

INCLUDING FIRST ISSUE OF YOUNG WORKER
dubois convention; sf youth; october revolution; rock and politics

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Ten Cents

TEACHERS AUTO STRIKE!



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EDITORIAL

BLACK POWER ADVOCATES SCAB AGAINST TEACHERS STRIKE

The conduct of the leading black power advocates during the New York City teachers strike shows the completely reactionary role these leaders are playing and their complete betrayal of the real interests of the Negro masses, especially Negro youth.

One after another the black power people have lined up on the side of the Board of Education. This is the same board of education, made up of leading financial figures in the city, which is responsible for the decay of the city school system and particularly the decay of the ghetto schools.

First we have the spectacle of Brooklyn CORE, which recently announced it had given

up on the ghettos anyway and was going to go back to the soil, coming to a mass meeting of teachers and burning an effigy of Albert Shanker president of the UFT. Then Floyd McKissick and H. Rap Brown walked across picket lines and entered schools to actually SCAB on the union. Yes, these two heroes of the Socialist Workers Party and Communist Party have revealed their real natures as nothing more than filthy rotten scabs serving the interests of big business in the United States and seeking to disrupt the unity of the working class. They are the enemies of every union man, every real socialist in this

country.

Their excuse for their action is that the strike is depriving ghetto youth of an education for a few days and that the union is attacking ghetto youth when it demands the right of teachers to expel disruptive students from classes. The first point is nothing more than a repetition of the reactionary line of Mayor Lindsay and the Board of Education. Any temporary disruption in teaching is a minor price to pay in a struggle involving not only the legitimate right of teachers, including many Negro teachers, to a decent salary, but also a strike in which the union is demanding a reduction in class size and

an expansion of special educational programs in the ghettos.

As far as the "disruptive students" issue is concerned this is clearly an expression of the reactionary side of the union. But the solution is not to go over to the side of the perpetrators of the oppression of the Negro masses, the Board of Education and the big business forces that this board faithfully serves. Instead Negro militants should support the striking teachers and fight to change this policy of the union.

We must make a fundamental distinction between the black power ideology of the

Negro petty bourgeoisie expressed by McKissick and Brown and the sentiments of the Negro workers. For the latter the concept means political power in their own neighborhoods to fight the police, the landlord and the capitalist. Their emphasis is on POWER. It is progressive and revolutionary. The McKissicks and Browns express the universal uncertainty and fear of the petty bourgeoisie of being proletarianized. It is completely reactionary and today takes the form of strikebreaking. They are the enemies of the American working class and of the Negro masses. They are therefore our enemies.

workers dig in for long battle

Ford Forces Strike in Attack on Auto Workers



THE BATTLE BEGINS AT FORD'S RIVER ROUGE PLANT
by Dan Fried

Perhaps more than any other strike in recent years, the shutdown of Ford Motor Company by the UAW represents a struggle not simply of one union against one company, but of all of organized labor ranged against the entire capitalist class. Henry Ford II is not only acting as a spokesman for his own immediate interests, which incidentally include \$615,000 annually in salary and bonuses not to speak of undisclosed stock dividends, but also as the agent and spokesman for GM, Chrysler and behind them the rest of the industrial and banking giants. These forces are solidly behind the conspiracy of the "Big Three" to teach the UAW a lesson and to make an attempt to take the wind out of the sails of the rising militancy of the working class as a whole.

Ford's strategy is both economic and political. On the economic level he hopes to wear down and demoralize the UAW ranks through a long strike which depletes the union strike fund, to be followed by the possibility of a similar strike against GM. At the same time, GM and Chrysler are attempting to weaken the workers position during the Ford strike by not extending the old contract, trying to take advantage of the union's strategy of making Ford suffer while Chrysler and GM production and sales rise. While preparing to sit it out if necessary, Ford is also hoping that his old buddy Walter Reuther will be able to convert his famous 'flexibility policy' into a deal which gives the Company some important concessions.

curbs

On the political level, Ford hopes through a long strike to prepare the ground for what the NY Times calls, Congressional curbs on union power", i. e., for more anti-labor, anti-strike legislation. This is the meaning of Henry Ford II's statement that "I am sorry that we don't have laws that effectively prevent the use of this kind of bludgeon against the public interest." Of course, the so-called public interest that Ford and his billionaire capitalist cohorts refer to is the continued ability of these people to make huge profits off the blood and sweat of workers in the U. S. and around the whole world.

It is clear that the Ford workers are in the forefront of the struggle of the GM and Chrysler workers and of the entire

working class as well. The fight of Ford workers must be supported down the line by all of the UAW and organized labor. If necessary, this means assessments of its membership for a long period by the entire AFL-CIO and independent unions like Teamsters, to maintain the UAW strike fund.

worthwhile

At the same time the Ford workers, realizing that they really have to dig in for a long battle, must make such a battle WORTHWHILE. Ford's war on the UAW must be turned into a rout of the auto barons. Turn the tables on them. There has been at least one report circulating in the press that Reuther already backed down from an original 8% wage demand increase to one of 6%. We have to keep an eye on the 'flexible' Mr. Reuther. The auto barons have the money so make them pay.

But every auto worker also knows that wages are only part of the story. Any concessions to the Auto companies only mean their increased ability to push workers around, to violate the contract at will through sneaky sub-contracting, to sabotage the settlement of grievances, to take unjustified disciplinary actions particularly against key militants, and ever to find new

ways to speed-up production through time study and shifting a worker from one job operation to another. The only way to make gains on these "local issues" is to teach Ford and his friends a lesson by not giving an inch on any demands -- wages, parity of Canadian wages with U. S., pensions, \$1.00 across the board for skilled workers -- and open the way for a renewed struggle for the 30 hour week and 30 years and out.

alternative

To hold out for their demands the auto workers must not only be prepared to make great temporary sacrifices but to also fight for the support of all of organized labor. The only way the UAW can fight Ford's (and GM, Chrysler, and the rest of big business') campaign for repressive anti-labor legislation is to organize a party of their own along with the ranks of other sections of the trade union movement. Ford and his friends have not only one party, but two -- the Democrats and the Republicans. Is there any doubt that if the so-called friend of the AFL-CIO will come down hard on the UAW when Ford and GM need him? The airline machinists and the railroad workers have had plenty of experience with Johnson and Senator

Wayne Morse's strike-breaking attempts to "settle" these strikes.

A labor party is the only means for the workers to challenge the employers' political offensive against the unions. A mass labor party would also be able to scrap all existing anti-labor laws including Taft-Hartley and institute legislation for the thirty hour week and \$2.00 minimum wage. A labor party would fight for measures which would make it difficult for billionaires like Ford to win long strikes. Measures such as full state unemployment benefits paid during strikes; "open the books" of companies that plead poverty; nationalization under control of elected workers committees of companies suffering from "poverty" or threatening to close due to bankruptcy; nationalization under workers control of companies whose production or service is essential for the working class as a whole. MAKE THE AUTO BARONS PAY!

AN END TO SPEEDUP --
WORKERS CONTROL OVER
THE LINE!

NO ANTI-STRIKE LEGISLATION!

JOHNSON MUST GO -- DUMP
THE ANTI-LABOR POLITICIAN -- BUILD A LABOR PARTY FOR '68!

Canadian UAW Demand Parity Wage

by Charles Henry

Toronto--The auto workers have taken the lead for parity in the Canadian Labour Movement. At the Special Convention of the UAW held last April 4 in Detroit, Mich., Canadian delegates representing militant auto locals demanded that parity with their brothers in the U. S. be included in the present contract negotiations. Because of the obvious militancy of the delegates, the leadership was forced to grant their demand and it is thus now official policy of the UAW.

The present discrepancy of wages for Canadian auto workers at General Motors ranges from 19 cents an hour to \$1.00 with an average of 33 cents. The discrepancy of the others of the Big Three,

Ford and Chrysler are approximately the same. On the other hand sales of all the three companies have increased rapidly and profits are as lucrative if not more so than that which the companies enjoy in the U. S.

political

The union bureaucracy led by the Reuther machine is unprepared for such a fight, for the fight for parity is a political fight. To demand parity means to take on the Liberal Government in Ottawa which recognizes the significance of such a demand to the profits of the capitalist interests they represent. Reuther with his policy of flexibility is incapable of leading such a fight and incapable as the Special Convention showed of uniting the various union sections such

as the skilled, production and Canadian workers.

Canadian auto workers must prepare themselves for a hard struggle to win parity. They must join with their American brothers in helping them to build a labor party and to throw out the present union leadership. They must demand that NDP members of Parliament take up their fight in Ottawa and that these same MP's call for the nationalization of the auto industry as this is the only guarantee against speedup and layoffs.

Canadian auto workers must demand:

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PARITY!
NATIONALIZATION OF
INDUSTRY!
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NEW POLITICS MEET ENDS IN SHAMBLES OVER BLACK POWER

stalinists and black nationalists join hands

by Bob Johnson

Chicago--The birth of "New Politics" suffered an inevitable miscarriage at Chicago's luxurious Palmer House this Labor Day weekend. The Convention of the National Conference for New Politics, while a miserable failure in its intended goals, nonetheless is symptomatic of the growing unrest in this country. In order to understand the chaotic proceedings it is necessary to establish the context in which the Convention was held.

The upsurge of Negro militancy, the growing opposition to the war in Vietnam and the new wave of trade union battles all contribute to today's growing crisis in capitalist politics, shaking forever the two party system. This crisis of capitalist politics is aggravated on the one hand by the international crisis of imperialism, and on the other by the struggles of the working class.

stalinists' role

All of this ties in directly with the New Politics Convention. The Stalinists had hoped to contain the peace movement and the Negro struggle within the bounds of capitalist politics with a 1968 3rd presidential ticket and a national organization to presumably link all those organizations representing today's "peace" and "freedom" activists. This is their old game of coalition politics which sees its only role to be left pressure on this or that capitalist politician. Stalinist politics is nothing more than lobbying using the struggles of the working class as bait.

The one thing the Stalinists do not want is a clean, class break from the two ruling parties. For them, independent political action is a tactic to be used if cooperation with the ruling parties is impossible in a certain area. In this they had ready made allies among the liberal organizers of the Convention. These liberals from such peace groups as SANE viewed independent politics also in tactical terms as a hope for unseating Johnson in the 1968 elections. If however, the Republicans could come up with someone on the "dove" side of Johnson or if the Democrats put up someone beside Johnson, these liberals would be the first to forget they ever heard of New Politics and would vote as they did in 1964 for what they believe to be the lesser evil.

new left

Besides the Stalinists (working chiefly through the DuBois Clubs) and the older liberals, the two other chief forces present at the Convention were the Black Nationalists and the white radical student and ex-student "community organizers" as they enjoy being called. The "New Left" was out in flying colors. And they put on quite a show.

The "New Left" has always proceeded from the impressionistic basis that the American working class was quite content and never would move into action, and that the only hope for social change was the middle class and the lumpen proletariat, that is, petty bourgeois forces, black and white.

Rather than a "new" left, these petty-bourgeois activists were a first reflection of the crisis of capitalist politics in the student movement. But the "theoreticians" of the new left prefer to cut themselves off from their own background.

While the forces for revolutionary Marxism during the boom of the 50's were preparing their parties and their revolutionary theory for the great class battles ahead, and had to struggle against all kinds of revisionist currents who impressionistically abandoned the class struggle perspective, the "New Left" emerged in the 60's starting from the belief that the class struggle died with this inflationary boom if it ever existed at all. For them, the salvation of mankind was the work of the enlightened bourgeois intellectuals (of which they were in the forefront) combined with the lumpen outcasts of society. Most of them have spent their energies in a retreat from the real struggles of the working class doing unpaid social work amongst the "poor".

Bobby Kennedy hopes to draw the New Left into his camp just as Johnson did in 1964.

But "betrayed" by Johnson in 1964, the student activists around SDS and the various community projects, rather than drawing the real lessons from that experience, propose to reject politics altogether. These groups came to the Convention to propose a National Year of Organizing, that is, more of the same kind of work they have been doing up to this point. Their argument is that while politics is OK, we are not ready for it, and what we need is a broad based, grass roots populist movement before we embark on political adventures.

black caucus

The Convention proceedings themselves were quite chaotic since some unexpected things developed and order broke down. The last few days can



DELEGATE GETS FLOOR

only be described as sheer madness, but it is still necessary to go into it all because there is a lot to be learned from the whole experience.

A group of Black Nationalists from Chicago, reinforced by a contingent from New York, organized themselves into an all Negro "Black Caucus", and proceeded to steer a course to dominate and control the entire Convention. In this they were quite successful. They took the thing over lock, stock, and barrel.

At first the Black Nationalists had hoped to pull all Negroes out of the Convention. For this they set up their own Black Peoples Convention for Negroes only, meeting at the same time in South Chicago.

When good numbers of Negroes at the Convention who were not Nationalists, however, decided to remain in the Convention the Nationalists changed their tactics, and from then on the main struggle within the Convention revolved around the various demands of the Black Caucus.

First it is important to understand that the Nationalists succeeded in intimidating the other Negroes at the Convention so that it appeared that all Negroes present were absolutely united behind the Nationalist leadership of the Black Caucus.

On Friday, September 1, the Black Caucus made its move, presenting the convention with a 13 point resolution which the Convention had to vote either up or down, not altering or debating any of the points. Any changes to be made could only be done so by the Black Caucus itself. The real stinger was point 1, "Respond to the importance of Black participation by regrouping all committees, giving fifty percent representation to Black people".

The debate on this resolution remained solely in the context that the Black Nationalists moved the resolution, that is, race. The issue then was whether the "historic unity" of Blacks and whites could be achieved, whether the "Black Struggle" would be seen as the real struggle in America. Some whites got up and spoke against this ultimatum from the Black Caucus as a bad way to launch "New Politics", to dishonestly pass a resolution it did not necessarily agree with point by point. Other whites spoke about this being an "acid test" that whites had to pass to deserve the trust of their "black brothers". One parliamentarian spoke briefly about the practical implications of the convention voting on such an ultimatum.

All who opposed the motion were shouted down by a chorus from the Black Caucus and those white radicals who were trying to show how black they really were inside.

nauseating

It was a nauseating spectacle. It is quite probable that had the resolution failed, not only would the Black Caucus try to pull all Negroes out of the Convention, but several of the more guilt-ridden white radicals would have immolated themselves outside the Ballroom doors in a spectacular display of the curse of their "whiteness". The leaders of the Black Caucus would have gleefully supplied the gas and matches to their white "allies".

The point is that when the real questions involved are left solely in the context of "race", such sick, petty-bourgeois spectacles are the only outcome.

By a vote of three to one, the Convention passed the resolution. The Black Caucus was out to make

"Whitey" eat a little racist crow. Before the Convention was over everyone was well choked on it.

Of course the white radicals, by and large, had nothing to lose in this, for all along they have swallowed the racist line that whites should organize whites, and blacks should organize blacks.

In the voting Saturday night, the "National Year of Organizing" perspective defeated the "Third Ticket" perspective by only two votes out of around 20,000 votes cast, after suitable bickering, re-voting, and maneuvering.

The liberals who were hoping for a new third party were hopelessly swamped by the New Left. They proved themselves utterly impotent.

magic card

The Sunday night voting was the most important. First, the Stalinists wanted a re-vote on perspectives, still clinging to their hope for various third tickets around the country. But then came the report from the credentials committee. The 2,117 registered delegates had a total of 33,839 votes. Of these, 5241 votes already were in the hands of black organizations. The difference was 28,598. To be consistent with the acceptance of the 13 points, the reporter said was to give the leader of the Black Caucus a voting card worth 28,598 votes.

The debate on this report was a repetition of the debate on the acceptance of the 13 points except that now the Stalinists were on the Black Caucus bandwagon, and, after all the Convention finally realized that by opening the door on the 13 points it had to swallow the whole bird. In the name of equal representation, voting over two to one, and amidst pandemonium, the convention accepted the report and gave the leader of the Black Caucus a voting card worth 28,598 votes. One might note that this had one advantage. No longer would the convention be required to wait an hour or two to count votes. Now all that was necessary was to watch which way went the magic card.

Then the Convention, on the request of the Black Caucus, recessed for a couple of hours during which the final compromise was undoubtedly cooked up between the Stalinists and the Nationalists. The Stalinists changed tactics, and dumped their old liberal friends, dropped the third ticket perspective, only to sneak it in through the back door in a compromise perspectives resolution. This final resolution was accepted about 3:00 in the morning amid shouts and flowers passed out by loving hippies. The compromise leaves the question of independent political action up to the initiative of the individual states while emphasizing the National Year of Organizing.

This alliance between the Black Nationalists and the Stalinists and radicals has absolutely no future. The latter's opportunistically tripping over themselves to appease the Black Caucus will contribute nothing toward resolving their crisis. Ahead lies nothing but their National Year of Disorder.

Thus it was that the New Politics Convention was incapable of producing any new politics. The petty-bourgeoisie is incapable of resolving its crisis by itself.

battle ahead

Facing the working class today, and the anti-war struggle, and the Negro struggle, all with bourgeois leadership of one form or another, be it reformist, nationalist or pacifist, is the great battle ahead to break with capitalist politics. This struggle must at the same time be a struggle against the present bourgeois and petty-bourgeois leaderships. This struggle can only be realized in the battle for the Labor Party. If the trade unions could launch a counter-offensive to the bosses and the government in the campaign for the Labor Party, they could at the same time provide the necessary working class leadership for not only the trade union movement, but the anti-war and Negro struggles as well. Only the Workers League battles under such a perspective.

Only the capitalists will benefit from continued divisions in the working class, and their agents in the unions, the anti-war movement, and the Negro struggle are working night and day to perpetuate and intensify these divisions.

Thus it was that the Stalinists found their natural allies in the Black Nationalists of the Black Caucus whose only reason for existence is to keep the Black workers from struggling for socialism along with the working class as a whole.

This counter-revolutionary role of the Stalinists and the Nationalists is only a preparation for similar betrayals in the working class movement itself. That is why all socialists and trade union militants must play close attention to the roles these groups play.

an ex-member writes

The Spartacist League and the Road to Pabloite Revisionism

by Robert Hartley

(Former member, Spartacist League)

Over the last year and a half the Spartacist group has passed through a series of crises far more severe than experienced by that tendency in the past. These crises were not a result of the Spartacist League's having to equip itself for a new stage of struggle against capitalism. Instead they were the direct result of Spartacist's rejection and subsequent hostile actions towards the International Committee of the Fourth International.

Since Spartacist's and Robertson's rejection of the International Committee as the sole continuator of Marxism-Leninism-Trotskyism and their refusal to accept the discipline and responsibilities that must flow from their "agreement" with the IC at the April 1966 London Conference, Spartacist has crashed from one crisis to another leading to an open alignment with Pabloism. Since April 1966 Spartacist has executed a series of political steps which have in turn ingratiated themselves with the Pabloite revisionists, the Soviet bureaucracy, the petty-bourgeois Black Power leadership, and the bourgeoisie. When the slogan of "Black Power" was raised did the Spartacist League intervene with a program of black and white unity on the struggle for workers power and a workers republic only wherein this could be a positive implementation of "Black Power"? No! The revisionist Spartacist League said "Black Power will lead to workers power". Although Spartacist formally rejects the reactionary Black Nationalist formulations of Stokely Carmichael and the Pabloites, it shares their basic outlook.

robertson amok

When the Chinese Revolution is faced with the real possibility of a counter-revolutionary setback under the leadership of pro-Soviet anti-Mao forces, how does the revisionist Spartacist League come to the defense of the Chinese Revolution? "MAOISM RUNS AMOK!" reads the headline in Spartacist. Not "Kruschevites Run Amok!" or something appropriate to the situation, but Mao as the main enemy of the revolution. What Robertson really said in "Maoism Runs Amok" was that just about any change in the Chinese leadership moving away from Mao and the "juvenile Red Guards" would be a change for the better. Horror of horrors, cries Robertson, the Red Guards are waving red flags about and fighting the bureaucrats, things were quieter before the Cultural Revolution. This talk of revolution frightens me. The Pabloites, Soviet bureaucracy and the bourgeoisie have the same thing to say. Instead of conditional support to the Red Guard they declare themselves enemies of the Chinese Revolution.



SPARTACIST LEADER, JAMES ROBERTSON

Instead of conditional support to the Red Guards they declare themselves enemies of the Chinese Revolution. Instead of struggling most concretely for the Fourth International in China as does the International Committee, Spartacist declares themselves against the very process out of which the creation of the Fourth International in China could become reality.

As if this wasn't enough Spartacist declared "neutrality" when the Arab revolution was attacked by imperialist-sponsored Israel. Seizing upon backward and incomplete aspects of the Arab revolution Spartacist declared that taking sides in the conflict had no real meaning for either the Arab or Israeli working masses. An imperialist-sponsored Israeli control of the Middle East makes no difference to Spartacist!

no party

Key to the crisis in Spartacist is its inability to conceive of itself as the party of Marxism and Trotskyism. Instead, says Robertson, Spartacist is the organizing committee of the party. The party, says he, is for the future, our tasks now are propagandistic, all we can do is comment on what goes on about us for our forces are weak. What Robertson fails to realize is that hegemony as the party of the working class is not achieved outside of struggling as the party of the working class. There is no artificial distinction as to size between an agitational and propagandistic role in the working class movement.

Symptomatic of Spartacist's rejection of the Len-

inist conception of the party is its lack of perspective, the deep running demoralization in its ranks, and its absolute fear of meeting opposition in a political manner.

When Spartacist finally held its first convention after three years of existence only one set of several main documents were distributed more than three days prior to the convention. The rest were

never prepared, notably a paper on Stalinism that had been in preparation for a year and a half! Spartacist, the supposedly bi-monthly organ of the Spartacist League, actually appears on a schedule ranging from two and a half months to six months per issue. This is what the Spartacist League has to say!

Spartacist, while themselves refusing raising the call for Victory to the NLF at the April 15th march, has the gall to attack (falsely) the Workers League on the same charge! Like a ball on a tether the perspectiveless Spartacist League bounces around the revisionist anchor from sectarianism to opportunism and back again.

slander

To Robertson the ultimate weapon is slander. When he couldn't answer the SLL politically, after his break with Trotskyism, Robertson proceeded to open a personal campaign against the leadership of the SLL. The article in Spartacist under the heading "Oust Healy" was one of the most vile personal attacks ever witnessed in the Trotskyist movement. Robertson wrote an article entitled "Healy at Liege and Peking" attacking the SLL for its principled role in defending the Hungarian Revolution in its 10th year, and conditional support to the Red Guards. Less than a year before, Robertson was claiming to be in solidarity with the International Committee of the Fourth International. Now he says the International Committee has deserted Trotskyism. May we ask who has deserted Trotskyism? Who blocs with the Pabloites in Liege and Peking? Who does the SWP's journalistic dirty work? Spartacist or the SLL?

Spartacist, in an attempt to cover its retreat from Trotskyism has established fraternal relations with such Trotskyist groups as "Socialist Current" in England which left the Trotskyist movement claiming that Internationalism was a fraud, and "Voix Ouvriere" in France which broke with the Fourth International practically at its inception. These miserable groups are much like the old London Bureau, the members of which thought highly of "Trotskyism" but were unwilling to take the steps to build the world party of socialism, the Fourth International. Such is the "Trotskyism" of Spartacist.

Behind the SWP-PLP Clash on West Coast

by Jeff Sebastian

SAN FRANCISCO--The politics of the Socialist Workers Party have become so debased that they are no longer capable of employing the weapons of Marxism against their opposition. Internally, opposing viewpoints are dealt with through bureaucratic maneuvers and expulsions. The same methods employed against opponent groups leads to a series of provocations and incidents.

A wave of expulsions starting with those who formed the Spartacist League and the Workers League have now culminated in the suspension of Arne Swabeck, founding member of the Communist Party and the SWP. The significance of this act is that the party leadership has taken measures to destroy the historic contin-

uity of the party, to cut off the youth from their own history.

stalin

In much the same way Stalin acted to destroy the Bolshevik Party, first isolating and then expelling the opposition. Finally driven by the fear that the opposition might seek to link up with the living history of the Bolshevik Party he exterminated most of the survivors of Lenin's Central Committee.

As the Party's perspective comes more and more into conflict with reality the leadership must act to control and suppress discussion. Opposition will develop politically among the youth who are disturbed by the turn toward collaboration with Stalinism and the rightward direction of the party. Some of it may take the form of confused gropings to-

ward working class politics and Trotskyism. With opposition expelled and continuity interrupted the leadership for this can no longer be found within the party. Only the International Committee and the Workers League can provide the vital link.

slander

It is this fear of revolutionary Trotskyism that drives the SWP and their international co-thinkers to a campaign of slander against the IC. Thus the SWP presents us with such slimy unpolitical documents as "Healy Reconstructs". Thus we get provocations such as the Tate Affair. By falsely claiming that Gerry Healy, National Secretary of the Socialist Labor League of Great Britain, ordered the beating of Ernest Tate, leading British Pabloite, the SWP acted to firm up their own ranks, to solidify their middle class and pacifist allies, and to deepen their collaboration with the C.P. against the Chinese Revolution and to try to obscure their own rightward course.

Provocations are the natural development of the SWP's politics. Indeed, in this period they can play no other role. That the Tate affair was no accident is revealed by another "incident". A leaflet issued

by the Socialist Campaign Committee, the organization which directs leading Young Socialist Alliance member Robert Davis' campaign for mayor of San Francisco, contains an open letter to the Progressive Labor Party. In this letter it is claimed that the SWP and YSA were prevented from distributing their literature at a Mission Tenants Union Rally by PLP members

plp

According to the letter SWP-YSA members were "attacked, knocked to the ground, kicked and beaten" by supporters of Progressive Labor. This is exactly the same language used in the Tate affair.

There follows a long defense of civil liberties for all socialists and then comes the giveaway. "Do you," the SWP asks, "think that you are the American incarnation of Mao's Red Guards?" This cynical piece of rubbish reveals the whole show.

This open letter is intended not only for those who defend civil liberties but for those who join the SWP in despising and hating the Red Guards. We are sure that all who hate the Chinese Revolution will approve the SWP attack on the PL "Red Guards".

P.L. knows little or nothing

about Trotskyism. Its membership has no understanding of the degeneration of the SWP. Nevertheless when they see their rally invaded by 8 SWP-YSA'ers they are not incorrect in assuming that these are people who are scabbing on the Chinese Revolution. Their hostility is quite understandable.

theory

Here is an incident of violence. On one side are those who in their own pragmatic way seek to defend the gains of the Chinese Revolution. They share the idealism of China's Red Guards. On the other side are those who side with its enemies. The Workers League is proud of its defense of the Chinese Red Guard Movement. We have no difficulty in making that choice.

As for the membership of P.L. As long as it refuses to examine the program of Trotskyism and study the history of the SWP in its revolutionary period as well as in its period of decay it will be unable to adequately defend the Chinese revolution. The same bourgeois pressures which destroyed the SWP as a revolutionary force are tearing apart all groupings that refuse to study theory. P.L. is by no means immune to this crisis.

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Rock and Roll Music - Wild but Tame

The Young **WORKER**

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STUDENTS AND TEACHERS MUST RUN SCHOOLS



TEACHERS TURN OUT IN FORCE TO CHALLENGE CITY

YWL Offers Road Out for San Francisco's Youth

SAN FRANCISCO-- Young people in San Francisco are becoming more and more fed up with the power structure of the city. Why? Because the school, housing, and job situation is under the complete control of people who are either completely ignorant of the problems of San Francisco, or have jumped on the bandwagon of exploitation politics. After all, about the only thing that government financed school and job programs have provided are more soft chairs for the soft behinds of more bureaucrats. As usual, the high school and working youth are left no better than before.

The situation in two San Francisco schools, Polytechnic and Mission, clearly demonstrates that the people with the power care nothing for the needs of young people. Education is a necessity no matter what trade or profession is needed, but how can an education be adequate when it is given in cramped, decaying buildings by largely inexperienced teachers? At Poly, for example, no new additions have been made to the buildings in 30 years. It is next to impossible to concentrate upon studies when a constant roar from the streets enters the classroom, since

no one has thought it necessary to provide some kind of sound-proofing. For physical education classes, students have to cross a busy street to Golden Gate Park, while swimming requires a 20 block bus ride. Similar conditions are found at Mission, old classrooms and bad facilities. This is the sort of thing that is provided for working class youth. Compare these facilities with those provided for the sons of the rich. San Francisco has built in the last four years a high school valued at over \$2 million, with the most modern conveniences. It also has the smallest proportion of minority group youth of any school in the city.

When we look at teacher preparation, the situation becomes even worse. Almost invariably the inexperienced are placed first in working class schools, and in all too many cases these people are soon replaced with a substitute--and then another--. This is certainly no way to any sort of decent learning, but then maybe the people who provide the jobs want it that way.

Some students have realized that problems exist and have tried to do something about

it. What has happened? The principals (stooges of the do-nothing Board of Education) pick them out as "discipline problems!" Perhaps the discipline problem lies in the attitude of the principals rather than that of the students. At Mission, one particularly bad principal was replaced when both teachers and students refused to tolerate him further.

hippy

Unfortunately, many high school youth in San Francisco have lost all hope and have succumbed to the "love everybody" philosophy which is so much a part of the Haight-Ashbury mythology. This is a tragedy, for, as the situation in the H-A has demonstrated, the hippy culture is one of destructiveness rather than love. It leads on a course of degeneration of both body and mind. Several recent H-A murders indicate that "love" is no longer the password, for the LSD and pot fanciers have discovered that you can't drop out of this system (in this case the organized pushers). The only way out is to fight the system by proving its worthlessness. The hippy idea is a one-way street to nothing, except a padded cell in Napa.

The most flagrant sell-out of San Francisco youth has been in the area of jobs. The San Francisco power structure, along with the so-called "Opportunity Programs" have demonstrated their complete lack of concern for the needs of young people. This summer some 15,000 youth went looking for jobs in one working class district. What were the rest told time and again? "Come around tomorrow!" When the Mission youth got fed up with promises of more programs and went to see the Mayor, they were put off with promises of more programs which have yet to come into existence. The youth "Opportunity Program" has been even less effective, those jobs it did find were usually for the summer only and provided "busy work" instead of training. The most common work assigned was sweeping leaves in the park! Again the needs of the youth were ignored, while the bureaucrats spawn more "programs" whose only result is to give more jobs to bureaucrats.

housing

A major part of the problem facing youth is the scandal of San Francisco housing. Once young people are out on their

own and looking for jobs and their own homes, the real vultures, the real estate men swoop down. The new assessment bill in California was the cue for the landlords to raise rents to even more exorbitant heights. In the past two months since the new taxes were put into effect, rents have risen \$5 to \$10 a month and will probably continue to go up.

Suppose a young worker is too poor to afford these high rents, or belongs to a minority group? Then the only choice is to move into public housing. But San Francisco public housing is more aptly titled a public disgrace. The houses in the "Ghetto in the Sky" are prime examples of government callousness. They are cheaply built of second rate materials, providing little privacy for their occupants and nothing in the way of beauty. And when people rebel against this sterile and prison atmosphere the government cries "riot!" and the cops move in.

race

All these problems hit black youth with double intensity. They are forced to live in the worst slums, take the worst jobs if any jobs are available.

(Continued on page 2)

DUBOIS CLUBS CONVENTION REPORT

new york strike

Students & Teachers Must Run School



STUDENTS AT NEW YORK S. I. S. 201 SHOW SOLIDARITY WITH STRIKING TEACHERS

By Fred Calhoun
NEW YORK CITY--Over 90% of the 55,000 teachers of the New York City school system have gone out on strike joining the growing number of teachers across the nation who have been forced to take such action to defend their living conditions and to improve the schools.

The Board of Education, representing some of the largest financial interests in the city, has campaigned to keep the schools open urging students to attend school and even seeking to recruit strike breakers among college youth. Despite all this effort each day the number of student absentees rises. As we go to press the figure exceeds 60%.

The Young Workers League is the only organization in the city which has gone out to the high schools and campaigned for students to support the strike. It has stated to high school students:

hypocrisy

"Let there be no mistake, this is just as much an attack on students as it is on the teachers. The City is trying to solve its financial bankruptcy by keeping down the wages of city workers and by doing nothing to give youth decent schools or a good education. By refusing to limit class size, hire more teachers to continue the MES

program, the City wants to maintain the rotten conditions, the poor facilities, and the overcrowded classes that youth have put up with for years.

"The City is out to break this strike. To do this, they are trying to turn the people in the ghettos against the teachers by blaming the teacher's strike for the rotten conditions in the schools. What hypocrisy!

"The City Administration is controlled by fat bankers whose only interests are to make profits at the expense of workers and youth. And when youth leave school, if they do not go to Vietnam to die, they will face the same exploitation as workers. Workers, even on skilled jobs today face the threat of growing unemployment, rising prices and production speed-up. Many young workers have to settle for low paying jobs with little chance for advancement. To the bosses, the youth are just a source of cheap labour and the worse educated the better. Training schools teach outmoded skills on outdated machinery and there is no assurance of a job when students graduate."

Inevitably, the UFT and other teachers' organizations are forced to fight to improve the quality of education for

their students, as city administrations try to limit educational opportunities--especially in ghetto schools. In this period, the bosses have no intention of educating working class youth; they envision these youth only as cannon fodder or as new recruits to the army of the unemployed. As youth rebel--as seen in the "riots" in the ghettos--against their bleak futures, the bosses will seek more and better ways of disciplining youth. The schools are places where the bosses plans can be carried out. All sorts of insidious propaganda have been devised to explain to youth that it is their fault that they are uneducated, unskilled, and unemployed.

To carry out their plans, the bosses intend to use the teachers as their agents. More and more, the role of teachers will be to discipline their students rather than educate them. Teachers will be asked to suppress them on the streets.

Teachers must make a choice: will they act as the agents of the bosses against the students--at the same time acquiescing to a deterioration of conditions in schools; or will they unite with the students and their parents in a fight to improve the lives of themselves and their students?

disruption

The UFT's original demand--since modified--for teachers to have the right to suspend students has played a key role in limiting support in the ghettos and in the union as well. The Afro-American Teachers Association, as well as many black and Puerto Rican community groups have come out against the strike on the basis that the union is "racist," and have called on black teachers and parents to keep ghetto schools open.

Undoubtedly, these groups have been provoked by the cynical attitude of the bureaucratic leadership of the UFT, but their actions are unpardonable, and can only be called SCABBING. The idea that the education of black children will be improved by reading a poem by Leroi Jones--while the Board of Education is methodically preparing to eliminate remedial reading programs in the ghetto schools--is utopian and completely reactionary. There can be no clearer example of the bankruptcy of "Black Power," the attempt to lead the black working class apart from the rest of the working class. Unless one is prepared for the class as a whole, one eventually winds up--as these groups have--on the side of the bosses.

The question of "discipline" in the schools can never be handled in a progressive way as long as the schools are institutions to suppress working class youth. Many teachers have already seen that there is no other way to improve the schools than for teachers to demand to actually run the schools.

control

Teachers must fight for the creation of student and teacher committees to do just that: establish class size and organize the utilization of staff, and would allow the youth to democratically control student affairs like the establishment of rules and their enforcement, and the expansion of recreational facilities in the schools. Such committees would revise curriculums and choice of textbooks so that education becomes not a justification of the 'American Way,' but seeks to explain to youth that their problems are in fact the problems of the system; and that racism and other forms of discrimination are not inevitable but the products of the bosses. Further, such committees would work with other trade unions in providing realistic apprentice programs at trade schools and would fight for jobs for youth.

SAN FRANCISCO YOUTH

(Continued from page 1)
and go to the worst schools. Everywhere black youth turn, they feel the weight of race oppression combined with the weight of class oppression.

San Francisco is the major link between mainland United States and Vietnam. Every day we see the armaments roll into town on the train and onto the boats headed to kill the workers and peasants of Vietnam. The city is filled with soldiers and sailors either coming from or going to Vietnam, many of them already showing the wounds of war.

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But San Francisco youth are not merely spectators to all this. Like youth throughout the country, they face the draft when they leave school. The only future the capitalists can give the youth of this city is a chance at death in Vietnam.

A branch of the Young Workers League is being formed in San Francisco to give leadership to the struggles of working class youth and students against these conditions of oppression.

Let there be no mistake about it--it is no matter of reforming this or reforming that. Youth are oppressed so that owners of big business can maintain their profits. The owners of the big corporations and banks live in luxury only because of profits they get from the work of others. The system itself is so sick it can no longer grow enough to even give many youth the opportunity to be exploited on a job. Nothing basically changes in the ghettos, in the schools, in the job situation because it cannot change without changing the whole system.

The United States is a country of great wealth, and California is one of the wealthiest sections

of the country. If the great productive capacity, the great natural resources, the immense technical knowledge of the American people are organized on the basis of the needs of the working class rather than on the basis of maintaining the wealth of the few, then the ghettos, the schools, all these problems could be solved in short order and there would be no need to conduct a war to maintain exploitation abroad.

socialism

This is socialism and this is what the Young Workers League fights for. To bring about a socialist society, the working class must struggle for political power. It must take power away from the bosses who run the country through the two boss parties, the Democrats and the Republicans. As a step in this direction, the Young Workers League fights for a labor party. Such a party would battle for the interests of the working man, of youth, and of the Negroes and other minority peoples.

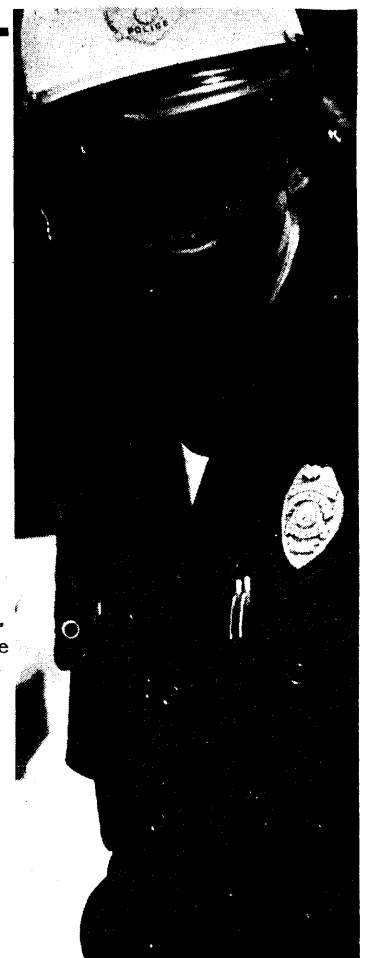
A labor party would fight for full representation for youth

with the vote at 18, full trade union rights, real job training controlled by youth committees in cooperation with the unions, recreation centers run by youth, free education through college, no discrimination, no police brutality, no draft. It would also fight against anti-strike legislation aimed at harnessing the trade union movement, and for a program to tear down the ghettos and build decent housing for all people.

The Young Workers League seeks to lead youth in struggles around such issues. It also struggles to arm youth with the lessons of the struggles of the working class in the past in this country and other countries.

This is why, together with the Workers League we are holding this fall a special meeting commemorating the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution. In addition to a program of struggle and education, we will be having social activities such as rock parties and beach parties. For more information on the activities of the YWL, please write:

Box 1663
San Francisco, Calif.
94101



NO FRIEND OF YOUTH

(This fall marks the 50th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution. The following article discusses the impact of the October Revolution on American socialists and tells some of the history of these early struggles for the program of October. We are now struggling to build a new socialist youth movement. Such a movement must base itself on all that is positive in this history, and learn the lessons of the mistakes that were made.)

by Deborah O'Connell

This article will discuss the struggles of American communists from the birth of the Communist Party to the founding of the Socialist Workers Party in 1938. These twelve years of struggle define clearly the battle for the continuity of revolutionary politics, Marxism against formidable odds. This fight for revolutionary continuity is being carried on today by the Workers League and the Young Workers League.

The Communist Party was formed out of the Socialist Party left wing in 1919. The Russian Revolution of 1917 profoundly affected the left wing of the Socialist Party. The Americans were not Marxists and had no literature, but the October Revolution forced serious revolutionaries to turn toward Marxism. The S.P. (Socialist Party) was torn apart by a struggle between the left wing, which stood on the program of the October Revolution, and the right wing, which wished to continue the old opportunist policies of the organization. Eventually, this factional struggle resulted in the formation of the Communist Party in 1919.

However, the new C.P. was driven underground by post-war persecution. What followed was a period of almost complete isolation from the working class. And people who had nothing to do but make grandiose revolutionary speeches in the living room made grander and more revolutionary speeches to each other, until they almost lost touch with real world and struggles of the workers outside.

The battle to break out of this sick circle of speeches and move into the real world again as a legal organization was met with hostility by the speech makers. The battle continued at the meeting of the Communist International in 1922 where Lenin and Trotsky supported working as an open communist party in America. The Workers Party which had been formed as a legal extension of the underground CP finally replaced the underground speech-making section. This was the beginning of a party in America based on Bolshevik principles and Marxist theory.

The new party began to attract the best American trade unionists to their revolutionary perspectives and won political leadership from the Industrial Workers of the World, because the IWW had no understanding of the war and the Russian Revolution. With this influx of new militant workers, including William Z. Foster, the new C.P. began to change. It became involved in the American Federation of Labor.

Again the party was thrown into crisis and turmoil. The big problem was inexperienced leadership formed from only five years of struggle with only the beginning of an understanding of revolutionary politics. Internal factional battles dominated the party from 1923 to 1928.

the lessons

One of the most important lessons of this whole period for us today was the role played first by the October Revolution and later by the leaders of this revolution through the Third International in developing an American revolutionary party. First, the founding of the Communist Party meant the death of the Socialist Party as a serious force in the United States. Whatever its weaknesses in this early period, and they were monumental, the American Communists took the revolutionary heart out of the old Socialist Party, and the real struggle to build an American radical party from then on is centered in the movement which stood by the first working class revolution--even if it understood that program but little.

In the period after its founding, the Third International intervened time and time again within the American Communist Party in order to help this party become a serious working class force. Without this international role, nothing really could have been built by the American revolutionaries.

It was the International which fought to bring the party out of its self-enforced underground existence into the light of day where it could struggle to reach American workers. It was the International which fought against old sectarian tendencies which had dominated the old left wing of the S.P.--to seek to somehow create "revolutionary" unions separate from the organized trade union movement of the time. It was the International which sought to prevent fratricidal factional struggles over unclear political issues which drained the energies of the fledgling party.

This internationalism in this period led to a deepening of the connection between the communists and the American working class. This shows how

OCTOBER REVOLUTION

and American Socialism



V.I. LENIN

absurd it is to hold, a many "new lefters" do today, that connections with an international movement stand in the way of developing a party in the United States with a real base among American workers.

degeneration

By 1927 the situation had changed because the International had changed. Because of the failure of the revolution in Europe, the Soviet Union was isolated and this isolation led to the development of a bureaucracy which took over control of the Bolshevik party and then the Third International itself. This bureaucracy no longer believed in world revolution, no longer saw the Russian revolution as the first stage of a world revolutionary struggle. Instead it sought to maintain itself within the USSR by whatever empirical means were available and to subordinate the communist parties of the world to this task. In time each party was transformed into a docile tool of this bureaucracy which would follow each and every turn of Soviet foreign policy. So it was with the American Communist Party which was only beginning to develop as a Marxist party.

In the United States this first took the form of support to the Lovestone faction of the CP which gave up any serious struggle for a revolutionary program holding that America was "exceptional" and two years before the great depression that the capitalist boom of the time would be interminable.

Many working class revolutionaries within the party were uncomfortable with this line but by themselves incapable of developing any real alternative program.

Again the impetus came from abroad. This time in the form of Trotsky and the left opposition. Trotsky stood by Lenin's revolutionary program and exposed the crass opportunism of the new bureaucracy and Stalin in particular. Those in the United States who stood by this program were to be the only ones from out of the American Communist Party who continued the struggle for a working class revolution.

trotskyism

The struggle for Marxism against Stalinism began in 1927. The fights and documents of the Left Opposition were withheld from the American Section. The complex problems of what was going on in Russia was not understood by the American CP, there were no documents, no explanations by the international. This resulted in complete confusion and threw the American section into faction fights again. At the same time, Moscow launched a campaign in the American group and all over the world against "Trotskyism". Trotsky and Zinoviev were expelled from the Russian Party in the fall of 1927. At the 1928 plenum meeting of the CPUSA, the leadership of the Party began rallying support for Stalinism. James P. Cannon, who was to be the founder of American Trotskyism, sat at the back of the room, confused, uninformed, suspicious and

critical, but with nothing to say, no program. The speeches for Stalin went on.

new beginning

In the summer of 1928, the American party went to the international as usual to haggle American problems. Cannon got hold of one of the Left Opposition documents and immediately saw in it the struggle for revolutionary politics. He wanted clarification of these Russian problems and the details of the fight, but all the Left Opposition had been expelled and was in exile. Cannon smuggled Trotsky's program home and began the fight for Marxism against the Stalinists.

There were tremendous problems, the party was no longer democratic. Cannon had no money, no typewriter, no mimeograph. How to get Trotsky's program around? This was solved by talking to individuals and bringing them, one by one, to the house to read that one copy.

The support for Trotsky grew but rumors also grew that Cannon, Shachtman and Abern were Trotskyists. They were brought up on these charges on October 27, 1928 and declared that they were in 100% support of Trotsky. The next week, the first issue of the "Militant" appeared celebrating the anniversary of the Russian Revolution and stating the program of the Left Opposition. This expulsion was the beginning of American Trotskyism, a total of three people, Cannon, Shachtman and Abern. They had no money; the first issue of the Militant wasn't paid for.

But money came in from supporters in Chicago and the newspaper came out twice a month. Then the little group found a group of Hungarian comrades who had been expelled and some Russian oppositionists, an Italian group and the supporters in Chicago. Then the CP went all over the country, trying to pass a motion approving the expulsion of Cannon, Shachtman and Abern. Whoever hesitated or asked questions was expelled. Most of the people expelled this way joined the Trotskyists.

the battle

The first task of the American Left Opposition was the struggle to get out the newspaper and its program. Letters continued to go out to individuals asking them to join the fight. There were now sections of the opposition in Chicago, Minneapolis, Kansas City, Philadelphia, Cleveland, St. Louis and miners in Southern Illinois along with the group in New York.

Meanwhile the Daily Worker attacked the opposition every day as "counter-revolutionary agents of imperialism." The Stalinists made it a crime to speak to oppositionists on the street, punishable by expulsion. The Stalinists had tens of thousands of members, no less than ten daily papers, money and apparatus. All of this was pointed at the opposition. When this wasn't enough to smash the Trotskyists, the Stalinists sent goons to punch them in the nose. The Trotskyists promptly organized defense squads and continued the battle for revolutionary politics.

On Dec. 17, the Central Committee of the Communist Party met and Cannon, Shachtman and Abern submitted an appeal to their expulsion, made a two hour speech and were ushered out by the Stalinists. The fight was on again. The Militant reprinted the speech and the Stalinists burgled Cannon's house, carrying off everything of political importance.

This is not supposed to be a lesson in the immorality of the Stalinists in beating, burgling and slandering of innocent, honest Trotskyists. It is rather a picture of a knockdown dragout political fight where the weapons were organizational on the part of the Stalinists and political on the part of the Trotskyists. The Stalinists were totally incapable of smashing the Trotskyists politically. The opposition began to recruit CP members in protest against these anti-political methods.

In January 1929 the opposition organized a public meeting "The Truth About Trotsky and the Russian Opposition." The Stalinists tried to destroy the meeting and met the Trotskyist defense guards. Cannon went on tour with the meeting. The Stalinists won in New Haven. The Trotskyist won in Boston, Cleveland and Chicago, but in Minneapolis were the opposition was strong they didn't think the Stalinists would dare to attack. They were wrong and the meeting was broken up. Cannon organized another meeting, this time prepared. It was a success. Finally the Stalinists attacked a business meeting of the opposition and started to beat an old man about 80. A young carpenter at the meeting sent one of the Stalinists to the hospital for three weeks in critical condition. That was the end of the attacks.

February 15, 1929, the Trotskyists published their program in the Militant. The CP was preparing for its national conference. May 17, 1929 Cannon called for a national conference of the Left Opposition to adopt the program and discuss the Russian problems.

(to be continued in next issue)



THE ROLLING STONES: TUNED-IN MUSIC, DROPPED-OUT LYRICS

By Marty Jonas

There hasn't been as exciting music as rock & roll since the big swing bands our parents danced to in the 40's. The bounce, the drive, the absolute nervousness of rock & roll aren't just a product of the individual minds and instruments of the musicians, though. The Rolling Stones, the Beatles, Mitch Ryder, Bob Dylan, all reflect our frantic times. The capitalist system under which we live is in deep crisis--there is war, unemployment, vast strikes, constant struggle all over the world of oppressed against oppressor. In the same way that other youth may express this tension in riding motorcycles or dancing wildly, rock & roll musicians express it in their fast throbbing songs. This is a world which can't sit still and the youth can't either.

When the Stones pounce that

piano at the beginning of "We Love You," they're expressing being caught in the same world struggle that means other youth out on demonstrations for more jobs and better schools.

But, despite the excitement of rock & roll music, for the most part its excitement remains right there in the discotheque, in the living room, in the neighborhood club. It's as though it were calculated to get nowhere.

sgt. pepper

The music really moves, but the words hold it all back. There are the Beatles in their newest album, Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band, weaving some of the most original and startling musical effects--musically way above most of their fellow groups. But Sgt. Pepper is very tame. Your head can spin with the

intricacies and you can wear yourself out dancing to it, but in the end there's not much beyond this. For harnessing all this great musical power which cannot help but express the motion of our times are lyrics that tell us to turn inwards. The whole message of Sgt. Pepper is: turn on, whether through drugs, love, or dropping-out--look in yourself for the solution to the crisis our music reflects. This is not surprising in light of the Beatles' recent conversion to an obscure yoga sect.

motown

Other rock & roll artists oppose their own rough and real music with lyrics preaching pacifism, hollywood-type phoney-love, phoney-love-of-mankind, hippyism and eastern religions. Sometimes they tame their music with lyrics that are just plain ob-

ROCK AND ROLL WILD BUT TAME

scure.

The exceptions to this trend are the Negro rock-and-roll musicians--such as are on the Motown and Stax labels--who very often express real feelings of love and contact with society. This is mainly due to the blues tradition, which was built on the experience of the Negro in the United States. But, as the Supremes' disappointing "Reflections" shows, even this fine heritage can go under to the psychedelic influence.

Why is rock-and-roll split into conflicting parts--the most obvious being music vs. lyrics?

To understand this confusion we must see how the rock-and-roll star lives in modern capitalist society. To start with, the recording industry is a capitalist business and its needs are enough to disorient the most radical of rock-and-roll artists. Whether he is originally from the working class, like the Beatles, or from the middle class, like the Beach Boys, the rock-and-roll musician becomes a part of the middle class and reacts to the world in a middle class way. Like most middle class youth he will react to things with a good deal of sensitivity, but will express this sensitivity in a way that will be completely ineffective. The middle class youth may feel strongly about

the war in Vietnam, but he will just squirm out of his obligation to find a way of stopped by pacifism, or pacifism, begging LBJ, or everybody finding himself. The crisis of capitalism frightens him, stirs him up, but he just retreats into his own moods. Middle class rock-and-roll--like the hippie "movement" that accompanies it--is all dressed up brightly and vibrantly--but in the end is harmless.

real

Looking for solutions in one's head is no solution for middle-class or working-class youth. This is the road that capitalist society--of which the record industry is a big part--would like the youth to take, making them harmless. But there's a solid world out there, with classes struggling every minute, art sometimes comes very close to singing about this--the songs of Bertolt Brecht and Kurt Weill, much folk music and blues, and an occasional rock-and-roll song like "Dead End Street" by the Kinks. The real revolutions taking place right now as well as the one in the making right here in the American Working class are more exciting material for rock-and-roll than the phoney inner-revolution of flower power and turning on.

black power and class power

DUBOIS CLUBS COVENTION REPORT

by Melody Farrow

The DuBois Clubs of America held its Third National Convention here from Sept. 8-10. The entire convention revealed the deep crisis that the DuBois Club has been in since its founding convention three years ago. This crisis found its most immediate expression in the complete organizational confusion of the sessions. The opening session on Friday night was attended by 300 people but by Sunday night this had dwindled to almost half. Meetings were sometimes over two hours late, in starting and delegates drifted continuously back and forth. According to reports from its leaders, the organization has failed to attract working class youth and the number of local clubs has declined over the past year.

This organizational confusion however is only the expression of a far deeper political crisis that was clearly reflected in the main reports. Many youth have come to the DuBois Club because they sincerely wanted to fight capitalism and struggle for a socialist society. Yet while the leaders give lip service to the fight against imperialism, in actual fact they have no program for a real struggle against it.

Today working class youth are most affected by the degeneration of the system. They are faced with unemploy-

ment or the draft; they must put up with rotting schools that are used to discipline them but offer no decent education. They are largely unskilled and get only the lowest paying jobs. There is no better time than now to organize these youth and engage them, together with older workers, in a revolutionary struggle against capitalism.

half-baked

The DuBois Club does not, and cannot, play this role. Rather than having broken with the system, they offer up half-baked reforms that cannot begin to deal with the problems of working class youth. Instead of a resolute struggle against the war they speak of draft resistance and referendums and cheer when their members are sent to jail. Rather than dealing with the historic role of the working class and of the necessity for a real political turn to this class, they set up trade union committees. To every political question facing the convention an endless string of committees was posed as the answer. These organizational maneuvers will only serve to soothe the conscience of the members by involving the youth in meaningless activity. In reality, it will drive the DuBois Club into even greater crisis.

We have a foretaste of this

crisis in the issue of black power. The DuBois Club has joined the bandwagon of all those who give uncritical allegiance to the philosophy of black nationalism. Black power advocates such as Julius Lester were given so much attention at the opening night of the convention that the main report had to be cut due to lack of time. The DuBois Clubs supports the concept of 'parallel struggle,' i.e. a separate black movement. With such an orientation why should black youth join?

The program of a separate struggle for whites and blacks can only deepen the divisions within the working class, the very divisions that the capitalists use to stay in power. Its reactionary and anti-working class implication have been shown in the recent teachers strike in which Rap Brown and Floyd McKissick openly scabbed against the union.

class

Rather than seeing that racism is a necessary condition for the survival of capitalism it is posed as some kind of inherent quality of whites. But history is not the struggle of white against black but of class against class. The working class can only be united on a class program, one that sets as its goal the conquest of power by the wor-

kers. Negroes are not a nation and have no salvation in self-determination. They are an integral part of the working class and its most exploited section.

The DuBois Club evades this by claiming that workers are racist and conservative. They close their eyes to the tremendous labor struggles that are occurring in this country as the ruling class launches an open attack on the conditions of the working class through inflation, wage guidelines and anti-strike legislation.

The time is past when these struggles were fought on bread and butter issues. The recent strikes in New York and all over the nation have been political battles against a government that is determined to break the back of the working class. This is the arena and the only arena where the full unity of black and white will be achieved. The DuBois Club, by turning its back on the class struggle, turns its back on the only force that can produce revolutionary change.

cp

The crisis in DuBois Club cannot be attributed to misguided youth. The answer lies in the role that the Communist Party has played in the political leadership of the organization.

DuBois Club members must

understand the history of the Communist Party and the entire history of Marxism. They must understand the role of Trotsky who in 1938 founded the Fourth International after the betrayal of the working class by the Third International in Germany. The Fourth International today stands alone in the struggle for the continuity of Marxism and Leninism. Only through an objective analysis of these events can the political questions facing socialists today be answered.

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and fight for a socialist world. For more information contact the local branch nearest you.

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