

**mao consolidates -- chrysler conflict  
sseu and blacks -- why prop 'p' failed**

 **Bulletin**

OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

Vol. 4, No. 6 - 72

NOV. 27, 1967

Ten Cents

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**INFLATION RAGES WHILE**

**MILLIONS JOIN  
UNEMPLOYED LINE**

**4 PAGE  
SUPPLEMENT:  
*The Lessons of  
October  
Revolution  
For Struggle  
Today***



## EDITORIAL

# ECONOMY IN CRISIS AS JOBS DISAPPEAR, PRICES SOAR

Talk of inflation and rising prices has filled the pages of almost every newspaper and magazine in the U.S. for many months. But, say the journalists, at least people are working. Then comes a report that is said to have startled and upset government economists: unemployment has risen for the second straight month to the highest point in two years! Unemployment has risen from the August level of 3.8% to the October rate of 4.3%. Yes, right now over two and one half million able-bodied men and women who are actively looking for work can't find a job!

## HIT

Hard hit by the unemployment are the Negroes. Joblessness among Negroes increased by over 100,000 in the month of September. But the hardest hit section of the working class are the young workers. Unemployment among teenagers rose during October from 13.8 to 15.1%.

During September and October there were 88,000 fewer jobs available, while there was an increase of 300,000 active job seekers! Most of these were youth. More and more there is no future for working class youth except the unemployment line at home or a bloody job in Vietnam. Even the miserable token 'anti-poverty' programs which offer next to nothing in the way of dead-end 'jobs' for youth are about to be scuttled by the businessmen's Congress.

## RISE

The rise in unemployment in a period of inflationary boom is a surprise to many 'experts' who are unable or unwilling to see that mighty American capitalism is shot through with contradiction and instability! All this talk of an 'overheated' economy cannot hide the fact that the rise in

unemployment is accompanied by an increased stagnation of industrial production and a decline in the rate of growth of personal income most pronounced in the working class. Inflation, yes -- there's plenty of that, but the effect of this inflation is not a boom in production and consumption but a depreciation of the dollar resulting from the budget deficit that the government needs to maintain the slaughter in Vietnam and the other overhead expenses of preserving capitalist interests abroad. All the workers get from this is higher prices and taxes.

For some time now, every American worker and housewife who has to try and make ends meet on a worker's budget has known that the cost of living has been climbing at a rate not seen since the days of World War II. The lowest income workers, particularly those who live in the glorious slums of the 'great society' are more painfully aware of this than anyone else. In dollars and cents terms, consumer prices have risen right along with the escalation of the Vietnam war, 6.2% during the period from September '65 to September '67. There has been no letup and it looks like consumer prices will rise even more sharply in the next year.

## SHORT

Government economists themselves predict that prices will rise by another 3.3% in 1968 and as much as 6% if Johnson's tax hike does not go through Congress. Either way, the workers come out on the short end while the billion dollar corporations and banks twist and turn trying to solve the crisis of the crumbling international capitalist system.

A hue and cry has gone up from one end of the ruling class establishment to the other: something must be done about this inflation which

is eating away at our profits and weakening the position of the dollar, etc., etc. They try harder to figure out a way to make the tax hike without losing votes for Congressmen--a problem to be sure.

Just as we can expect the continuation of the inflation in the next year, we can expect no improvement in the unemployment situation -- more and more technological unemployment resulting from automation and more and more young workers looking for fewer and fewer jobs.

The government is afraid to take those measures which might create more jobs for fear it will create a real runaway inflation and lead to the collapse of the international currency system and the possible devaluation of the dollar. On the other hand they are afraid to take too severe measures to check the inflation for fear it will create a major recession.

## BIND

The capitalist government of Johnson is caught in a bind. The only solution it sees is to attack the working class. It will cut the budget deficit, yes, but only by reducing spending for social services and the anti-poverty program. It will be more guns and less butter. The days of even the phony welfare state are numbered! The workers will be made to pay for the war in Vietnam and the other imperialist overhead expenses through the tax hike. And at every moment, the government of the Democrats and the Republicans will be scheming to develop legislation to 'curb' the power of the unions in order to reduce the capitalists costs of production.

## FIGHT

How can the workers fight back against the growth of unemployment, rising prices

and taxes and straight-jacketing of the trade unions that is planned? It is clear that they can't fight through either the Republicans or Democrats who are responsible for every single attack on the working class. Only a party organized and controlled by the workers themselves, a labor party can fight unemployment. The first step of the labor party against unemployment would be the

coming to the understanding that the Democratic and Republican parties are owned lock stock and barrel by the bosses. But this understanding can only change things if the workers use the power of their trade unions to organize a labor party to fight the bosses parties. This will not happen by everyone sitting around and waiting. The organization of a labor party



UNEMPLOYED LINE UP FOR JOBS IN DETROIT.

institution of the thirty hour week -- with no loss in take home pay -- share the work, with further reduction of the work week as productivity rises.

The labor party would also guarantee unemployment insurance at full trade union wages for the entire period of unemployment; nationalization under workers control of all businesses that claim bankruptcy as an excuse for unemployment; diversion of the vast funds now being spent on death and destruction in Vietnam for public works, thereby putting the unemployed to work at trade union wages.

The labor party will fight inflation by balancing the budget through an end to arms expenditures. The labor party will fight to insure that there is no loss in workers take home pay due to inflation-- it will fight for a national cost of living escalator clause.

## CHANGE

There is no end to what a labor party can do to benefit the workers in this country. More and more workers are

has to be fought for and campaigned for especially in the trade union movement but also among all workers, young and old, black and white.

## JOIN

The Workers League is the only organization in this country that is campaigning for the organization of the labor party. The Workers League is the only organization in this country which understands that without the creation of a labor party the working class will be stalemated and pushed back regardless of how militant its strike struggles.

We fight for this labor party against all the opposition of the union bureaucracy and the middle class 'left-wingers' who try to divert the workers toward futile solutions. Workers and youth who want to join us in this struggle should attend the meeting of the Trade Unionists for a Labor Party in New York at 243 E. 10th Street, Room 7, Sunday, Dec. 3 at 8pm.

## UAW Ranks Defy Reuther Machine

by Dan Fried

The conflict between U.S. auto workers and the Big Three which dragged on at Ford for more than five weeks has now spread to Chrysler where a series of wildcat walkouts have crippled production. Despite the signing of the agreement by the Reuther leadership, the Chrysler workers are defying the pleas of Reuther and his lieutenants to return to the job until local agreements are signed.

The Chrysler workers are making it clear that they consider an improvement in working conditions and the winning of grievances on the local plant level more important than the national contract which is patterned after the Ford agreement. They are tired of the supposedly

fat juicy agreements they sign every three years which are followed invariably by deteriorating conditions, increased speed-up, weakening of the union in the face of increased Company discipline in the plants.

## PICKET

The men are out on the picket line at a number of plants and a militant mood of struggle has developed. Under these conditions there will be a great deal of resistance to the national contract and could even prevent its being ratified, at least for a while. This is one of the reasons why Reuther is trying so hard to end the walkouts.

Reuther and Douglas Fraser, UAW head of the Chrysler division, really outdid them-

selves in getting striking Detroit truckers employed by Chrysler to return to work. Reuther showed that his sole interest was getting Chrysler production rolling again when he blustered at the truckers that 'we will not tolerate anarchy' from rebellious locals. This man is acting as a cop for the Big Three. How long can the auto workers afford to 'tolerate' Reuther--that is a question which must be dealt with.

## DEAL

At the same time Reuther is worried that the longer the Chrysler contract is not fully settled, the less room he will have to wheel and deal with General Motors and the more he will have to deal with a militant rank and file which wants a real showdown with GM. There is certain to be a strike at GM where the workers are demanding concessions which exist at Ford and Chrysler but have never been won at GM. GM is trying to stockpile cars in anticipation of the strike, and they have been scheduling

overtime. Workers have gone out in 'quickie' protests against overtime at a number of GM plants.

The workers are tired of being shoved around by GM and GM is not about to be soft. At the same time as the walkouts protesting overtime were taking place, a strike shut down the Flint, Mich. Chevrolet plant. This walkout involved a dispute over the company's disciplining of a union official. The lines are being drawn.

## UNREST

The unrest at Chrysler and the expected struggle at GM repeat the pattern of the fight at Ford and the struggles of previous years where the workers fight on the local level and are less and less enthusiastic about Reuther's so-called fat contracts. In every case they end up fighting despite Reuther or in some cases in opposition to him. And yet, they are sooner or later forced back to pretty much the same conditions with the companies calling the plays as before.

The auto workers clearly need new methods of fighting the Big Three. They first of all have to fight for the demands of the 30 hour week and 30 year retirement which Reuther opposed at the special convention. This will be a fight not only against Reuther but against the US government which will support the Big Three in opposition to these demands.

## PREPARE

There is no getting around it. Auto workers have to fight the government in order to fight the bosses. The ranks of the UAW must prepare for this fight now by beginning the organization of a labor party to fight for the shorter work week and for the nationalization of the Big three. Walter Reuther will think of a million reasons to oppose this program and to stand in the way of a labor party. The last thing he wants to do is fight the government. But auto workers have to learn that the power of the Big Three can be successfully opposed in no other way.



Bulletin of International Solidarity  
Editor - Tim Wohlforth  
Art Director - Marty Jonas  
Circulation - Susan Holman

Published bi-weekly by the Workers League which is in political solidarity with the International Committee of the Fourth International. Editorial office: Rm. 8, 243 E. 10 St., N.Y. 10003. Midwest office: Box 14002, Univ. Sta. Mpls. 55414. Western office: Box 1663, S.F. 94101.  
VOL. 4, NO. 6 (72) NOV. 27, 1967  
printer: entire, by union labor

# OCTOBER 1917-1967



SOME KEY LEADERS OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION (LEFT TO RIGHT): ZINOVIEV, LENIN, TROTSKY, SVERDLOV AND BUKHARIN.

## October Revolution - 50 Years Later

The living lessons of the 1917 October Revolution in Russia were presented at the 50 year 'commemoration' meeting held in New York on November 3 by the Workers League and the Young Workers League. Nearly 100 people attended the meeting and another 40 attended the showing of the film, "From Tsar to Lenin", the moving and authentic documentary of the Revolution.

This highly successful meeting followed by one week the meeting held in San Francisco, which was reported upon in the last issue of the BULLETIN. Both meetings reflected the struggles of the Workers League and the Young Workers League to reach the working class and youth. A large number of trade unionists and high school and college students, black as well as white were present.

The New York meeting was held in the face of police and rightist harassment. Leaflets advertising this meeting were taken everywhere, including the high schools, trade unions, and college campuses. The meeting was campaigned for, not publicized simply among middle class radicals in the fashion of groups like the Socialist Workers Party. The police raised the phony issue of permit requirements, and only after legal counsel intervened was the Workers League able to establish its right to hold the meeting.

### SPEECH

A summary of the major speech in defense of the October Revolution, given by Tim Wohlforth at both East and West Coast meetings, follows below:

We are meeting here today, not to celebrate in some abstract or nostalgic way, but to commemorate the October Revolution as it should be, by absorbing and understanding its lessons so that we can apply them today. These lessons have more meaning today and not less, more

meaning than ever before.

The first major lesson of the October Revolution is that the working class can win, it can take power in its own name and its own interests. The 1917 Revolution had a fantastic impact, in every country of the world, the United States included.

The working class had struggled before, of course. It had come into the streets in struggle in 1848, but these struggles ended in the consolidation of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in the major European countries. In 1791 the working class rose up in Paris and fought heroically. But the Paris Commune was quickly crushed.

In 1917, however, the workers were victorious. For the first time in the history of man, and not just the history of capitalism, the ordinary people, the vast majority of the population, took over the reins of power, in their own interests.

The Russian workers and peasants began a new epoch in world history. The working class came onto the stage of history and it changed the world. It stopped World War I. Whatever the immediate fate of the Revolution itself, the Russian workers and their Bolshevik leaders knew that things would never be the same again.

### LEADERSHIP

The Revolution was anything but a spontaneous uprising. History has shown that when the struggles of the workers remain on the level of spontaneity, when they lack leadership, they inevitably fail, and the workers are pushed back. Revolutionary leadership is an absolute prerequisite for victory.

An example from 1917 itself will show what this concept of leadership means, and how a leadership is built. In May of 1917 the Soviet in

St. Petersburg was meeting. At this time it was not fighting for workers' power. It was under the leadership of the Mensheviks and the Social-Revolutionaries, and it was actively collaborating with the bourgeoisie. In this period,



TIM WOHLFORTH SPEAKS ON OCTOBER'S LESSONS

thousands of workers would stand outside of the Soviet headquarters, waiting to hear its decisions. After making decisions the Soviet leadership went to report them and to convince the assembled workers of their correctness. What a contrast to the U.S. Congress, what a difference from the scene in Washington on October 21 when the anti-war demonstrators converged on Washington!

Here is the way the liberal bourgeois journalist Lincoln Steffens described the events at this time:

A mob in doubt would turn away, and leaving one crowd to stay and watch, the committee of hundreds would march off across the city, picking up crowds to go and stand in front of the palace of the Czar's mistress, where a man named Lenin, seeing them, would come out and speak. He spoke briefly, in a quiet tone of voice, so low that few could hear him. But, when he finished, those who had heard moved away; the mass closed up; the orator repeated his speech, and so for an hour or so the man named Lenin would deliver to the ever-changing masses his firm, short, quiet message. My interpreter repeated Lenin's manifold speech afterward, as follows:

Comrades, the revolution is on. The workers revolution is on, and you are not working. The



PART OF THE AUDIENCE OF 100 WHICH GATHERED TO HEAR TALK IN NEW YORK CITY.

1917

1967



# 'Working Class Can Win Only Under Lea



AUDIENCE DISCUSSES MEANING OF OCTOBER FOLLOWING SPEECH. ONE OF MANY BANNERS DECORATING HALL IS IN BACKGROUND.

workers and peasants revolution means work, comrades; it does not mean idleness and leisure. That is a bourgeois ideal. The workers revolution, a workers government means work, that we should all work; and here you are not working. You are only talking.

Oh, I can understand, how you, the people of Russia, having been suppressed so long, should want, now that you have won to power, to talk and to listen to orators. But some day, soon, you--we all-- must go to work and do things, act, produce results--food and socialism. And I can understand how you like and trust and put your hope in Kerenski. You want to give him time, a chance, to act. He means well, you say, he means socialism. But I warn you he will not make socialism. But, comrades--and here HE BEGAN TO BURN I tell you Kerenski is an intellectual; he cannot act; he cannot talk; he cannot act. But--quietly again--you will not believe this yet. You will take time to give him time, and meanwhile like Kerenski, you will not work. Very well, take your time. But--he flamed--when the hour strikes, when you are ready to go back to work yourselves and you want a government that will go to work and not only think socialism and talk socialism and mean socialism--when you want a government that will do socialism, then--come to the bolsheviks.

And they came, not in May, nor in July, but they came in October, because of the struggles of the Bolsheviks from February to October.

The Bolsheviks constantly posed the question of power, and the workers tested out all the other leaderships and in the course of the struggle saw the need to fight for power, to fight for a workers' state.

## LESSON

This leads us to the second lesson. Yes, the working class, as shown in 1917, can win, but it needs conscious revolutionary leadership. This is summed up by Leon Trotsky in a very important book he wrote, called the Lessons of October:

Events have proved that without a party capable of directing the proletarian revolution, the revolution itself is rendered impossible. The proletariat cannot seize power by a spontaneous uprising. Even in highly industrialized and highly cultured Germany the spontaneous uprising of the toilers--in November 1918--only succeeded in transferring power to the hands of the bourgeoisie. One propertied class because it is able to base itself on its riches, its cultural level, and its innumerable connections with the old state apparatus. But there is nothing else that can serve the proletariat for its own party.

Trotsky is explaining that in the change from one social system to another, in the transfer of power from one ruling class to another, this transfer can be made without a conscious party, if the new ruling class is a propertied class. The bourgeoisie was such a class, a new ruling class which developed and strengthened its economic power within the old feudal order. The

bourgeois revolutions which overthrew feudalism were violent revolutions, but they did not need a party, a conscious party. For the working class, on the other hand, the job is more difficult. The working class is propertyless. It can only become the ruling class by taking political power first and abolishing the old property system. For the capitalists political power could and did come later, after the consolidation of economic power. It is this difference which makes a conscious revolutionary party, a Marxist party, necessary for the working class to achieve power.

It is this very conception, the idea of a conscious leadership, which is today under attack. All revisionist tendencies, all those in the working class movement who reflect the pressure of the ruling class, seek to deny the need for a party or to whittle it away, to soften it.

James P. Cannon of the Socialist Workers Party, for instance, commemorates the October Revolution precisely by denying its lessons. This of course has happened before. The Soviet bureaucracy is the greatest expert on commemorating the revolution by betraying it in practice. It is this course which Cannon, after a lifetime of struggle, is now following.

In an article in a recent issue of the International Socialist Review, Cannon tells us that the working class can come to power in the backward countries with a "blunted instrument". It doesn't need a sharp tool, any old thing will do. I would not want this man for a surgeon,

## OCTOBER REVOLUTION IS THE HERITAGE OF ALL

(The following is the speech made by Melody Farrow representing the Young Worker at the recent October Revolution commemoration meeting in New York City.)

The Young Workers League fights in the traditions of the October Revolution. It is not a question, however, of merely sterile tradition or following a set of formulas. The October Revolution, despite the distortions of it by the Soviet bureaucracy, despite the lies and slander of the bourgeois press, is the heritage of all youth who fight against capitalism.

The lessons of this first socialist revolution must be understood by us precisely to take the struggle forward in the U.S.

Youth in capitalist society feel helpless and isolated before the power of the capitalist state. But we say that the Young Workers League has the power of the experience of the October Revolution behind it, we have the power of a truly international movement, the Fourth International which is growing in strength throughout the world. The Young Workers League is the only youth organization in the U.S. that fights for the ideas of October and fights to build for the American October.

But the question is what is the role of youth in this struggle and how must they struggle?

### STEP

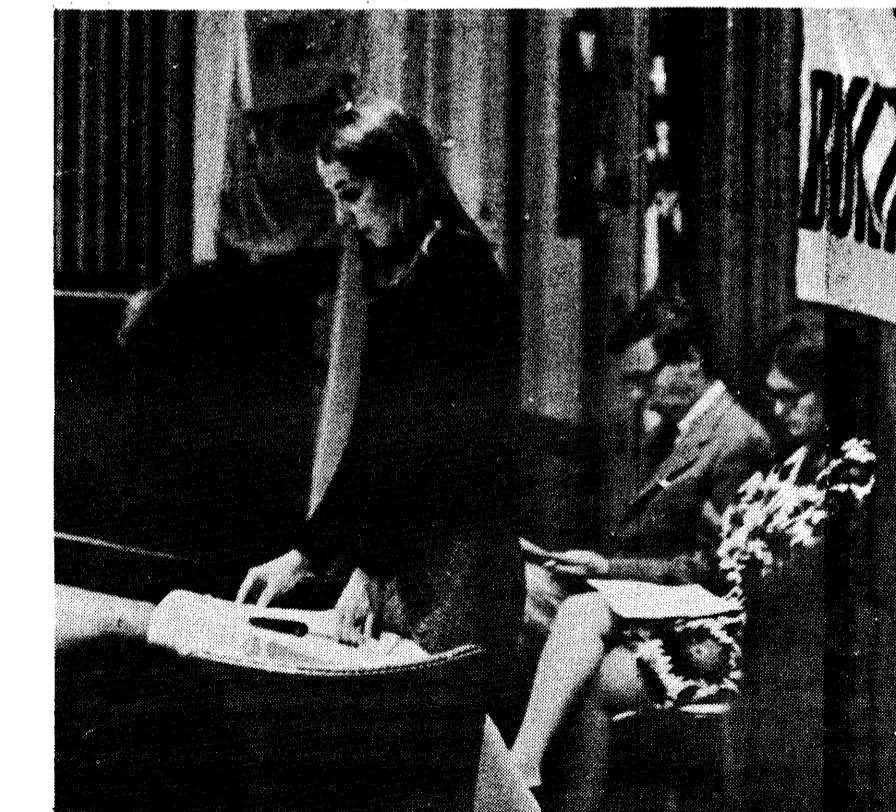
The first step is the building of a revolutionary socialist youth movement in this country. This is the task of the Young Workers League. All the exploitation and oppression of capitalism bear down on the working class youth; imperialist war and the draft, racism, unemployment and poverty. Youth have shown again and again their determination to

fight back against the complete rotteness and decay of the system. But they cannot fight as individuals nor simply through spontaneous rebellions.

The power of the capitalist state is very great, it is economic and political power. We can only defeat it by uniting all the youth, Black, white, Puerto Rican, etc., into one highly disciplined organization that offers a real perspective, a program of struggle. We are not interested in building a middle class talk shop or indulging in symbolic protest. Those are the politics of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance. These people would have us believe that endless marches and burning draft cards can stop imperialism. We reject the policy of pressuring the ruling class and rely only on the power of the working class to overthrow capitalism.

### UNITY

But we do not tell the youth that they alone will defeat capitalism. The heart of our program is the unity of young students and workers with the entire working class in a common struggle for a Labor Party and for political power. We



MELODY FARROW SPEAKS ON MEANING OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

must break down the barriers that the capitalists create to divide the working class, Black from white, young from old. The struggles of the youth will meet with defeat after defeat if they are not linked to the struggles of the labor movement. This and this alone represents power for the youth.

We reject the pessimism and cynicism of the intellectual who sees no role for the working class. Our program is not based on wishful thinking but on an objective analysis of the historical mission of this class, which was confirmed so powerfully in the October Revolution 50 years ago.

**ON OCTOBER**

**IN DEFENCE OF OCTOBER**

by Leon Trotsky  
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**LENIN**

by Gregory Zinoviev  
60 Cents

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# Leadership of Conscious Marxist Party'

were he to approach a serious operation as he approaches the deepening crisis of capitalism.

History teaches us the opposite of what Cannon now says. We need only look at the backward countries to prove this, to prove that a sharp instrument, a conscious party, is required everywhere. A million workers and peasants were slaughtered in Indonesia because they had only a blunted instrument, the Indonesian Communist Party. In Algeria, blunted instrument Ben Bella, the darling of the SWP and similar trends, was overthrown by his own army within 24 hours, without a single demonstration, without a trace of a struggle. We could go on and on. In Ghana, in Egypt, in Iraq, and elsewhere, the blunted instruments have brought defeat after defeat.

## CHE

The latest news from Bolivia is the freshest example. The sacrifice of Che Guevara was a futile sacrifice, because he sought to create only the bluntest of blunt instruments, a guerilla army without a party. The peasant struggle was completely separated from the workers. Is the Bolivian working class, soft, privileged perhaps? Is it, even in outward appearance, conservative and non-revolutionary? The Bolivian tin miners have been in armed insurrection for 15 years! Over 30 leaders of the Bolivian workers are now slowly dying in concentration camps, because they led the workers in struggle! But Che Guevara was not interested in linking up with these struggles. He ignored the working class. Thus he was isolated and could easily be cut off and destroyed by the agents of imperialism. The lesson of Bolivia is that we need the sharp instrument of Lenin, not the blunt instrument of Castro.

Indeed, Cannon must think of the U.S. as a backward country, for his party, the SWP, is another very blunt instrument.

## CONSCIOUSNESS

The third lesson of the October Revolution is the most difficult, the biggest test of all for revolutionists. Yes, the working class can win; yes, it needs a conscious Marxist party, but what is this party? How do you build it, what is its program?

A party must have content, not simply abstract form. It is an organization, it must have content, it must have a program. Form cannot exist without content. Cannon sees only the form, the abstract lifeless idea of the vanguard party, a form without content.

The early American Communists, like Cannon, saw only the form. Since they understood that the American workers needed a vanguard party, they simply proceeded to organize one, to organize for the seizure of power. They issued ultra-left leaflets all over the country, in Kalamazoo,

in Oshkosh, in Paterson, New Jersey, in New York and elsewhere, everywhere saying to the workers, "Insurrect!, Seize Power!" Needless to say, the workers didn't listen.

## METHOD

What the early Communists didn't understand was the content of the Bolshevik Party, its method. Their ultra-leftism and Cannon's current opportunism are based on a common method, a refusal to unite ideas and reality, form and content. It is not merely that the Bolshevik party existed and that it was a vanguard party. Its history had to be understood. That was the only way to understand and apply the Bolshevik victory.

The history of the Bolshevik Party was essentially the struggle to develop a transitional program of struggle for the Russian working class. The Bolsheviks forged links with the class, they led it in struggle, they posed the question of power in the struggles of the class, related to these struggles.

Around the turn of the 20th century, the Russian workers moved into struggle. The Social-Democrats found themselves in the leadership of the workers, and a section adapted to these struggles.

These people, the economist tendency in the Russian Social-Democracy, became very much like the community organizers of today, the movement people, the leaders of SDS and SNCC. They adapted to the struggles as they were, instead of seeking to lead them forward. They refused to connect the economic struggles of the workers to political struggle.

Lenin fought this, as expressed especially in the pamphlet What Is To Be Done? He said that we must raise the question of power in every struggle. We must fight on every question, on all demands, even the smallest demands of the workers, but we must relate all these to the fight for political power.

Marx and Engels expressed the same conception, the dialectical understanding of the class struggle. They said that the communists had to represent the movement of the future within the movement of the present. It was not enough to talk about the future, it had to be connected to present struggles. Communists were distinguished by their ability to fight for the future by posing it as a genuine alternative in struggle.

This is exactly what Lenin and the Bolshe-



ONE OF THE BUSIEST CORNERS OF THE HALL WAS THE LITERATURE TABLE

# ALL YOUTH WHO FIGHT AGAINST CAPITALISM



EVOLUTION FOR YOUTH TODAY.

We must prepare and train the youth now to take the lead in the struggles of the working class precisely because of the militancy and spirit of the youth. The Young Workers League battles for the Labor Party because only this party will take the struggles of the youth forward.

The Young Workers League must take the lead in the fight against the Vietnam War and against unemployment, two of the central questions facing working class youth. While billions and billions of dollars are poured into crushing the Vietnamese Revolution not a penny is spent here for decent jobs, schools or housing. We demand that jobs be given to the youth through a massive public works system, and that full job training programs with apprenticeships be available to the youth. Youth must fight for 30 for 40 so that jobs for all are created, so that the barriers between the youth and the labor movement are broken through. At the same time we make absolutely no concessions to the ruling class on the question of Vietnam. In the last demonstration in Washington we were the only organization to march under the slogan of Victory to the Vietcong and Defeat of US Imperialism.

## INTERNATIONAL

Last summer the Workers League and the Young Workers League attended the International Youth Assembly held in England. This Assembly was attended by 800 youth from 11 different coun-

tries. The international spirit of the October Revolution is fought for today by the young cadres of the Fourth International.

The international socialist movement took a historic step forward at this Assembly. It was the first time since the founding of the Fourth International in 1938 that such an international gathering of youth had been held. The purpose was not to have nice discussions or 'get to know' youth from other countries but to build on each other's experiences in hammering out a program of struggle for youth all over the world. It is these 800 youth who represent the future leadership of the Fourth International. A new generation is on the move, a generation which has not known the betrayals of the Stalinists but which will learn from these betrayals and build a new leadership for the international working class.

The Youth Assembly was only the first step. The next step is to go forward to the International Conference of Youth in 1968. We must build for this Conference as tirelessly as we did for the Youth Assembly because the Young Workers League cannot

advance without seeing itself as an integral part of this international movement. In fact the YWL would not be struggling today if it did not strongly rely on the experiences of this movement.

## WORKER

On our return from this Assembly we were able to begin publication of our newspaper, the Young Worker. This paper is our essential weapon in building the Young Workers League. The Young Workers fights on behalf of all the

youth and gives leadership to their struggles. It is only paper in the U.S. that is posing a real alternative to working class youth. In the coming year we will fight to build the sales and subscriptions of the paper by selling it at the high schools and job centers. We know we are small in number today but this does not frighten us. We will go forward in the coming period because we base ourselves on the program of October, the program of the socialist revolution.

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# Can Win Only Under Leadership of Conscio



...SPEECH. ONE OF MANY BANNERS DECORATING HALL IS IN BACKGROUND.

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### LESSON

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... It is this very conception, the idea of a conscious... leadership, which is today under attack. All... revisionist tendencies, all those in the working... class movement who reflect the pressure of the... ruling class, seek to deny the need for a party... or to whittle it away, to soften it.

... James P. Cannon of the Socialist Workers... Party, for instance, commemorates the October... Revolution precisely by denying its lessons. This... of course has happened before. The Soviet bu-... reaucracy is the greatest expert on commemorat-... ing the revolution by betraying it in practice. ... It is this course which Cannon, after a lifetime... of struggle, is now following.

... In an article in a recent issue of the Inter-... national Socialist Review, Cannon tells us that... the working class can come to power in the... backward countries with a "blunted instrument". ... It doesn't need a sharp tool, any old thing will... do. I would not want this man for a surgeon,

... were he to approach a serious operation as he... approaches the deepening crisis of capitalism.

... History teaches us the opposite of what Cannon... now says. We need only look at the backward... countries to prove this, to prove that a sharp... instrument, a conscious party, is required every-... where. A million workers and peasants were... slaughtered in Indonesia because they had only... a blunted instrument, the Indonesian Communist... Party. In Algeria, blunted instrument Ben Bella, ... the darling of the SWP and similar trends, was... overthrown by his own army within 24 hours, ... without a single demonstration, without a trace... of a struggle. We could go on and on. In Ghana, ... in Egypt, in Iraq, and elsewhere, the blunted instru-... ments have brought defeat after defeat.

### CHE

... The latest news from Bolivia is the freshest... example. The sacrifice of Che Guevara was a... futile sacrifice, because he sought to create only... the bluntest of blunt instruments, a guerilla army... without a party. The peasant struggle was com-... pletely separated from the workers. Is the... Bolivian working class, soft, privileged perhaps?... Is it, even in outward appearance, conservative... and non-revolutionary? The Bolivian tin miners... have been in armed insurrection for 15 years! ... Over 30 leaders of the Bolivian workers are now... slowly dying in concentration camps, because... they led the workers in struggle! But Che Gue-... vara was not interested in linking up with these... struggles. He ignored the working class. Thus... he was isolated and could easily be cut off and... destroyed by the agents of imperialism. The les-... son of Bolivia is that we need the sharp instru-... ment of Lenin, not the blunt instrument of Castro.

... Indeed, Cannon must think of the U.S. as a... backward country, for his party, the SWP, is... another very blunt instrument.

### CONSCIOUSNESS

... The third lesson of the October Revolution is... the most difficult, the biggest test of all for... revolutionists. Yes, the working class can win;... yes, it needs a conscious Marxist party, but... what is this party? How do you build it, what is... its program?

... A party must have content, not simply abstract... form. It is an organization, it must have content, ... it must have a program. Form cannot exist without... content. Cannon sees only the form, the abstract... lifeless idea of the vanguard party, a form without... content.

... The early American Communists, like Cannon, ... saw only the form. Since they understood that the... American workers needed a vanguard party, they... simply proceeded to organize one, to organize... for the seizure of power. They issued ultra-... left leaflets all over the country, in Kalamazoo,

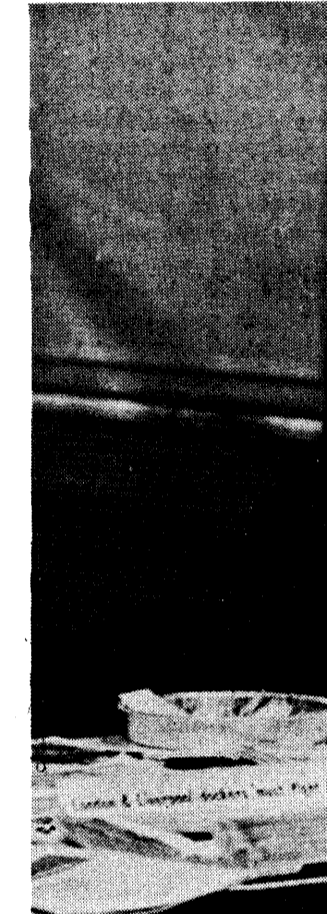
... in Oshkosh, in Paterson... York and elsewhere, eve... workers, "Insurrect!, Se... to say, the workers didn't

### METH

... What the early Commu... was the content of the Bols... Their ultra-leftism and C... tunism are based on a... fusal to unite ideas and... tent. It is not merely... existed and that it was... history had to be underst... way to understand and app

... The history of the Bol... tially the struggle to dev... gram of struggle for the... The Bolsheviks forged lin... led it in struggle, they pos... in the struggles of the... struggles.

... Around the turn of the 2... workers moved into strug... crats found themselves... workers, and a section ad



... ONE OF THE P

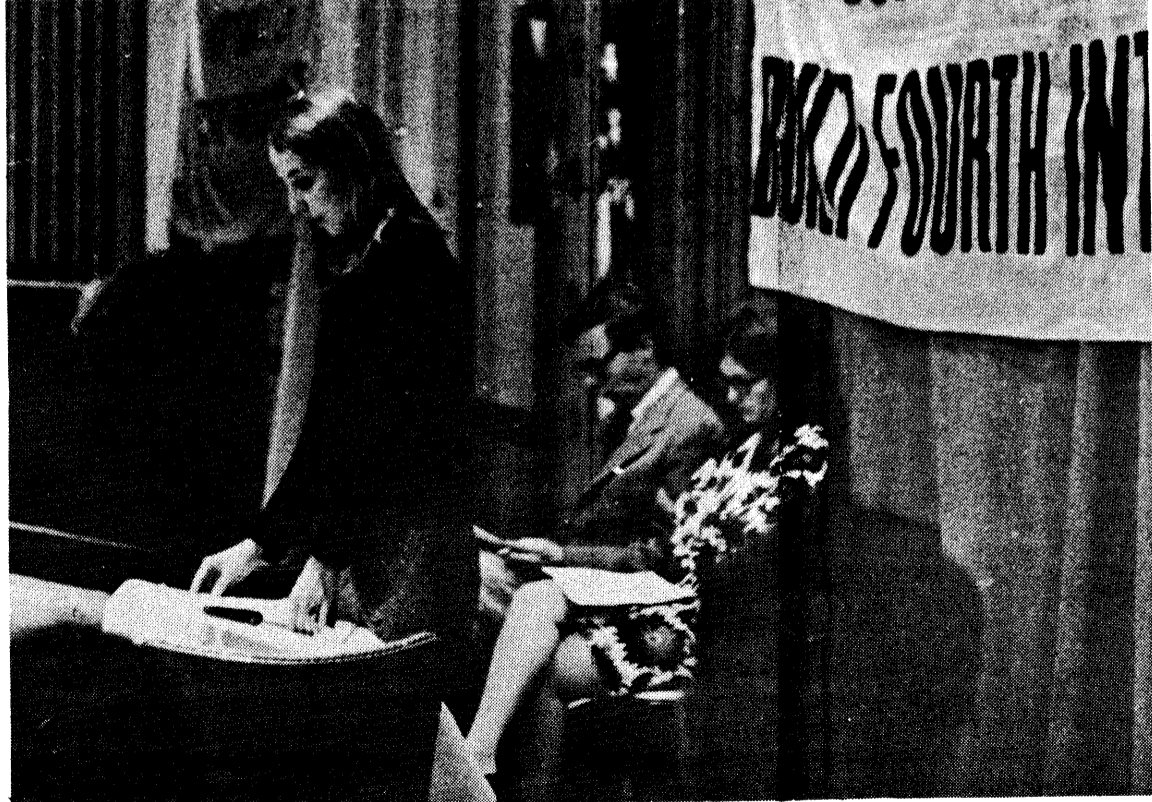
# ION IS THE HERITAGE OF ALL YOUTH WHO FIGHT

... back against the com-... rottenness and decay... e system. But they can-... fight as individuals nor... ly through spontaneous... litions.

... the power of the capitalist... is very great, it is ec-... nic and political power... can only defeat it by uniting... the youth, Black, white, ... rto Rican, etc., into one... ly disciplined organization... offers a real perspective, ... program of struggle. We... not interested in building... middle class talk shop or... lging in symbolic protest... se are the politics of the... alist Workers Party and... Young Socialist Alliance... ue people would have us... ve that endless marches... burning draft cards can... imperialism. We reject... policy of pressuring the... ng class and rely only on... power of the working class... overthrow capitalism.

### UNITY

... t we do not tell the youth... they alone will defeat cap-... m. The heart of our... ram is the unity of young... nts and workers with the... e working class in a com-... struggle for a Labor Party... for political power. We



... MELODY FARROW SPEAKS ON MEANING OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION FOR YOUTH TODAY.

... must break down the barriers... that the capitalists create to... divide the working class, Black... from white, young from old. ... The struggles of the youth will... meet with defeat after defeat... if they are not linked to the... struggles of the labor move-... ment. This and this alone... represents power for the youth.

... We reject the pessimism... and cynicism of the intellectual... who sees no role for the work-... ing class. Our program is... not based on wishful thinking... but on an objective analysis... of the historical mission of... this class, which was confirm-... ed so powerfully in the Octo-... ber Revolution 50 years ago.

... We must prepare and train the... youth now to take the lead in... the struggles of the working... class precisely because of the... militancy and spirit of the... youth. The Young Workers... League battles for the Labor... Party because only this party... will take the struggles of the... youth forward.

... The Young Workers League... must take the lead in the... fight against the Vietnam War... and against unemployment, ... two of the central questions... facing working class youth. ... While billions and billions of... dollars are poured into crush-... ing the Vietnamese Revolution... not a penny is spent here for... decent jobs, schools or hous-... ing. We demand that jobs be... given to the youth through a... massive public works system, ... and that full job training pro-... grams with apprenticeships be... available to the youth. Youth... must fight for 30 for 40 so... that jobs for all are created, so... that the barriers between the... youth and the labor movement... are broken through. At the... same time we make absolutely... no concessions to the ruling... class on the question of Viet-... nam. In the last demonstra-... tion in Washington we were... the only organization to march... under the slogan of Victory... to the Vietcong and Defeat of... US Imperialism.

### INTERNATIONAL

... Last summer the Workers... League and the Young Wor-... kers League attended the In-... ternational Youth Assembly... held in England. This As-... sembly was attended by 800... youth from 11 different coun-

... tries. The int... of the Octobe... fought for too... cadres of th... national.

... The intern... movement too... forward at th... was the first... founding of th... tional in 193... international... youth had b... purpose was... discussions... youth from... but to build... experiences... a program... youth all ove... is these 800... present the... of the Four... A new gene... move, a gene... not known... the Stalinist... learn from... and build a... for the inter... class.

... The Youth... only the first... step is to g... International... Youth in 1968... for this Con... lessly as we... uth Assembly... ung Workers

# 'Join WL; Fight For Labor Party Now'

viks did between the February and October Revolutions in 1917. This is exactly what Lenin was saying when he spoke to the workers as Steffens described.

## TODAY

Our task today is essentially the same. Of course we are not in the midst of a revolution, we are not at October 1917, we are not even at the level corresponding to the February Revolution. We are fighting in a period somewhat before that. The potential of the working class is strong, but its consciousness is weak.

World capitalism is in deep crisis. That is why, in England, the working class elects a Labor government, and this government turns on the workers, forcing the workers to struggle against it. It is not Wilson's wishes which matter. There are only two alternatives before him. Wilson must either make the workers pay or make the bosses pay. To make the capitalists pay for their crisis means taking Lenin's road, so of course Wilson makes the workers pay. And thus the working class must develop a new leadership by fighting Wilson and all he stands for.

Here in the U.S. there are tremendous struggles. The capitalists are clearly worried. But what is happening to these struggles now?

The result of all the ghetto uprisings is that the Negro masses are pushed back, they are beaten down by the National Guard and Federal troops. For the ghetto masses conditions are worse than they were a few years ago.

The wave of strikes continues all over the country. No sooner does the strike at Ford end than a strike at GM become likely. We have seen a massive NY teachers strike, a very important rail strike, a continuing copper strike,

and so forth. Even in the best of strike settlements, however, the working class gets a shrinking part of what it produces. Working conditions in particular have been worsening, as the capitalists seek through this means as well as through inflation and new taxes to deal with their crisis.

## 100,000 WEAK

What about the peace demonstrations? Thousands and thousands march, 100,000 marched just a few weeks ago in Washington, and not a single thing is gained. Johnson responds, as he always does, with new escalation. Now he bombs Hanoi.

Of course there is nothing wrong in principle with the idea of 'seizing the Pentagon', of 'stopping the war machine'. But do we set out to do these things when we are outnumbered, do we try them as childish, futile gestures, or as serious weapons of struggle? As far as the present peace movement is concerned, the answer is obvious. The leadership of the peace movement, and the Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party in particular, prepares disaster, prepares individual demoralization. They refuse to lead, and futile and meaningless and harmful actions are the result, as in Washington on Oct. 21.

## LINK

The lesson of all these separate struggles is that they must be linked together through the struggle for power if they are going to accomplish anything. Of course we can accomplish things short of the conquest of power, but only if we begin from the struggle for power. As long as the capitalists rule the workers will be exploited, the Negro masses will be enslaved, war will continue. There must be a real fight for power within the struggles of today.

As long as the unions fight only on the econo-

mic level, the best result is a stalemate. Of course without the power of the unions the workers would be helpless. But until the fight for a labor party begins no real gains can be made. The only meaningful struggle today, the only fight that gives all else meaning, is the fight for the labor party, a party which will unite the workers, the unionists, the Negroes and other minorities, and the youth.

We are not going to have a labor party overnight. Nor are we going to have a revolution overnight. That is not the issue. We must begin the fight now. That is the reality of the crisis today, not a matter of anyone's ideal wishes or plans.

## FUTURE

Congress passed a special law to stop the rail strike. This is a glimpse of the fight from now on. When the workers struggle on the economic front, the bosses club them back on the political front. The only solution is to club them back again with our own political club, the labor party.

Look at this decaying system, the filth and poverty alongside the technology and technique to provide abundance for all. Look at the way the imperialists rape Vietnam when we have the potential to provide plenty for all in the U.S. and around the globe. This is what capitalism means today; we must overthrow this system.

Only the Workers League is battling for the political club the workers require, for the labor party and for a conscious leadership. Only the Workers League has taken this fight to the youth, to the unions. Only the Workers League sees this as an international struggle. Join us in this struggle.

FIGHT FOR A LABOR PARTY IN THE U.S.!  
LONG LIVE THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!  
FORWARD TO THE WORLD SOCIALIST REVOLUTION!



1,400 YOUNG WORKERS AND TRADE UNIONISTS PACKED ST. PANCRAS HALL IN LONDON TO HEAR SPEECHES ON OCTOBER REVOLUTION.

## Russian Revolution-- an Appreciation

by Cliff Slaughter

(As part of an international celebration of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution organized by the International Committee of the Fourth International some 1600 people visited an exhibition presented by the Socialist Labour League in London. This included a 250 foot long frieze designed and painted by the Young Socialists depicting revolutionary struggle from 1789 to today, a photographic display, reproductions of Bolshevik posters, a competition of paintings posters, poetry and sculptures, and a film show. Following the exhibition 1400 people attended a meeting. The following is the speech given at the meeting by Cliff Slaughter, Secretary of the International Committee.)

The October Revolution of 1917 in Russia was the first great victory of the international working class. For the first time political power was placed firmly in the hands of the working class and kept by them.

It was conclusively proved that the state power of the capitalist class can be broken and that the workers can rule and organize the building of a new society.

Only eight months before the October insurrection, an-

other revolution took place in Russia. A mass movement overthrew the most hated and brutal autocracy in the world-Tsarism.

The Tsars had ruled with the lash, with exile, with torture and execution. Revolutionary socialists were forced to carry out their work, all their lives and right up to 1917, from emigration in isolated political circles.

The Tsarist empire was known as 'the prison house of nations'. Every reactionary in Europe leaned on the great policeman to the East. The workers in Russia seemed surrounded by an ocean of rural poverty and backwardness.

And so the February Revolution, the setting up of a Provisional government and the springing up of the Workers' Councils (Soviets), created an impression of liberation, of a great historical step forward.

Socialists in Russia, including the majority leadership of the Bolshevik Party, were swamped by this feeling and they called for 'conditional support' for the new government.

And yet by October the workers had overthrown this government and established their own rule. In that change

are to be found the most valuable lessons in the history of the international workers' movement. It is these lessons which we have to learn in commemorating the Russian Revolution and preparing the English Revolution.

The essential element was the Marxist leadership of Lenin and the Bolsheviks. When Lenin stepped off the sealed train at the Finland Station in Petrograd he shocked the audience which turned up to greet him.

Instead of welcoming the dawn of a new era after February he said: 'Forward to the world socialist revolution! Down with the Provisional government!'

Most of his comrades, at that time, took the existence of the Soviets, workers' organizations, as the guarantee of a new democratic development.

Lenin saw this 'democratic' breathing space as a situation of 'dual power', forced by the strength of the working class, and as a priceless opportunity for proletarian revolution.

If it was missed, the counter-revolution would triumph because of the reactionary character of the bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie. And so he launched the struggle: 'All Power to the Soviets!'

which meant the bid for Bolshevik leadership in the Soviets.

Trotsky joined the Bolsheviks in the middle of 1917 and, as Lenin said, 'from that time there was no better Bolshevik'

Their leadership guided the alliance with the peasant and soldier masses which gave living strength and power to the slogan 'Peace, Bread and Land.'

The intransigence of Bolshevism took workers and peasants through experiences which proved to them that these basic questions could be resolved only by a workers' revolution.

It is this type of leadership, centralism, and discipline, steered in a thousand struggles, fighting for Marxism against all its enemies, which prepares for revolutionary struggles in Britain and all over the world through the Fourth International.

Those in the Stalinist parties who talk of peaceful and parliamentary roads to socialism are only carrying forward the betrayals of Stalin. Stalin's faction in the 1920's sacrificed the revolutionary and international interests of the Russian workers to the 'peaceful' enjoyment of privilege by the bureaucratic

power.

Only Trotskyism today, basing itself on Lenin's fight and on Trotsky's continuation of it in the Left Opposition, continues the traditions of the Russian Revolution.

Our preparation for workers' revolutions, social revolutions, in every capitalist country, is indissolubly linked with the political revolution of the workers of Russia and Eastern Europe to settle accounts with the bureaucracy.

We have always based ourselves on the defence of the conquests of the October Revolution, the nationalized property in Russia, Eastern Europe and China.

Against imperialist attack we defend these unconditionally.

But we defend the gains also against the Stalinist bureaucracy, whose betrayal of the revolution in every country, not only Russia, endangers these conquests.

\* Long live the heroic workers of Russia!

\* Long live October Revolution!

\* Long live the traditions of Lenin and Trotsky and the Bolsheviks!

\* Long live the Fourth International!

\* Forward to the world socialist revolution!



# Why Proposition P Failed

by Jeff Sebastian

SAN FRANCISCO-World capitalism is faced with a crisis unparalleled in intensity since the end of the Second World War. Well aware that the continued payments imbalances, the sharp decline in profits and the slowdown in the rate of world economic expansion are clear warnings of impending economic crisis, the capitalists are desperately seeking to buy time to stave it off. The U.S. is at the center of this crisis. Every policy of U.S. imperialism must be examined within this context.

The U.S. cannot even hope to deal with this crisis if at the same time it is faced with mounting resistance and deepening class struggle at home. The brutal ghetto interventions, the use of troops against peace protesters are part of a preparation to throw the gains in organization and living standards of the entire American working class back by decades. This is what is on the agenda whether or not the capitalists really want it. Their profits and their system come first. The needs of the working class figure in all of this not at all except insofar as it will present them with problems.

What is Johnson's program? It is not very hard to discover. One need only understand what the bosses need because that is precisely what he will do. Split the working class by terrorizing the blacks and attempting to tell the workers that this is in their interests. Force the workers and the youth at each others throats by a policy of unemployment. Attack living standards through inflation, speed-up and deteriorating working conditions by utilizing every resource in the press, radio and television to appeal to every backward anti-working class sentiment in the name of the national (read 'bosses') interest. Unite all this with a pliant instrument with which to solve their crisis.

## DICTATORSHIP

None of this can be accomplished by any individual boss. They are too weak and have to join hands to accomplish it. They do this through the state. The government belongs to them. Through it they exercise their two party tyranny. Through the state they exercise their dictatorship. Yes, that's right, the dictatorship of the bosses. The banks control the economy through their instrument, The Federal Reserve Board. The representatives of business sit on the board of presidential advisors. Every institution, every bureaucracy is manned by their representatives and lackeys. The working class has not one whit to say about this and everytime it fights back every instrument of that vast apparatus is mobilized to throw it back.

It is only if we grasp these things that we can understand the recent San Francisco elections and the criminal role played by the revisionists in betraying the working class. The election campaign shows clearly the intense crisis into which the middle class has been thrown by the crisis of capitalism and the way the revisionists act to spread confusion and demoralization. These people are so confused, so removed from any

class point of view that in this period all they are capable of doing is running about yelling and shouting while spending tens of thousands of dollars and mobilizing hundreds of people in campaigns that do no more than arm the working class with a scrap of paper and a flower.

## PROP P

The key issue in the elections as seen by such groups as the C.P., the SWP and their middle class supporters was the question of Proposition P. A resolution on the ballot calling for a ceasefire and a withdrawal of troops. For months these groups waged a highly moral campaign to win the voters to endorse their resolution. Even if one thought the wording too strong this was a way to show opposition to the war, we were told. The SWP devoted its entire mayoralty campaign to this question. It was joined in this great battle for P by assorted sections of the Democratic Party and even one Democratic mayoralty candidate, Morrison.

It must be made clear that this referendum would have absolutely no effect on government policy. At a time when peace demonstrations are being clubbed down by Oakland cops and answered with troops in Washington these people can think of nothing else to do but hide their heads in the sand and campaign for a measure guaranteed to accomplish nothing. At a time when the working class is threatened by great crisis they engage in meaningless propaganda gestures. They urge that great energy be devoted to delivering an absolutely ineffective blow.

What a spectacle! The SWP campaigning to obscure the class struggle and endear itself to the reformists. The CP campaigning in its press and public activity to channel support into the Democratic Party around Morrison because he is for "peace." Behind them an army of pacifists and assorted do-gooders all out to save their souls by expressing their individual horror of war. Only the Workers League has fought to show the absolute impotence of these gestures. We are opposed to them because they obscure the real issue that only a class political alternative can have any meaning in this period.

Because we oppose misleading the working class, we are attacked as sectarians by another group of miserable middle class propagandists, The Spartacist informs us in a leaflet that by refusing support to the SWP we are dealing a blow against the fore-runners of the labor party. To think that such impotence could possibly pose any alternative to the class is only to reveal their own bankruptcy. They have nothing to say to the workers and hope that others can do it for them.

One other group remains to be looked at. That assortment of petty bourgeois radicals grouped around PL. This so-called revolutionary party does not forget the class struggle. They do what amounts to the same thing. They idealize it and make of the working class something it is not. Workers are not in need of political leadership. No, for the working class P.L. has a program of immediate demands and struggle

for bread and butter issues. PL campaigned for rent control, immediate withdrawal and supported proposition P. Where the SWP goes to the middle class because the working class won't fight, PL goes off to the working class and what do they bring it? You guessed it, a petition for rent control. While extolling the virtues of the working class these people do little in practice but adapt to modes on campus. A recent edition of Spark informs us that at a recent seminar on campus some of their bright young intellectuals discovered that in this period it may be more important to win over campus elements before going to the working class. We are certain that the workers will be very patient.

## BLOW

The results of the elections were a terrible blow to the expectations of all these groups.

SWP went down to a smashing defeat obtaining less than 400 votes. One of their leaders boasted before the election that they had 600 people out campaigning for Proposition P. It doesn't appear to have done them much good. The entire affair is a demoralizing blow who look to this sort of thing for an alternative. They will only come away more deeply convinced than ever of the hopelessness of it all. Having decided that the workers cannot do anything they proceed to conduct a campaign designed to prove this to themselves.

We are concerned with every one of these groups because they represent trends in the working class movement. In a period of class struggle they will seek to infect the class with their ideas and lead important struggles into blind alleys. These groups are the bitter enemies of our party. If they are not swept aside by the working class they can prove to be the indispensable allies of the capitalists as they have done many times in the past.

The Workers League does not start from this or that episodic struggle or mood of the class. We do not simply react to the crisis of the middle class but seek to understand it within the context of the crisis facing the working class. We start by understanding that without our leadership the class cannot achieve consciousness of its tasks. Because the question of power is raised in this period by the capitalist crisis we raise that question to the class by fighting to build a labor party. We take this demand to every section of the class and show how all their problems and struggles can only find a solution within the struggle for power. We are campaigning to build allies which will bring together trade unionists, youth and black militants around this struggle for power. By fighting in this way to unite the class with a program for political power our party can pose to the class the essential identity of all struggles. By bringing workers together for such a purpose we pose in this period what no other group is able to pose. The power of the working class beginning to act as a class for itself. Thus in embryonic form we are battling to place before the class its

# MAO PUTS LID ON CULTURAL REVOLUTION

The Chinese bureaucracy has just celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the October Revolution by proclaiming Chairman Mao as "the Lenin of our time." And Chairman Mao has proclaimed the Cultural Revolution as culminating in a "big victory." That is, the Cultural Revolution is over and the great job it set out to do is done. The accomplishment then, must be one of Leninist proportions--Is it?

The Cultural Revolution and its spearhead, the Red Guard movement set out to topple those taking the "capitalist" road. Struggles deepened against the bureaucrats, broadening to include more than just the obvious excessive ones. The factional battles grew more fundamental and more bloody.

But the leadership of the fight against the excesses of the bureaucracy was entrusted to the very men who could never carry the fight to its

conclusion. For the political revolution to come to China it must come under Marxist leadership--clear, conscious revolutionary leadership--not under the leadership of a section of the bureaucracy.

## RETREAT

What is the great "victory" then, that Mao proclaims? Reports come in of first this bureaucrat, then that one--only recently paraded around in deserved duncecaps--appearing again at jobs in the state apparatus--often under new titles. Chen Yi--denounced as a revisionist--is back at his old job as Foreign Minister. Friendly trade resumes with Ceylon and Hong Kong; more enemies rehabilitated. Leftwing sections of the Red Guards who have noticed this cooling of the Cultural Revolution and the coming to terms with old enemies are shouting "betrayal!" and "more revolution!" These sections are now being fingered by the Maoists as the new

enemies.

Mao and his circle started the fight but Mao could not finish it. A section of the bureaucracy for reasons of its survival was bound up with the international class struggle and the defense of the Chinese Revolution against imperialism and its collaborators, the battle could not help but bring in those masses who were for the defense of the Revolution.

What Mao posed was political revolution -- for that is what cleaning out the bureaucrats and 'those taking the capitalist road' must mean; but still tied to Stalinism he must of necessity stop the struggle short of the fundamental change. The immediate threat to his survival is over -- Liu and the right wing are disarmed and in tow.

But though Mao may proclaim 'victory' and an end to the Cultural Revolution, the Red Guards are far from finished. 'Things will never be the same again. The party has

asked us to criticize our leaders and to look into the functioning of our institutions. We will never renounce this right.' A Red Guard said that to French journalist K.S. Karol last year and many are still criticizing and still looking so deeply that they are in real danger of being purged. The official orders are out to obey Mao's army and go back to school. But the taste of the revolutionary holiday is still too sweet for many Red Guards to submit. Factional fights go on and the army is ordered to keep peace.

## LEARN

This is not the same Red Guard movement that Mao unleashed. They have learned much about the nature of the bureaucracy and the Chinese Communist Party -- part of it from the thoughts of Mao, the rest of it from the betrayals of Mao. They have learned much about the need for organization outside the corrupt and

deformed CCP.

## LEADERSHIP

The vestiges of the communes and rebel organizations which were set up as combat units during the height of the Cultural Revolution and which Mao has kept as outside-the-party organizations to insure himself a base against further threats from within the CCP might prove a good base for the Red Guards to wage new battles in and from. These communes and rebel organizations must carry on their functions as organs of workers' and peasants' struggles and fight against the vicious aims of the entire bureaucracy to subvert their functions and bend them to its needs. These organizations must be more than the 1956 workers councils in Hungary were. They must be tightly led by the only leadership that can ensure success -- the revolutionary leadership of the Fourth International.



# SSEU

## Class Struggle or Black Power

by Lucy St. John

A few weeks ago the Executive Board of the SSEU elected a scab as a full time union paid organizer. Yes, a SCAB. When this scab was asked to state his position on future union actions, he deliberately equivocated. This scab absolutely refused to renounce 'his right' to make an 'individual judgement' on whether he would or would not observe future picket lines, i.e. to scab again and lead others to scab.

What, what lies behind this complete trampling of every principle trade unions have fought for? Black Power! And all the forces which advocate, support, or capitulate to this completely reactionary demagogery. These forces who pose as leaders in the SSEU are swine and betrayers—that is what they really are.

### BETRAYERS

These betrayers show their true colors particularly during times of crisis. A crisis—that is what the SSEU faces—that is what the entire working class faces. Workers meet defeats in their struggles and are unable to improve their living and working conditions at the present level of struggle.

The Black Caucus in the SSEU was formed in the aftermath of the crushing defeat suffered by the union this summer, at a time when the Mage leadership and various other would-be bureaucrat factions were unable to explain the defeat or to pose an alternative for the future. The Black Caucus demanded that the SSEU Executive Board appoint two full time black organizers chosen by the caucus. This was the alternative posed by the Black Caucus. Nothing was said about a program for the union, only the threat that if the members they had chosen for organizers were not approved that night, they would lead the rest of the Negroes out of the SSEU. They were appointed.

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### DIVIDE

The program the Black Caucus poses to the SSEU is one of dividing the working class rather than uniting it. The Black Caucus after winning the demand for two black organizers put forth another candidate for office in the union, this time for first vice president. At the election meeting the Black Caucus candidate clearly stated his perspective for the future of the union. At a time when even part of the Mage leadership realizes the necessity of the SSEU affiliating with the rest of the labor movement in its fight for better conditions, the Black Caucus candidate staunchly stood on the completely reactionary position of maintaining the independence of the SSEU, raiding the AFL-CIO local in Welfare, of keeping the SSEU divided from the rest of the working class.

What this position so clearly represents is the petty bourgeois, anti-working class 'professionalism' rampant in the SSEU. Professionalism embodies the illusion that certain white collar workers, such as social workers and teachers, are somehow separate and above the rest of the working class, and that these workers are not really workers and can advance beyond the rest of the working class. This illusion has in no small part contributed to the defeats of the SSEU.

### CLASSLESS

The formation itself of the Black Caucus in the SSEU as well as the demands it raised represent a classless analysis of the crisis facing American workers. All issues are seen in racial rather than class terms. The ideology of black power embodied in the caucus maintains that the black workers can be liberated apart from the liberation of the rest of the working class. And how does the Black Caucus propose to bring about this liberation-by replacing a white bureaucrat with a black bureaucrat.

The program of the petty bourgeois black power advocates is merely a new form of tokenism. It provides for the advancement of a few, token Negroes into the bureaucracy. These would-be bureaucrats claim the right to these positions on the basis of the struggles waged by the ghetto fighters, in order to advance themselves so they can leave the ghetto behind and turn their backs on the Negro masses who cannot get out. These turncoats fear more than anything else being proletarian, being workers. They completely betray the real interests of the Negro



BLACK CAUCUS SEEKS TO BREAK UP UNITY OF BLACK AND WHITE MEMBERS OF SSEU.

masses, of the Negro workers.

### FRIGHTENED

The program of the Black Caucus is the program of the frightened petty bourgeoisie. It aids and abets the bourgeoisie; it keeps the workers divided by filling their heads with utopian and reactionary ideology.

There are divisions within the working class. It is the bosses, the capitalist class, who create and foster these divisions. The Negro masses represent the most oppressed section of the working class. Race is used by the bourgeoisie as an excuse for lower wages, inferior jobs, poor schools, slums and unemployment. Racial prejudice is used by the capitalists to keep black and white workers apart.

The black power advocates keep the workers occupied through a program of racial rather than class struggle. These people maintain their positions by virtue of these divisions. They deepen the separation of black and white workers and in turn aid the capitalists.

Wherever these black powerites go, they disrupt and destroy. This is evident not only in the SSEU but in the peace movement, New Politics Convention, and most blatantly in the recent Teachers Strike in New York. As a result many Negroes are leaving the peace movement and politics.

### TEACHERS

Their role was clearly exposed during the teachers strike when the black powerites collaborated directly with the capitalist Board of Education through their denunciation of the union and the strike and their actual scabbing. The election of a scab backed by the Black Caucus in the SSEU is only another example of this treachery which divides the black and white workers

Other groups who support or capitulate to the black nationalists and black powerites, such as the Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party, and Progressive Labor, play the same role in dividing the working class and collaborating with the bourgeoisie, thus betraying the working class. These organizations have demonstrated this within the SSEU as well as in every other arena of struggle. These forces intervene in the working class movement and cloak themselves in revolutionary garb. But as the crisis within capitalist society deepens, the cloaks are removed and they are exposed as the re-

actionary and counter-revolutionary forces they really are.

### DEFEAT

The program of the petty-bourgeois black caucuses and their supporters is a futile one. It will only lead to defeat. The Workers League supports every single struggle of the Negro masses but we give leadership to unite these struggles with the struggles of the entire working class to lead these struggles forward to victory, to the destruction of capitalism, of racial and class barriers. We fight for equal representation of all minority groups within the working class. This de-

mand is only really meaningful in the context of the struggle for the conquest of power by the entire working class.

Racial discrimination is the product and tool of American capitalism. As long as the capitalists hold political power discrimination will exist. Within the program of class struggle for the working class special programmatic points must be advanced for the Negro masses but these are not put forth in opposition to but rather as part of the program for the emancipation of the class as a whole.

The essential question posed to the SSEU and all workers in this period is the uniting of the working class. No one section can advance alone in the struggle to take power from the oppressors, the capitalist class.

### POWER

The central task for all workers is the struggle for power, the struggle for a labor party. Only a party organized on the basis of class is capable of uniting all sec-

tions of the working class, and fighting for the interests of the working class.

The trade unions have a major role to play in breaking down the racial divisions and uniting the struggles of the black workers in the ghetto with the rest of the working class. We must fight for the unions to defend the ghettos against the armed intervention of the state. We must fight against discrimination in the unions, in hiring and in promotions. We must fight for a program to unite the Negro in the ghetto around the 30 hour week, around a special program to replace the rotten education of the ghetto schools with real education and job training, around a massive public works program to tear down the ghettos and provide employment in the construction of decent housing and service facilities around the abolition of discrimination in all forms, everywhere, with severe penalties for violations.

The Workers League and Young Workers League says that the only real alternative for the working class, black and white is the struggle for this program, the struggle for a labor party, to replace the capitalist politicians with representatives of the working class who will implement this program.

No, a scab is not the answer. He and his black powerites and their supporters will only lead you to defeat.

The Workers League's program, the program for the labor party, is the only program which will lead the entire working class to victory, to the liberation from the rotten conditions of life under capitalism. We ask you to join us in this fight.

TO ALL TRADE UNIONISTS, YOUNG WORKERS  
AND BLACK MILITANTS:

Join With Us To Hammer Out  
Action Program To Combat

**crisis facing  
unions today**

**FIGHT FOR LABOR PARTY NOW!**

**sunday december 3rd 8 pm  
room 7, 243 east 10th street nyc**

AUSPICES: TRADE UNIONISTS FOR LABOR PARTY