

IMPERIALISM ATTACKS ARAB MASSES

FRANTIC DIPLOMACY REFLECTS CONTINUING CRISIS

by Fred Mueller

The third armed conflict in the Middle East within 20 years has erupted and then halted again after a week of bloody fighting. The latest outburst testifies to the extreme instability of the situation created by the imperialists themselves. Although the imperialists exploit and desperately need the divisions in the Middle East, the situation contains explosive possibilities which can, if guided by a revolutionary leadership, put an end to imperialist plans for this region forever.

not neutral

We are not neutral in the

conflict which the imperialists have instigated. Zionism is the major instrument of imperialism in the Middle East and is correctly despised for this by the Arab masses. The latest conflict reflects the continuing thrust of the imperialists against the Arab Revolution. The Israeli victory, although it also brings some complications for Washington, is still a gain for the imperialists.

The course of the war is not the main issue. In this case the easy victory of the Israelis is due both to their military superiority and to the complete inability of the Arab regimes, without exception, to mobilize

the masses in struggle

But the Arab masses were involved in this war nevertheless. They must defend all the partial steps they have taken against imperialism. But they cannot rely upon the present nationalist leaderships, of the so-called left as well as right, which betray the struggle again and again. They must defend their gains, under their present leadership and in spite of their present leadership, and at the same time they must prepare to go beyond this leadership in order to wage a serious and successful struggle against imperialism.

The Israeli workers, on the other hand, can make no prog-

ress whatsoever in their search for security as part of the Middle East until they overthrow their Zionist masters and reach out in class solidarity to the Arab workers and peasants.

cynicism

In this hour of Zionist military victory, it is important to remember the history of Zionism and the establishment of the state of Israel. The cynicism of the imperialists knows no bounds. They turned deaf ears on the Nazi crimes until their own interests dictated a war. Concern for the victims of Nazi persecution, for the Jews, Communists and

trade unionists, was the last thing worrying the imperialists throughout the period leading up to and including the Second World War. This cynical attitude has been amply documented. Nor did they make any move to compensate the Jewish survivors after the war by offering them new homes in the U.S. or in West Europe. They moved instead to make the masses of the Middle East pay for the crimes of the Nazis, the crimes of the imperialist system which was responsible for Fascism in the first place!

The imperialists decided to befriend the Zionist movement when it suited their purposes.

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Bulletin

OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

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July 3, 1967

Ten Cents

THE GREAT SOCIETY EXPLODES; LONG HOT SUMMER BEGINS

by Dan Fried

No sooner had an uneasy quiet descended on Roxbury--Boston's Harlem--than Tampa and Cincinnati erupted, followed by rumblings in Dayton. Led by youth with nothing to lose because all they have is a lot of empty promises, the ghettos of the "Great Society" are again exploding in revolt against misery and oppression. Poverty in Ohio may not be as visible as in the slums of Harlem, but government sources admit that unemployment is more than 20% among black teenagers and between 13 and 15% among adults, or nearly four times higher than among white workers. In Cincinnati, after the second night of "rioting" triggered by the police arrest of a Negro protester carrying a placard, there was more than one million dollars in property damage, and, as in Tampa, the local cops were done in the National Guard had to be called in.

bull

Despite all of LBJ's ballyhoo about the war on poverty and the creation of a seemingly endless chain of city, state and federal anti-poverty and assorted 'do-good' agencies, the National Guard promises to become an almost everyday sight in the ghettos in 1967.

And who can say about 1968? Social and economic conditions in the ghettos of Boston, Tampa, Cincinnati, Dayton, or for that matter Harlem and Watts are much the same. In Wichita, Kansas, a local NAACP official says, "Unemployment is our big gripe. Although the power structure throws us a bone when we start making noise, we're really just like monkeys in a cage." He says that the city's Negroes look on the local poverty program as "a BB shot, not a war, on poverty", and calls the city's summer recreation program a "lot of bull". In Philadelphia, a Negro preacher, himself deeply involved in the field of 'job training', refers to the summer job and recreation programs for ghetto youth as "a joke" and says "It's like putting a little vaseline on a great big wound that's been bleeding all year. You've got to put in some stitches or do some major surgery."

In the same week that kids in Tampa were hurling Molotov cocktails, and Negro protesters were carted off to a Cincinnati jail where they

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city locks out welfare workers

SSEU Fights Union-Busting

by a Welfare Worker

New York - Today, only two years after its successful 28 day strike, the SSEU finds itself in a struggle for its very existence.

After a 3 day strike in January of this year, welfare workers returned to work with the agreement from the City that all unresolved issues would go to fact-finding. Now, six months later, the City has decided to fully exercise its "management prerogative" and refuses to enter fact-finding on all important issues. Armed with new anti-labor legislation, the City is beginning a renewed and vicious attack on city workers.

With its back against the wall and armed with an 87%

secret ballot vote the leadership has decided to fight back with all its strength. On June 19 a "work-in" or sit down strike was called. Workers went to their welfare centers and told the city they were only working for their contract and until they get it they would not lift a pencil or open a case record. The City reacted by locking out a third of the workers. It has suspended delegates and activists all over the city. Many have been arrested and beaten by the cops. While the action remains 90% effective, it is clear that the city is out to break the SSEU.

The SSEU's isolation from the rest of the labor movement is posed clearly in this crisis. This was tragically v-

ident at the mass rally called by the union last week. The stage was occupied by community leaders and various politicians. Labor was conspicuously absent.

Labor bureaucrats such as Gotbaum (DC 37), Shanker (UFT), and Van Arsdale (Central Labor Council) have flatly refused to intervene to back the SSEU, using the excuse that the SSEU is not affiliated with the AFL-CIO. Bureaucrats such as DeLury, the once proclaimed friend of the SSEU, withhold support in favor of the SSEU's capitulation to the City's demands.

The danger of the SSEU's isolated position is evident. It must become clear to the workers that in this period of

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EDITORIAL

China's Bomb Jolts Imperialists

Once again capitalist spokesmen and bourgeois moralists are outraged. Messrs. Brezhnev, Kosygin, and their friends are likewise no doubt disturbed. The Chinese have dared to challenge the thermonuclear dominance of the U.S. and the USSR. The explosion of China's first H-Bomb means that another state outside of the imperialist orbit is becoming a full-fledged member of the so-called nuclear club.

The imperialists were of course jolted to see their nuclear weapons monopoly originally ended by the Soviet Union almost two decades ago. But the workers of the world certainly had no reason to be unhappy at that time, nor do they have any cause to fear the Chinese Bome. In spite of all of the betrayals and crimes of the Soviet bureaucracy, the ending of the U.S. nuclear monopoly was an im-

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Government Continues Its Fight Against Railroad Workers

by Marty Jonas

While Congress decides whether to use the axe on the railroad workers now or later, the heads of the six shopcraft unions involved in the threatened railroad strike have considerably put it off until Congress reports. The Senate, led by Wayne Morse repeating the rotten role he played in the airline strike, would like to push through the bill originally proposed by LBJ, providing for a 90 day delay during which binding settlement would be imposed. The House of Representatives, preferring to proceed more cautiously, has voted the 90 day delay--but minus a binding settlement.

caught

The government is caught again in a situation in which it would like to keep labor peace but is forced at the same time to discipline the workers.

ARAB-ISRAEL

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Zionism was a reactionary, anti-workingclass movement founded on complete despair and petty-bourgeois fear of the class struggle. This despair, understandable as it may have been after the crushing defeats to the workingclass movement at the hands of Fascism and of Stalinist betrayal, could nevertheless serve nothing but reactionary purposes. Zionism has served entirely counterrevolutionary interests since its coming to power as an independent state. It has earned the hatred not only of the Arab masses but of class conscious workers all over the world.

refugees

The Zionists have never shown the slightest interest in the fate of the one million Palestinian refugees. They have never veered from a policy of complete support, first to Anglo-French and then to U.S. imperialism. They have made themselves the enemy of the Arab masses. This has nothing to do with Hitler's crimes. The fact is that the Zionists have committed crimes against the working class, and this is what has led to war and will inevitably lead to more violence as long as no political solution is achieved.

Of course imperialist strategy is at the root of the Zionist-Arab antagonism. The Israeli capitalist regime plays the role it does only as part of overall imperialist strategy. This strategy in turn is dictated by the overall world interests and crisis of imperial-

SSEU

(continued from p. 1)

There must be unity in the labor movement if it is to remain as a viable force to defend the workers. The SSEU must face up to this question in the very near future.

What is at stake immediately, however, is the very existence of the SSEU. The workers of New York City cannot afford to stand by and see a union broken; their own union will be next. All city unions and in particular the increased attack on the labor movement by government and the bosses, that the workers cannot afford to be divided.

The railroads desperately need government intervention, including the threat or actual imposition of compulsory arbitration, as Johnson has asked, it means the bosses have been forced by their crisis to openly attack the trade union organization of the workers.

well-behaved

The union bureaucrats are locked tightly in a policy of class collaboration, and they therefore postpone strikes repeatedly to suit the needs of the Administration. The bureaucrats will try to act well-behaved in order to avoid the LBJ-Senate bill. A last minute settlement remains a possibility, though not a likely one. Johnson continues to push for the compulsory arbitration bill. The bosses understand that the issues posed by automation in this trade make collective bargaining as

usual impossible.

rank & file

The bureaucrats would like to cooperate but they are forced to maneuver because of the pressure of the rank and file. The logic of the class struggle is leaving the bureaucrats and the government no alternative but a head-on struggle. The bureaucrats fear this struggle but the ranks are ready for it. Although the union officials had already agreed on yet another postponement of the strike deadline, West coast machinists and several locals elsewhere walked out briefly on June 19 anyway. These brief walkouts were ended quickly and were dismissed as due to misunderstandings. They surely testify to the militancy and readiness for action on the part of the ranks.

Restlessness and impatience with the perpetual 90 day

ism. In the Middle East, imperialist economic and political interests make the division between Arab and Jew as well as the divisions between the Arabs absolutely necessary. Viewed even from the aspect of the Middle East itself, there is simply no safety for the billions of imperialist investments and profits without these divisions. When Goldberg talks of peace at the United Nations it is these interests and this absolutely necessary strategy which we must remember.

The USSR supports the diplomacy of the Arab regimes. This of course is a far cry from real support to the Arab masses. Its support to the nationalist leaderships is completely uncritical, and this amounts in fact to betrayal of the Arab masses. As usual the Stalinists seek to contain the masses within the framework of capitalism. Nasser and Kosygin work together in this aim. The Chinese add some radical phrases but also refrain from posing the revolutionary tasks in the Middle East. And the Pabloite revisionists, including the Socialist Workers Party in the U.S., follow the line of correct criticism of the Zionist bourgeoisie but of adaptation to the left Arab nationalist leadership.

We have already seen where this leadership leads the Arab masses. It can only lead them to defeat, a defeat which we must fight against, but understand the causes of so as to prevent future defeats of the same nature. The left nationalist leadership attempts to

fight imperialism through alliance with the regimes in Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and Tunisia. It refuses to take serious action against imperialist investments, and it seeks to control and push back the labor movement. To the masses it holds out the reactionary and impossible program of a holy war against the Jews. Thus it diverts the Arab masses from the class struggle which they must fight not only in relation to Zionism and imperialism but at home as well.

scurrying at un

The hurrying and scurrying at the United Nations have no significance apart from the strategy of U.S. imperialism and the possibility of involving the Soviet regime in a deal to "stabilize" the Middle East, perhaps in conjunction with another move toward negotiations in Vietnam. This always remains a possibility and we can be sure that Kosygin does not have the interests of the Arab, Israeli, or Vietnamese workers and peasants in mind as he sits down to talk business at the U.N.

After the war and after the U.N. debates, the crisis remains and there is no sign of a political solution. The imperialists will be seeking to achieve limited ends for the present. They cannot achieve their real aims without attacking the Arab masses directly, without threatening the gains they have made, including the nationalization of the Suez.

The class struggle remains, both in Israel and the Arab

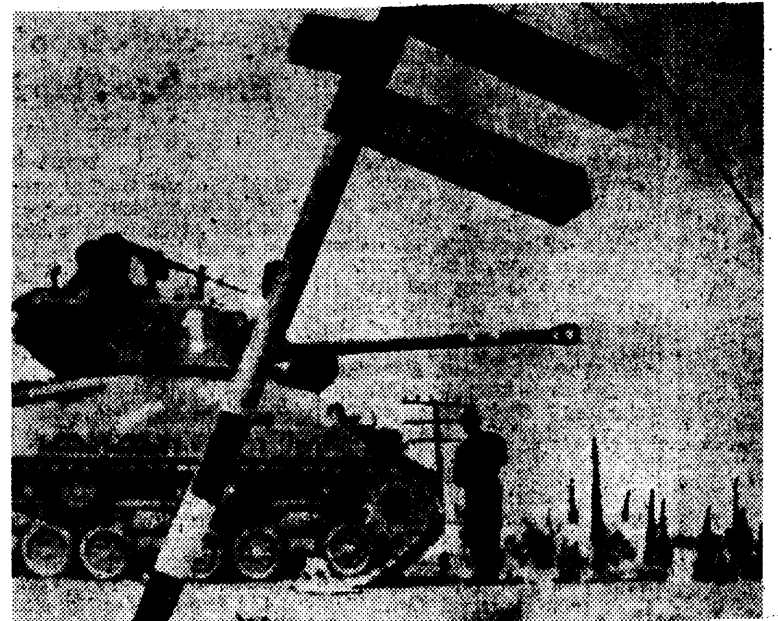
strike postponements is increasing. The ranks want to see the dispute resolved by action. They want something besides 90 day waiting periods, while they wait to be sold out. The danger to both the bureaucrats and to the Johnson Administration is that the issues involved in the railroad dispute will become clear to the ranks, and that they will demand not only a militant struggle but also a political struggle against the government which lines up with the bosses against them.

Compulsory arbitration is on the government's agenda for more than the railroads. Anti-strike legislation of a broad and inclusive nature is ready for Congressional action when the bipartisan anti-labor politicians deem it advisable. It's a big step toward the destruction of the independence of the trade unions, and their incorporation into the capita-

list state apparatus. The trade unions must fight compulsory arbitration as hard or harder as we fight government-imposed wage restraint.

labor party

We can't just sit on the sidelines waiting for the latest word from Congress. There is not a single representative in Congress who is ready to consistently defend our interests against anti-strike legislation and compulsory arbitration. The attack by the bosses through their political parties and the government control demands a political reply. The ranks of the rail unions must build caucuses responsive to their interests, ready to fight and to see the struggle in its political aspects. We must begin campaigning for a labor party to put up political candidates who will represent and really fight for our interests.



CHINA

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states. It must be coordinated and combined with the struggle against imperialism. There will be no solution to the crisis without this struggle. The decisive Israeli victory points this up all the more because it also demonstrates the powerlessness of the Zionists to do more than negotiate from a position of military strength. They must still deal with the Arab masses, who are now if anything more hostile to them than before. And they will be having to take on the Israeli workers as well. After the war the Jewish workers can look forward only to continued crisis and to attacks upon their living standards.

A socialist Middle Eastern union which provides for national autonomy, not only for the Jews but for other minorities as well, is the only solution. This requires the building of revolutionary parties in all the countries of the Middle East.

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DEFEND THE ARAB REVOLUTION!
FOR THE UNITY OF ARAB AND JEWISH WORKERS AGAINST CAPITALISM!
NO UNITED NATIONS INTERVENTION!

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UFT and TWU, will be confronted with similar struggles in the upcoming months. The SSEU has begun the struggle against the anti-labor government. The fate of the SSEU will have great bearing on future struggles.

The tasks for the SSEU are clear. More suspensions and arrests will not win this struggle. The rank and file must force the leadership to begin a massive campaign to get the support of other city workers, regardless of the labor bureaucrats' positions. It is not a matter of sacrificing militancy for unity, but of

fighting for a united front of city workers on a program of common struggle. This means mobilizing the workers who are locked out to go out with SSEU newspapers and leaflets to all city workers asking for their support. This campaign has already been started on a small scale. A few union activists have gone to schools to get the support of UFT chapters. This must become the major orientation of the union. Only by getting this support can the SSEU hope to win its fight for a contract and preserve its existence as a trade union.

portant blow against the imperialist war drive. Now the Soviet bureaucrats move ever closer to Washington. Just at a time when the imperialists can think more and more of consistent collaboration with the Kremlin to police the world, the upstart Chinese throw another monkey wrench into the plans of the capitalists and their Kremlin helpers.

China's bomb is a victory for revolutionary forces all over the world. Of course it cannot solve the fundamental crisis of working class leadership, internationally or inside China itself. By itself it cannot solve any problems. Imperialism cannot be defeated without worldwide revolutionary struggle. The struggle against imperialism and bureaucracy, including the overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy in China, however, cannot take place apart from the unconditional defense of the Chinese Revolution against imperialism, and this includes military defense. As long as imperialism exists, we must defend all the revolutionary gains of the world working class against its war drive. The Chinese bomb, in addition to being testimony to the technological advances made possible by the Chinese Revolution, is a concrete blow for our side in the class war against imperialism.

For a Real Turn towards the Working Class

PL & The New Left Face Crisis

by Dennis O'Casey

As capitalism both internationally and in the U.S. finds itself in deepening crisis it is forced to solve its crisis on the back of the working class. The task this poses for the American working class is not merely that of throwing back the attack on its wages, working conditions and trade unions. The ability of American labor to defend itself against these onslaughts only deepens the crisis of capitalism and sharpens the struggle. Thus the central critical task before the working class is the building of a revolutionary leadership capable of taking advantage of the developing crisis to defeat capitalism and lead the working class to power.

Those attending the annual SDS conference in Ann Arbor, Michigan on June 24 and 25 are concerned with these tasks. Many members of SDS, CIPA and ISC are becoming increasingly concerned with their isolation from the working class. Of all the organizations active around the New Left the Progressive Labor Party has in the past shown the most serious interest in intervening in the workers' movement. Unlike the SWP, which has completely capitulated to middle class radicalism, PL has been known as an organization with a serious working class orientation. Yet for all its revolutionary talk PL has moved away from a class perspective at a time when it should have been struggling to transform itself into a serious Leninist party. PL has failed to provide the political leadership that would have transformed the radicals attracted to it into serious Marxists. Instead of changing the New Left, PL has simply been changed by the New Left. We must first understand these problems if we are going to build a revolutionary movement.

theory & practice

The failure of PL is summed up in its artificial separation of theory and practice and its neglect of theoretical development. The question at bottom is one of method. We must understand that there cannot be any revolutionary practice without revolutionary theory and without the unity of theory and practice. The method of dialectical materialism is not a set of formulas or magic solutions to political questions. It is an approach which can only be understood by applying and enriching it in struggle. We must constantly struggle to develop theory, a Marxist perspective for the class struggle in this country and internationally, and in this way develop our understanding of Marxist method. This is the challenge facing not only PL, but all those who seek a revolutionary alternative in this country.

PL has not begun with a Marxist approach, with an understanding of the dialectical relationship between the international crisis of capitalism and the revolutionary potential of the working class. It begins with fixed truths and with surface impressions. No wonder this leads to the separation of theory and practice. This is no better than the decision of many activists to rely solely on "practice."

PL's empiricism leads it to view campus and community work as more fruitful arenas for work than the trade unions. A surface approach to things makes these appear to be where the action is. There is never any attempt to reach beneath the surface to grasp the real class content of events. For all the lip service PL pays to the idea that only the working class has the power to defeat capitalism, there still remains confusion and even a deep pessimism as to the revolutionary potential of the working class. This expresses itself in the inability of PL to relate the various struggles in which it is involved to the class struggle, and its adaptation to non-working class trends in the areas in which it works. It is as if the struggle itself did not exist, or as if it existed in complete isolation



BRITISH YOUNG SOCIALISTS REACH WORKERS THROUGH FIGHT FOR THEORY.

from all the other activity of PL. This is the fatal flaw of PL's "concrete work".

unifying perspective

This lack of a class struggle perspective is reflected in PL's monthly newspaper, Challenge. We find in the June issue an article entitled "Black Power Comes to Howard U". The militant struggles of the newly-formed Black Power Committee against the reactionary university administration are described in great detail. Most of these struggles combine the themes of black nationalism, anti-war sentiment and student power. The flooding of Howard U. with whites is opposed, compulsory courses in Swahili are demanded, Hershey is hung in effigy, student boycotts are held to defend freedom of student protest, abolition of ROTC, etc. At the end of the article we learn that eight students face possible expulsion for these activities, but that nevertheless we can look hopefully forward next fall to a new wave of Negro militants "who will be even more loyal to their race and class." It is the responsibility of Marxists to give perspective and leadership of struggles like these, to explain the need to build a Leninist party. PL accepts these struggles at their present level, offering not one word of criticism, not one hint of how this ferment could be channeled in a revolutionary direction. As always, PL adapts to black nationalist sentiment and to such classless slogans as student power.

The latest Challenge reflects PL's approach on other fronts as well. It is full of references to fighting struggles, revolution and so forth. There are articles about NY mothers' demands against the New York House of Detention, anti-draft activity, the horrors of Bellevue, picketing of A&P stores, Harlem's Black Action Front, and campus struggles. But there is no effort to unite the areas of struggle, no unifying perspective which explains what causes the different struggles and what can lead them forward. Revolutionary intransigence against the landlords, supermarkets, police and bosses is all very well. But without an understanding of the struggles themselves and what unites them this is completely useless. We cannot simply respond to or immerse ourselves in struggles as they erupt. We have to show why and develop a program to unite them and lead them forward.

reaching the workers

PL intervenes in the anti-war movement with the same classless approach. This summer PL will throw its energies and the energies of those around it into petition campaigns to obtain referendums on Vietnam, and into the Vietnam Work-In. PL's participation in these campaigns, alongside a large variety of other organizations, is aimed at bringing the issue of the war to the working class.

We say that such activity in no way represents a real turn towards the working class, and in fact is no different in practice from the classless approach of the SWP and the pacifists. Getting jobs in shops and factories means nothing unless it is combined with conscious intervention in the trade unions. The question of the war in Vietnam and how it affects workers must be brought to the working class, but it will not be brought outside the context of the class struggle itself. The SWP and the pacifists

also talk about reaching workers, but they are not interested in how the class struggle actually relates to the war.

Young radicals can and must begin serious work to reach the working class, but this means long-range work. This is a long-range struggle, not a summer lark, and demands in addition to day in and day out trade union work a constant theoretical struggle to relate the issue of Vietnam to the day to day struggles faced by the workers. The Vietnam Work-In, like the referendum campaigns, becomes a gimmick with which to busy student radicals. These are worthless substitutes for the theoretical development that is urgently required.

Within the trade union movement PL proceeds with the same empirical and non-Marxist method which dominates its work elsewhere. It does not combine its union work with the fight for a Marxist perspective. In the July-August issue of PL it puts forward a perspective for building "Left-Center" coalitions in the trade unions. Let us see exactly what this means in practice.

PL stresses that "we must begin where the workers are, not where one would want them to be." These coalitions are to be held together by issues upon which workers are willing to struggle now. As they grow it will be the responsibility of the left to educate, winning a few workers over to the "Left" position.

economics & politics

This amounts to a complete and artificial separation of the political struggles facing the workers from the economic issues they are fighting on. In practice PL restricts itself to the economic issues, to pure and simple trade unionism, and hopes to make propaganda inside the union on issues which are never related to the concrete struggles of the workers. There is no fight for a labor party, for an alternative leadership to the bureaucrats now in charge. This propaganda approach has much more in common with the SWP's total ignoring of the union movement than most people realize. We must break from this approach.

Once again theory is separated from practice. Theory is kept separate and pure, and practice is limited to what all can agree on now. We have to tie theory and practice together. This means raising the economic struggles to the political level, presenting a clear political alternative to the workers. Young radicals can only become disoriented and demoralized by a "turn towards the working class" which isn't accompanied by a struggle to concretize the issues facing the class today. SDS, CIPA, and the ISC, as well as PL, will get nowhere in their efforts to reach workers as long as they ignore this.

The Workers League, in solidarity with the International Committee of the Fourth International, is building a revolutionary party which will demonstrate in practice that Marxism is the only alternative. The great strides taken by the Socialist Labour League in Great Britain have only been made through the constant struggle for Marxism inside the workers' movement we have been proposing. The lesson of PL's errors is that the road to the working class and to revolution is only through the development of theory.

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a young worker looks at hippies

Flower Power or Workers' Power?

by Judith Lee

"You cannot beat the system, so turn on. Let's turn the whole world on before they blow us up." That statement by a hippie in New York summarizes the hippies' understanding of their position in society. Since they are practically all middle class youth and since they can't see the necessity to link up with the working class -- the only class capable of really beating the system -- all that is left for them, of course, is defeatism and dreams.

The hippies are so alienated from society that they believe that all men can learn to love one another under the present system. Instead of the economic and social realtions of a society determining m ideas and values, the hippies say that man can determine his own destiny by acting alone, and without any connection to society. The hippies don't even see how they are a product of this society. They are incapable of seeing that we do not have real freedom and democracy, that we are not "free spirits" separate and apart from the system we live in. How is it possible to change things by acting alone, how is it possible to solve anything by withdrawing from society, when a very small

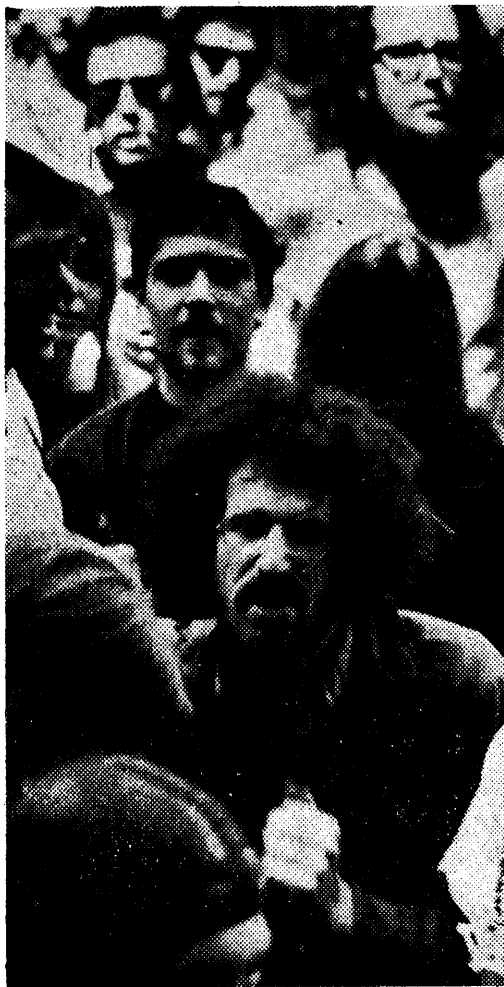
minority of capitalists rules and determines the destiny of the great majority of people?

The hippies expect us to love all, even our enemies. These are the same enemies that shove us into ghettos, tell us to hate other races and peoples, and to kill fellow workers in Vietnam. They want us to kill or be killed while they survive to make enormous profits, and we try desperately to make enough money to provide for the elementary necessities of life.

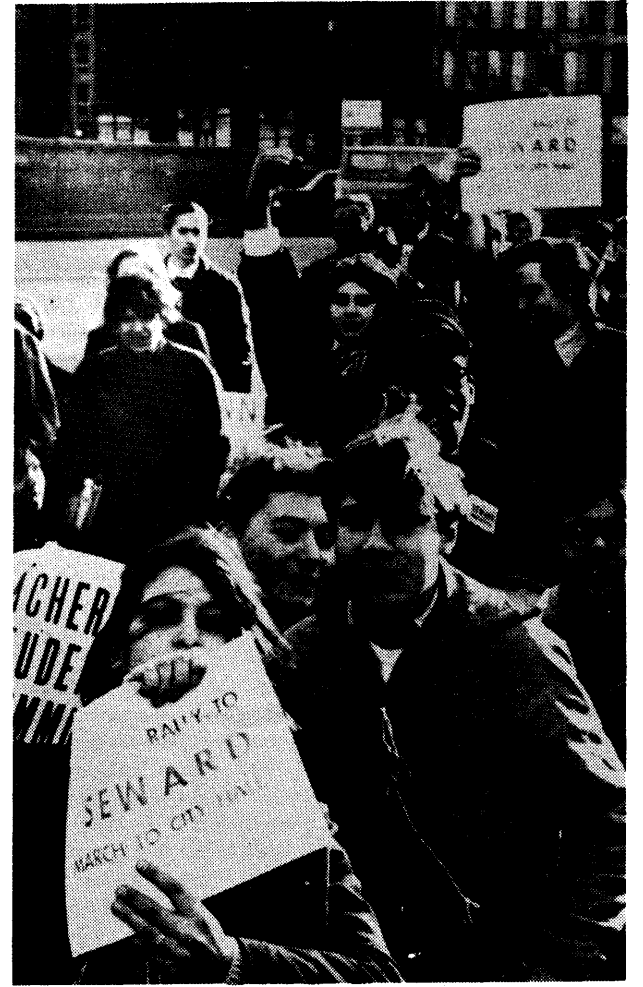
a flower for lbj

By handing a flower to LBJ or to a cop they claim we can make ghettos disappear, men equal, and wars of imperialism stop. LBJ loves to have flowers handed to him -- flowers are usually handed to the victor. And as he sits and watches the middle class youth, including many young radicals, disappear into hippie movements, he must feel very victorious.

The hippies claim that their approach to life is fresh and new. Just the opposite is true. Their pacifism and scepticism is a very old philosophy. It is something that the workers have already rejected. That's why the working class youth have little use for the hippies. They are



HIPPIES HAVE NOTHING TO OFFER WORKING CLASS YOUTH.



a sick symptom of an even sicker society. That's the only thing we can learn from the hippies -- how rotten the system that produces them is.

Workers know that flowers won't feed their children and prevent them from dying for capitalist profits. They know that it takes more than flowers to create jobs. They see

the necessity for a program on which to struggle against the system.

revolt

That's why Revolt calls on all working class youth and students to unite to build a revolutionary youth organization. That's why Revolt is organizing a contingent of youth to attend the Interna-

tional Youth Assembly in Britain this summer.

Only the unbeatable combination of the youth and the workers can change the world. Only we can create real democracy and personal freedom. Only socialism can establish, for the first time, the rule of the majority instead of the rule of the minority.

GHETTOS

(continued from p. 1)

sparked a violent rebellion by the black and white inmates over lack of plumbing and other oppressive conditions -- in the very same week, LBJ appointed Thurgood Marshall (former NAACP chief counsel) to the Supreme Court. Marshall's appointment was lauded by CORE leader Floyd McKissick, who said the appointment "had stirred pride in the breast of every black American." Frankly, we don't think that the kids with nothing to lose in Tampa and Cincinnati gave a damn. At the same time, Roy Wilkins sent a "red alert" message to all NAACP local chapters, in which he said, "Don't just be against riots; be active in preventing them... your NAACP branch can help the whole summer to be a cool one." Wilkins added that automobile bumper stickers were being dispatched to the various chapters with slogans such as "Keep Cool, Let the Other Guy Blow His Top", and "Bricks Through Windows Don't Open Doors." Among the crumbs set forth as goals in the message was the demand for Congress "to pass the 1967 Civil Rights Bill." What the youth in Tampa and Cincinnati, Harlem and Watts are asking is "What the Hell is the 1967 Civil Rights Bill and what doors is it going to open for us?" The truth is that the kids in the streets are tired of being 'cool', of crumbs and tokens in the form of 'appointments' and 'anti-poverty' programs.

status quo

A Roxbury youth who had been involved in the "Boston Police Riot", as it was called in the black community, when

asked if he would help bring teenagers to the summer program that would provide jobs, said, "Hell, no. I'm going to try to pull kids out of the program. That's what I'm going to do." It wasn't the money -- "It's the Poverty Program", he said, "They're always promising you something and then pulling the rug out from under you before you get started. I don't want nothing to do with it. Let them give us the money and we'll set up our own program." Another Roxbury teenager said, "The only thing waiting for us is the draft. If we're going to fight we ought to have something to fight for." In Roxbury as in the other ghettos there is a deep frustration with the status quo and a yearning for serious change. "If things don't change, we'll be right back out there in the streets" was the prevailing feeling in Roxbury.

The young rebels know far better than all the anti-poverty bureaucrats, liberals, reformists and other middle class leaders who are trying to "cool things off" that the problems of unemployment, dead-end 'jive' jobs, rotten schools, miserable slums, trigger-happy cops and the promise of Vietnam are not going to be solved by the tokens and gimmicks offered by the ruling class and its political machines. The attempts of the establishment to enlist black youth as 'leaders' and even to put them on city payrolls as in Tampa in order to use their influence to cool things off cannot solve the basic problems. No amount of bull sessions organized to let youth blow off steam, or attempts to get cops to act "with

their heads instead of their guns", as Wilkins asks, will solve these basic questions.

It is the teenage rebels, not the cops, who must learn to act with their heads as well as their feet. The rebels are learning rapidly that all the means for significant peaceful change within the existing political framework are dead-end illusions. A program is needed. Bricks through windows and sniping at the cops inevitably lead to frustration and demoralization. The rebels, realizing that the system itself and not the actions of 'evil' people is what creates the living hell of the ghetto and the not-too-far-off hell of Vietnam, are looking for a program that can bring fundamental change. Those like Stokely Carmichael who speak for Black Power are putting their finger on the key question -- power. But will black control of the ghetto, as understandable a demand as it is, really change anything by itself? Stokely Carmichael says nothing about this. Last fall (BULLETIN, Oct. 10, 1966) we wrote:

"The problem is that you will have captured only your own misery. You will control schools but they will remain inferior as long as the ghetto is depressed. You may control the ghetto but it remains a ghetto. Negroes will remain unemployed. Those that work will have inferior jobs and have their wages taken from them through high prices.

"This is because of the very nature of power in capitalist society, and it is certainly power that we need. Power comes from only one source

-- from the productive forces, from the factories, plants and businesses which produce the material wealth of the country.

"While the ruling class rules through its ownership of the productive forces the masses of people are not powerless to struggle against the rulers. The power of the masses also lies precisely in their relation to production. Without workers, factories don't produce and the country stops. This is the real power that the Negro also has. The Negro can only liberate himself if he utilizes this fundamental power."

unity

Seen this way, the problem for the black youth is not only his problem. Similar hopelessness and frustration face Puerto Rican and other minority groups. Even the white youth who so often follow the racist poison are themselves the victims of the frustration of joblessness and poverty. The divisions and antagonisms amongst youth and within the working class as a whole are just what the bosses require. But they can only be overcome by the building of a conscious movement that poses the fundamental alternative of class power. Unity is the key, because the capitalists use these divisions to maintain their own rule. Imperialism follows the same strategy of divide and rule all over the world, from the Middle East to Southeast Asia to Africa. We must unite to defeat this imperialist strategy right here in the U.S.

While the ghetto rebellions sparked by the youth over the past few years are increasing

in intensity, the attacks by the corporations and the Johnson Administration

against the trade union movement are also intensifying. More and more workers in the trade unions face an open struggle with the government. They and the teenage rebels in the ghetto face a common enemy. The youth and the militant trade unionists must battle in a common front against the bosses. Both the youth and the trade unionists must break with the Democratic Party and fight for the organization of a labor party. That is the road to real power. The Workers League is the only organization fighting day in and day out for the development of a program which will unite black and white youth and adult workers in a serious fight against the system.

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