments, during the formative period of the Bolshevik party, fundamental questions were debated no less intensely; and debates were not limited to the narrow confines of the party press. Thus in 1908, Lenin published his book "Materialism and Empirio Criticism", which was directed primarily

against the philosophical concepts of two members of the Central Committee, Bogdanov and Lunarcharsky, who also had published their views.

Political parties are social organisms subject to the dialectical interplay of internal contradictions. The party adhering to, or professing to adhere to the Marxist program forms no exception to this general rule. Contradictions of social life become reflected within it, leading to internal struggle of opposing viewpoints. Such a party can remain an effective force only by the open, free and frank discussion of all conflicting views. In fact, it can retain its revolutionary quality only through the ceaseless process of correctly dealing with and resolving internal contradictions and thus apply the Marxist program as a guide to action in the class struggle.

Since the rise of the Chinese people's communes in 1958 I have made continuous efforts in the SWP for a rational revolutionary evaluation of the real essence of the Chinese revolution. But the present party leaders have adhered to, and they still cling stubbornly to a course that defies reality and is bound to end disastrously. The central objective of their policy is the overthrow of the Mao Tse-tung government; and this at a time when all objective observers of Chinese developments recognize that the only forces ready to follow this policy would be those of the bourgeois inspired counterrevolution.

The resolution adopted on this question, but never made public, calls for "a political revolution... intransigent opposition to the holders of power," and the formation of a "new party to conduct that struggle." The resolution goes

so far as to declare that: "There are no legal means, no institutional channels through which the direction and policies of the one-party state can be changed in a peaceful way."

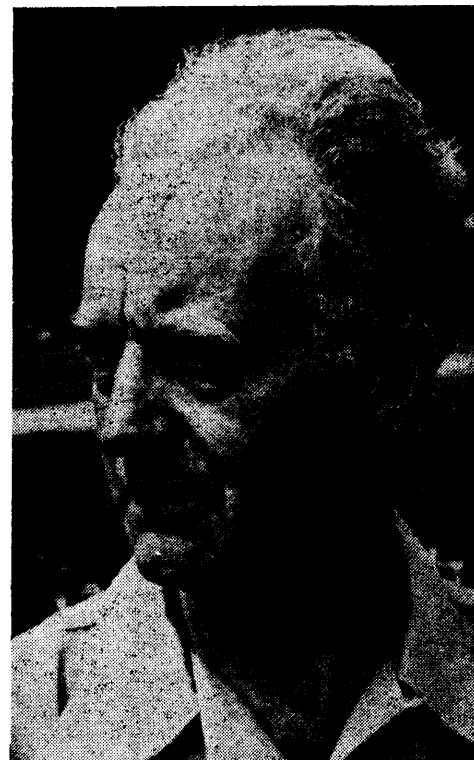
Internal party discussion of this vitally important question became reduced to a limited three months pre-convention period every other year. This turned out to be a farce. Instead of arguing their position in discussion, the present party leaders merely continued to present it publicly in the party press, from which my views were shut out. Factional reprisals against the position I hold on this question went to the extent of preventing any of my political or theoretical contributions from appearing in the party press. Even articles on such non-controversial subjects as the American economy were simply rejected.

The expression of my views in a letter to the Socialist Labor League in Britain -- another Trotskyist organization -- was seized upon as an excuse for the expulsion. But lacking any genuine justification for such an action, it was covered up by slanderous and ridiculous charges of violating discipline, unauthorized correspondence, disloyalty and fraternization with an opponent organization.

* * *

In September 1919 I went through the experience, together with the whole contingent of left wing delegates, of being ejected by the Chicago police from the Socialist Party convention. We proceeded then and there to launch the Communist Party. I became one of its founders.

In 1928 this experience was repeated in somewhat different



ARNE SWABECK

form, while the essence remained the same. I was expelled from the Communist Party. Together with other members, who were expelled on the same political grounds, I became one of the founders of the Trotskyist movement in America.

And now -- I have no regrets of my past or my present

position. I have merely tried to respond to what I have always considered to be my duty as a revolutionary. Once again I can only say: I intend to continue my revolutionary activity, and I look forward to new opportunities to make my modest contribution to the cause of my class -- the working class.

PROBLEMS OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

by G. Healy

40 cents

Written after the April 1966 Third Conference of the International Committee of the Fourth International this pamphlet deals with the past struggles in the Trotskyist movement for theory against all revisionist tendencies and the lessons to be drawn from these struggles for the defence of the movement's programme and principles in the building and strengthening of the Fourth International.

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property tax swindle

California's Reagan Increases Tax Burden on the Working Class

by Steve Painter

San Francisco -- It has been almost a month since AB 80, California's so-called "reform" assessment law has passed, and in that time we have had clearly pointed out to us in whose interest the "reform" was made. Instead of taking the pressure of taxation off the working class and middle class, as Reagan so glibly promised in his post election oratory, the small taxpayers have been hit by the highest property tax jump in the history of the state.

How were the people of California hoodwinked into believing that their taxes were going to be cut? The full story of the great masquerade will not be made public by the "news" media, for the owners of these media are the same people who gained the most from AB 80.

shift

The California bosses' drive to shift the property tax burden even more directly on to the backs of the workers be-

came evident in the early 1960s. Prior to this exposure the capitalists favorite method of obtaining favorable assessment was simple and direct: bribe the assessors. This bribery went on for many years until the capitalists decided that this bribery was too expensive and messy a way to handle the property tax question. Wolden, San Francisco assessor, and other assessors were exposed and in the Fall of 1965 Californians were bombarded with news accounts of the villainies of the corrupt assessors.

Wolden and his henchmen were tried, convicted, and sentenced to prison terms. But what happened to the 79 firms that were indicted for bribing Wolden? Answer: Nothing! As usual, the real criminals go free in the Great Society.

criminals

Their criminal activities discovered, the capitalists moved swiftly to pass a so-called "reform" bill, AB 80,

with as little fanfare as possible. The bill was supposed to make a more equitable distribution of the property tax load by equalizing private and business property tax rates at 25% of full market value. Actually, the bill does nothing more than legalize the position which big business had formerly held by bribing public officials.

Realizing that some of the people might see through their smoke screen the capitalists had their toadies in city hall issue reassuring statements. For instance, Tinney, the San Francisco Assessor, told the S.F. Chronicle on January 5, 1967 that "it won't be as bad as some people think," implying that not too much of the tax burden would be shifted to homeowners. In Sacramento Reagan trumpeted continuously that "my program includes property tax relief for California workers."

In reality, who will suffer the most and who will benefit the most from this new tax? As you may have already guessed, workers, employed,

unemployed and those eking out their lives on "social security" will suffer the most, because according to real estate men many rents in the Bay Area are going to rise as landlords shift the burden to the tenants. Next in line were workers building their own homes. One elderly shipyard worker who faces early retirement in this dying industry, had his tax increased from \$160 per year, to \$580 per year.

The total property tax bill presented to the people of San Francisco alone increased by \$29 million this year - money to be paid to the state by the workers - not to big business, whose share of the property taxes actually decreased. The assessed value of the Crown Zellerbach building, for example, decreased from \$5,826,080 to \$4,832,500, while their old 38% assessment rate has dropped to 25%. Overall the business tax rate dropped from 35% to 25% of their assessed value which means that even if their assessed value did not decrease, the money

that they must pay into their government decreased. Total property taxes paid by big business in San Francisco actually decreased. Total property taxes paid by big business actually decreased by 1,000,000.

In a small way this shift of the tax load onto the backs of the workers, combined with the 10% across the board increase in income taxes proposed by President Johnson, combined with the increased state taxes proposed by Governor Reagan, reflects yet in another way the increased crisis of international capitalism.

As long as the lackeys of big business are the government the people will continue to pay for the existence of the capitalists, for the existence of the bloodsuckers who send their sons to die in Vietnam for "liberty", who spend \$60 billions a year of the people's tax dollars on war, break their strikes for higher wages, and ignore the 70 million poor and unemployed people in the country.

NYC Welfare Strike Ends in Defeat; A United Struggle Can Smash Lindsay

by Dennis O'Casey

After six bitter weeks of strike, the SSEU has been decisively defeated. Not only were none of the demands for which the union went out secured, but contractual items such as the 60 caseload limit, always the centerpiece of the union's contract, have been abandoned to reinterpretation, negotiation or arbitration. Most critical of all was the union's acceptance of reprisals against 29 militants who will now be involuntarily transferred out of welfare centers in which they are important leaders.

What this defeat really means is that the SSEU can no longer provide protection to its members. Though the contract still is unsigned and the membership retains intact, independent professional unionism for NYC welfare workers has played itself out. The only questions in the union that are relevant at the present time are those relating to the need to draw the lessons of this defeat and those relating to entry of the SSEU membership into District 37. Only by facing up to these questions will welfare workers transform the present defeat into the beginning of a renewed struggle that will lead to real victories for themselves and the rest of the working class.

bankrupt

The responsibility for the union's defeat must be laid squarely at the door of the bankrupt Mage leadership. Though this leadership never had any perspective for winning the strike, they acceded to extreme rank and file pressure for a long overdue contract and allowed themselves to be dragged out anyway. Confident that at some point the City would throw it enough petty concessions with which to send its members back to

work, this leadership never really considered how to combine 6,000 determined strikers with city labor as a whole, to force real concessions from the city.

What this leadership failed to recognize was that the financial crisis inherited by the Lindsay Administration has forced Lindsay to adopt a new and tougher labor policy specifically embodied in the Office of Collective Bargaining (OCB). Under this new law which severely restricts the scope of collective bargaining there could be no concessions like the SSEU was demanding. Any one of the SSEU demands if met by the City would have constituted a repudiation of OCB, and thus have set back the process of assimilation of city unions into the new city agency, consequently threatening Lindsay's economy drive against city labor.

In the face of this new situation Mage's program of gimmicks and militant intransigence against the Welfare department was doomed to inadequacy from the beginning. The leadership's assurance to the ranks that all that was required was solidarity embellished with the token support of a few Teamster and independent labor bureaucrats and friendly letters from liberal politicians and community celebrities was particularly criminal.

support

Real labor support was required in this strike and the SSEU never had it. The SSEU's break from DC 37, resulting in the victorious '65 welfare strike gave a militant lead to all city workers. But in the two years since that break, independence for the SSEU has led to extreme isolation from and hostility toward the city labor movement. As a result, not

only were AFL-CIO bureaucrats willing and able to let the SSEU be defeated, but the SSEU had no perspective for countering this with a direct appeal to rank and file city workers.

The SSEU strike was a political strike and only a leadership with an understanding of this fact would have been capable of developing and battling for a program geared to securing a victory. Only in a direct physical mobilization of the ranks of city labor against Lindsay's political attack on their wages, working conditions and trade unions as reflected in his assault on the SSEU was there an opportunity for victory. Such a mobilization could have raised before Lindsay the specter of a rank and file imposed movement for city labor unity spilling over into the arena of independent labor politics. This could have knocked a lot of steam out of his attack on the SSEU.

solidarity

Because such a perspective was miles beyond the grasp of the Mage leadership, it was an inevitability that at the end of the fifth week this leadership tried to send the membership back to work. The membership on the other hand, had demonstrated all the solidarity any leadership could hope for. It was intensely dedicated to winning this strike and not so ready to swallow the leadership's defeatism. Consequently, it lambasted the leadership with an 800 to 400 vote to continue the fight.

The battle against the leadership's capitulation was led in part by the "Ad Hoc Committee against Reprisals" which arose for the occasion from the ranks. But with the exception of the SSEU Rank and File Committee that

posed the required campaign to city labor, neither the Ad Hoc Committee nor any other group in the union posed any alternative program for waging the strike. Those that fought to continue the strike fought to continue it at its present level.

During the last week of the strike, the leadership, smarting from this defeat and demands for its resignation, sulked in its offices while a leaderless and demoralized membership began drifting back to work. At the end of the sixth week, some modifications in the reprisal arrangement having been secured, the Ad Hoc Committee's call for continuation of the strike became an empty appeal for the membership to sacrifice another week's pay before being defeated. The next membership vote ended the strike by a small margin. The alternative, as Mage dramatically posed it, was a repetition of the Sacramento welfare workers defeat, where those strikers who held out have never returned to work.

future

Where does the SSEU go from here? Independent of the city labor movement, the SSEU cannot defend its members from their employer. Gotbaum can defend welfare workers better than Mage. This is the issue. We say that the SSEU must seek an immediate merger into DC 37 on whatever terms available. Schemes such as the organization of HRA workers as a bargaining lever for future affiliation on the SSEU's must be seen as gimmicks thrown up by SSEU office holders aimed at the preservation of their jobs at the expense of the membership and nothing more. The days for bargaining are past.

We do not say that entry into DC 37 is the panacea for the problems facing welfare facing welfare workers. Inside DC 37 welfare workers must undertake a struggle to draw DC 37, TWU, UFT, and other city unions into closer alliances then have previously existed. Current developments towards a strike in the

UFT provide the ideal occasion for a fight to reconvene the Madison Square Garden Rally and the formation of a mutual defense pact aimed at insuring the victory of the teachers in September, SSEU members inside DC 37 could give tremendous impetus to such developments.

In the same way SSEU members must enter DC 37 with the perspective of battling to turn these unions towards political struggle against city, state, and federal governments. The bridge between mutual defense arrangements and the foundation of a labor party based on the trade unions must be under construction before the '68 elections. SSEU militants can play an important role in fighting to turn future rallies into political rallies aimed at putting forth independent labor candidates to smash the Democrat and Republican anti-labor drive. A battle of this kind in New York City could give rise to similar developments nationally.

alternative

But let there be no mistake The Mages, the Gotbaums and the Shankers cannot be depended upon to carry out the tasks posed to the labor movement in the coming period. Only through the building of alternative leaderships in the trade unions, only through struggle against the capitulation of the trade union bureaucracy will workers begin to battle the state with general strikes and the formation of a labor party. Nor in the upcoming period will the onslaught of the state and the bosses be deterred in any other way.

The militant lead given by SSEU members in their break from DC 37 in '65 can find its continuity today, but only inside DC 37 through an application of the lessons of the '67 strike to a battle to take the city labor movement as a whole forward.

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AUTO WORKERS SET TO STRIKE BIG THREE

by Dan Fried

Auto workers across the nation are moving toward what will certainly be an overwhelming vote to authorize strikes against the 'big three' titans of the U.S. auto industry, G.M., Ford and Chrysler when the contracts with these companies expire on Sept. 6. As in the past it is expected that the UAW will begin with a strike only against one manufacturer in an attempt to get a contract at this 'target' company that the others will have to accept. The success of the tactic depends on continued competition between the companies during the strike. However, if the companies develop a 'mutual assistance pact', the union must be prepared to take on the 'Big Three' all together.

The position of the Big Three, led by General Motors is to take a very hard line and not to back away from

what could even be a long and bitter strike. Doubtless, they would eagerly use any opportunity to bring the repressive powers of the Johnson Administration into play against the workers should things get out of hand.

The UAW bureaucracy led by Walter Reuther is totally unprepared to fight the Johnson Government, let alone conduct a strike that must unify the different sections of the rank and file (production workers, skilled workers, Canadian workers, etc. Reuther's urging of the use of Federal troops to quell last month's insurrection in Detroit only strengthens the ability of the government to use troops, national guard or what have you against the labor movement whether it is in the coming strike or another situation. Reuther in this way also comes out against the black workers in the Detroit UAW who either were

directly involved in the rebellion or whose families participated. But we do not expect Mr. Reuther to explain to the white workers in the union that defense of the Negro workers against the Federal government is also a defense against the same power that is ready to come to the aid of the 'Big Three'.

Reuther is apparently fearful that the militancy of the skilled workers who are demanding a \$1.00 an hour across the board increase will encourage the increasingly aggressive demands of the Canadian workers for wage parity with U.S. workers, of production workers for protection against the inhuman speedup and for a shorter work week. Consistent with his 'flexibility' policy which he enunciated at the UAW Special Convention last April Reuther fights against any commitment to the workers. In this way he

prepares the camouflage for sell-out by claiming that since demands were not made specific, nothing was sold out. The UAW bureaucracy asked the \$1 an Hour Now Committee, a group of skilled workers, to call off a scheduled August 23 demonstration on behalf of the skilled workers demands, denouncing such a demonstration as "ill advised" and claiming it would hurt the bargaining effort. Reuther more recently stepped up his war on the skilled workers by removing a leading member of the \$1 an Hour Now Committee, Joseph Malotke from the chairmanship of the UAW's G.M. national negotiating team.

flexibility

Reuther's actions against the skilled workers not only undermines the struggle for their wholly justified demands but weakens the struggle of the entire union. He lets the

bosses know that the Reuther bureaucracy is maintaining its 'flexibility' policy giving it increased leeway to back down, not only on the skilled workers but on the demands of all the auto workers. Of course, this strengthens the hand of the Big Three to maintain a hard line against the union. The weakness of the skilled workers cannot become strengths for any other section of the auto workers. The militants must fight Reuther's willingness to pit any one section of the union against another, against his eagerness to 'wheel and deal' with the companies.

Fight for:
30 FOR 40!
30 YEARS AND OUT!
WORKERS CONTROL
OVER THE LINE!
1\$ ACROSS THE BOARD
FOR SKILLED WORKERS!
FULL PARITY FOR
CANADIAN WORKERS!