

the swp and the cuban revolution

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INSTITUTION

AS TAXES AND PRICES SOAR

STRIKES LOOM



FREE HUEY NEWTON NOW



WHERE WALLACE STANDS

HOW TO DEFEAT HIM

STRIKES LOOM AS PRICES TAXES SOAR

by Dan Fried

American workers will witness in the next three months what promises to be a super-spectacular that will rival the most lavish, spectacular, 'cast of thousands' production yet created by Cecil B. de Mille or any other Hollywood producer. You guessed it--the Presidential election campaign. Hundreds of millions

--from war, to inflation, to racism--are created by the very policies of ALL these candidates and their parties.

But the workers, especially those in the trade unions are not getting very excited about Tweedle-Dum or Tweedle Dee, whether his name be Rockefeller, Nixon, McCarthy Humphrey or whoever. No, for the American workers it

shape of the class struggle during the past year and more.

offensive

And so it goes now and will probably be during the election campaigns and into the fall. The working class is on the offensive. Just last month, the militant New York Hospital workers pushed aside all the election hooplah about

10% Federal Income Tax surcharge which all the candidates of the major parties supported. Put it all together and we can see that an increase of 6% as was won by workers in the aluminum industry amounts to a real gain for them of no more than 1% if that. Add to this the fact that the bosses get a 2 to 3% annual gain in total

against their working conditions. Most ominous of all the effects of these recessionary moves is the danger of growing unemployment. Today with employment at a peak the unions are strengthened in their bargaining position with employers. A growth of unemployment will set the stage for real attacks on organized workers.

restraint

It is therefore of critical importance that President Johnson's Cabinet Committee on Price Stability has once again raised the question of 'utmost restraint' in wage and price increases. While the statement takes the guise of urging restraint on both business and labor, its real meaning becomes clear when looked at more thoroughly. Since all that workers have been achieving on the wage front are increases averaging 5.8 per cent which barely keep workers abreast with increases in prices and taxes and by and large do not mean workers share in productivity increases which average around 3 per cent (keep in mind that most unions have no or only partial escalator clauses so such increases are to make up for real wage losses caused by inflation over the past couple of years) what these advisors really want is for wages to fall below price increases. That is they want the worker's living and working conditions to deteriorate to defend the profits of the bosses.

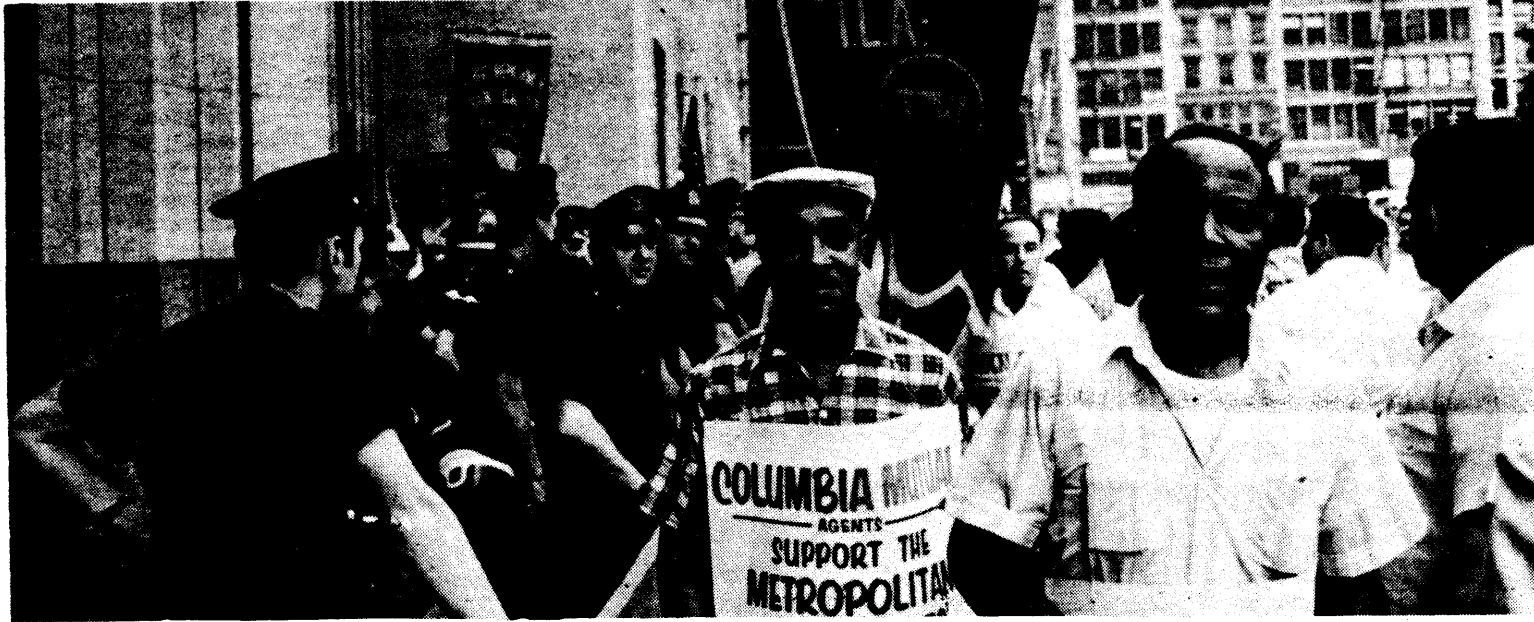
Today they talk in terms of voluntary restraints. This is the way they started in England and soon after the workers faced compulsory restraint backed up with anti-strike legislation.

The bosses cannot beat back the workers on their own. They need all the weapons of the government - laws, injunctions, courts, prisons, police, troops. This is why they contribute billions to the two major parties. They control these parties lock, stock and barrel and no matter which one of these candidates wins in 1968 the bosses cannot lose.

party

The only way the bosses can lose and the workers win is for workers to build their own party, a labor party. Such a party can fight all the way for labor repealing all anti-strike legislation, seeing that the millionaires pay their proper share of taxes, that prices, not wages are really controlled, that the billions now used for war be put to work to develop the economy so that all can work, that the slums be torn down and decent housing provided for all, that the decaying educational system be revamped, that free hospital care be made available for all.

As a first step towards the building of such a party we urge workers to refuse to vote for either boss party in the coming elections and cast a protest vote instead for Halstead and Boutelle who are running on the Socialist Workers Party ticket.



MILITANCY OF WORKERS IS EXPRESSED AS PORT WORKERS JOIN METROPOLITAN LIFE INSURANCE WORKERS PICKET LINE

will have been poured into the greatest legal con-game of all times--the campaign of the Democratic and Republican Parties. The target of this mammoth P.R. ballyhoo, the 'public', is really the American worker and his family. The object--to convince him that all his social and economic problems can be solved by supporting THE candidate. And, so, the PR men who are hired by these millionaire-financed Parties, must take great pains to hide the fact that the economic and social problems of the US workers

has been harder and harder to simply make ends meet and they are not waiting for unfulfilled promises from the politicians. Instead, they are demanding that their union leaders win decent contracts. They are going on strike and walking the picket line for months if necessary to win contracts which allow them to keep their heads a little above water. They are overruling union leaders and in some cases threatening to dump them entirely when these bureaucrats accept sell-out contracts. This has been the

wars on poverty, great societies, etc.. decided to do something about their own poverty, and after a short strike of a few hours won significant gains including \$100 per week minimum over a two year contract period. The holding of Democratic Party convention in Chicago has been hanging by a thread as a result of a strike by telephone workers of the Communication Workers of America. Between now and the elections, steelworkers, aerospace, communications, transport, oil mining, longshore and other workers in major industries may go out on strike. The long hot summer that the politicians moan about may yet see some real hot picket line activity.

The workers are on the offensive simply because they have been getting the squeeze both on the shop level and from the government. Workers in major industries such as auto and steel face a constant attempt by the management to speed up production, to get more sweat out of every worker--whenever possible to make one man do the job that two men worked on previously. The bosses, facing rising costs and sharper international competition for their products are trying to take more out of the workers even while they give in to wage demands. This is what has resulted in the huge backlog of 'local' grievances in such industries as steel and auto.

inflation

Even more, the workers feel the pinch of inflation with prices rising now at the rate of 4 to 5% by government standards. Many cities, like New York, now have a 5% sales tax, plus a city income tax. There are also new 'nuisance' taxes in states like New York, as well as the state income tax. To top it all off, the workers paycheck has been shrunk by the new

production simply by using more and newer machines and with no increase in labor--the so-called productivity gain. The workers never even see this money but they feel it when a shop or department gets 'automated' and a man has to find a lower paying job.

The bosses' problem is that their economic system is in crisis forcing them to solve it by cutting down on their labor costs--that is by making the workers pay for it. Inflation is one way they do this--since the pay you receive buys less you are actually receiving a wage cut whenever prices rise. But the workers fight back against this by getting wage increases through union struggles. In addition as inflation means dollars are worth less this causes businessmen in other parts of the world to lose confidence in the dollar threatening to bring down the whole world financial structure thus paralyzing trade and threatening world wide depression.

taxes

This is why the government --and in this they are supported by all the candidates of the two parties--has come up with the tax increase and restrictions on credit which will have a deflationary effect. While this may slow down a bit soaring prices it also means a slowing of business growth with resultant growing unemployment. In addition, of course, the government takes more money out of the pockets of the workers in the form of increased taxation. Right now government economists only hope they can control the depth of the recessionary forces they are seeking to let lose.

But these are only stop gap measures and will also be ineffective as long as the workers counter them through union struggle to make up for tax increases with wage increases and to combat blows

clear

The recent outbreak in the Lower East Side makes this crystal clear. In the aftermath of the violence caused by the bringing in of tactical police against neighborhood youth, community leaders demanded a mere 500 jobs for youth in the neighborhood--and were turned down.

The youth must not let up in their struggle. They can settle for nothing less than what they are entitled to--a future. Let the politicians and the press say what they will but youth must push ahead in ever larger demonstrations demanding that America must offer them an opportunity for a future. The newly formed Revolutionary Youth Organizing Committee pledges itself to build a movement capable of leading such a struggle.

NYC YOUTH FIGHT FOR JOBS

by Pat Connelly

NEW YORK--On Wednesday, July 10, 1500 Black, White and Puerto Rican youths protested outside of City Hall against the huge cutbacks in summer Neighborhood Youth Corps program for the city's teenagers.

The Federal government was supposed to provide \$1.3 million for this summer's job program, but it is now giving only \$1 million. Last year the City provided \$5.2 million for the same program, this year it was going to appropriate nothing.

However, after the demonstration by 1500 angry teenagers, Mayor Lindsay announced that he would get \$3 million from the city budget for youth employment. At the same time, the Mayor called the demonstration 'disgraceful', and said that 'the young men of the city who are jobless this summer can place responsibility on the leaders of this demonstration.'

What hypocrisy to blame the jobless youth who vent their frustrations for this governmental inaction. Clearly Lindsay is feeding the same kind of sentiments which Wallace bases his campaign around--hostility to Negroes and Puerto Ricans who rise up against a system which offers them nothing.

by Fred Mueller

The third party presidential campaign of George Wallace is having a growing impact. In the last issue of the Bulletin (Vol. 4 #22, July 22, 1968) we reported on one of Wallace's attempts to take his campaign into the North, in this case to Minneapolis. The professional poll takers now report that Wallace's share of the vote in hypothetical three-way races against the likely Democratic and Republican nominees has almost doubled, from 9 to 16%, in the last three months. While he gets over 30% of the vote in the South, his support in other areas is also increasing steadily, and is reported at 10% in the East, Midwest and Western states.

It is already a foregone conclusion that with Wallace in the race the victorious Democratic or Republican candidate in November will not get a majority, but only a plurality, of the total popular vote. In addition, there is more and more talk of Wallace capturing the electoral votes of enough states to result in no candidate winning a majority of the electoral vote (the candidate with the most votes in a state receives all of its electoral votes, so that theoretically a candidate with less than a majority of the total popular votes could achieve the majority of the electoral vote which is necessary). In that case the election would be thrown into the House of Representatives, and some of the big capitalist politicians are already talking about an agreement whereby the electors pledged to the Democratic and Republican candidates would agree to vote in the House for the candidate receiving the greater share of the popular vote, thus nullifying Wallace's bargaining power in this situation.

crisis

The significance of the Wallace campaign, of course, goes far beyond the parliamentary problems it poses for the major capitalist parties, and it is more than the numerical share of the vote that counts as well. The Wallace campaign is a response to the deepening crisis of capitalism and the two-party system. It is a response to the international crisis of the imperialists, to the blows they have suffered in Vietnam, to the increasing militancy of black workers and the ghetto rebellions in this country, to the growing inflation and economic crisis as well.

The Wallace campaign is qualitatively different from the 1964 Goldwater candidacy, as well as from such forces as Reagan, New York's Conservative Party or the John Birch Society. While Wallace tries to hide his racism in a cloak of respectability, appealing for the so-called moderate conservative votes, he also appeals much more directly to openly racist and fascist elements. His campaign is a clear break with the two party system in the direction of a fascist political movement.

When a photographer snapped a picture of Wallace shaking hands with Klu Klux Klan leader Robert Shelton at a fund raising dinner, he found himself attacked and his camera smashed. There is no doubt that Wallace is linked to the most extreme and racist and fascist groups much more directly than Goldwater or the Republican right ever was. The organized fascists like the National States Rights Party and others are supporting Wallace openly.

Demogogy

Wallace's social demogogy is another aspect of the way in which his campaign opens the door for organized fascist trends. He flays the big Eastern bureaucrats, the dangerous intellectuals in Washington. He comes out four square for patriotism, Americanism and for the little man. He combines this with very thinly veiled racism, appeals for law and order, and promise that he will jail or physically smash all rioters as well as radicals and all those whom he judges as favoring Communist victory in Vietnam. Wallace's promises to smash the radical movement are especially clear and especially important.

Wallace plays on the divisions of the working class. Though his appeal is particularly strong

among sections of the middle classes and white collar workers, he also has been gaining support from industrial workers, particularly among second generation workers or migrants from rural areas to the big cities.

He is careful to mute his anti-union program, but it is there, of course. In the United States, where the working class is so divided and completely unorganized politically, racist and fascist trends can gain support not only from the petty bourgeoisie but from sections of the working class as well. This shows even more strongly the need to fight these trends and to fight for the independent political organization of the working class.

fascists

It is not a matter of formally pinning a label of Fascist on Wallace. While he is not a fascist and does not have an armed fascist movement behind him, his campaign is part of the development of fascism in the U.S. We must treat him as we would a fascist.

The radical parties, such as the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party, have been almost completely ignoring the Wallace campaign. We cannot afford to minimize its significance

GEORGE WALLACE WHAT HE STANDS FOR, HOW TO FIGHT HIM



In our last issue we pointed out how in Minneapolis a group of black and white workers, including Workers League members, organized to expose and fight Wallace. The 'liberal' Mayor of Minneapolis was not the only one to apologize to Wallace after this incident. President Johnson himself issued a statement deploring the the disruption of Wallace's speech.

When was the last time Wallace expressed any concern about the civil liberties of radicals? Did he protest when goons beat up anti-war demonstrators in New York last winter? Has he complained about the assassination of Malcolm X, the shooting of some SWP members in Detroit two years ago, or even the latest bombing of the Jefferson Bookstore in New York? Of course not! Johnson's concern for Wallace shows where he really stands.

Our attitude must be very clear. Of course we do not appeal to the government to outlaw the fascists, to stop the fascists. It is this system which breeds fascism. As the crisis deepens and bourgeois democracy breaks down, fascist trends grow and are encouraged by the capitalist class itself. The latest events in France prove once again that while the capitalists prefer to rule "constitutionally" they will readily ban working class and revolutionary organizations as soon as they feel threatened.

We do not ask the capitalist government to protect against the fascists, but neither do we agree to absolute civil liberties and free speech for fascists and racists.

ballyhoo

All this ballyhoo about the "civil liberties" of Wallace being violated is worse than beside the point. It serves only to disorient workers in the struggle against fascists and those who collaborate with fascists and open the door to fascism with their racist poison. We look at

this in class terms. Wallace proclaims his intention to use violence to suppress radicals and enslave the Negro people. We take him at his word. We do not sit around waiting until he has the strength to do what he advocates. Then it will be too late to act, as it was in Germany. We must struggle to crush him now before he has the strength to crush the working class later. Racists have no rights. They peddle a poison worse than heroin. We must force any such filthy scum off the streets of America from coast to coast. With such people we do not debate; we battle.

expose

It is the task of the working class to deal with these people. Just as we don't allow scabs to go about their business in the middle of a strike, we don't intend to merely have friendly discussions or debates with the fascists. They are out to destroy the revolutionary movement and the entire organized working class movement. That is the lesson of Germany. We cannot afford to wait while the fascists organize and gain followers in preparation for their filthy plans to attack the working class. We must go on the offensive now.

Black and white workers must organize against Wallace, as they did in Minneapolis, but on a larger and larger scale. They must expose what he stands for wherever he goes. They must make sure that he and his fascist and racist friends know that they face organized and determined opposition.

The black nationalists play into Wallace's hands by denying the class struggle, by helping the white racists to divide the working class.

The fascists and their hangers on have been fought before. 50,000 workers responded to the call of the Socialist Workers Party in 1939 and demonstrated in the streets to prevent Father Coughlin from spewing his poison in New York. A similar movement stopped Gerald K. Smith on the West Coast after the war.

This is the kind of fight we need now. It must be a political fight, a fight which exposes Wallace's true nature to millions of workers, and organizes workers to smash Wallace before he smashes us. Black and white workers must be united in this struggle, and they can be united. The anti-labor character of the Wallace campaign must be shown and this fight must be taken into the trade union movement. The unions must lead the fight to stop Wallace, not merely to distribute leaflets or issue press releases but to organize mass demonstrations in any large city where Wallace makes an appearance.

Wallace is openly after the radical and socialist movement, and almost as openly out to destroy the Negro movement. The radicals and black workers are first, the entire working class will be next.

Above all we must recognize that Wallace organizes on the basis of the political backwardness of the American working class. We must fight Wallace by showing that in order to fight Wallace and the bosses who encourage racism and fascism the workers must have a party of their own.

TWIN CITIES MEETING HITS WALLACE

MINNEAPOLIS-- At a well-attended public rally called by the Workers League on July 14, local organizer, Bob Johnson, called 1968 the year for labor to begin its break from the two party system.

Already the bosses' political structure is crumbling. The most backward and reactionary section of the ruling

class now promotes the racist, labor-hating candidacy of George Wallace. The "Third Party" campaign is a very great threat to every working man in the country.

The recent protests here against Wallace are a good sign that sections of the working class, especially the youth and parts of the Poor

Peoples campaign, are not only aware of the danger of Wallace but are willing now to fight the Wallace poison.

The most conscious sections of the working class now must set out to defeat Wallace-ism for good. But this means a fight to unite and mobilize the strength of all workers, especially the union

movement, to fight for its own interests politically, so as to smash the racism Wallace seeks to develop for use against both blacks and the unions.

The Workers League fights for the perspective of the Labor Party uniting all workers politically. At the meet-

ing, Johnson announced the Workers League's critical support for the Halstead-Boutelle campaign of the Socialist Workers Party. We see this campaign as a step in the right direction in so far as it poses the need for the working class to break from the two capitalist parties.

SWP AND THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

by Tim Wohlforth

"The weakness of the enemy in the backward countries has opened up the possibility of coming to power with a blunted instrument." So stated the main resolution of the 1963 Reunification Congress which wedded the SWP politically with the European Pabloites led by Ernest Mandel, Livio Maitan and Pierre Frank.

In an article entitled "The Vanguard Party and the World Revolution" written by SWP National Chairman James P. Cannon in commemoration of 50th anniversary of the Russian Revolution (September-October, 1967, International Socialist Review) this very same quote is prominently featured. The implications of this position are clearly worked out by Cannon. In the advanced capitalist countries "the injunction to build revolutionary Marxist parties is absolutely unconditional." But our backward brothers in the backward countries can come to power with blunted instruments. Of course if they built Leninist parties "their difficulties could have been lessened." And after coming to power such a party must be constructed. "Once the Cuban freedom fighters had become sovereign in the country, they not only found that they couldn't dispense with a vanguard party but desperately needed one," Cannon comments. "They have therefore proceeded to construct one along Marxist lines and are still engaged in that task nine years after their victory." Note that the "vanguard party" was not only unnecessary as an instrument for coming to power but nine years after the seizure of power the Cubans "are still engaged" in its construction.

theory

The meaning of all this for Marxist theory is immense. It means the complete liquidation of the revolutionary party in the great landmasses of Central and South America, Africa and Asia where over two billion of the world's three billion people live. This is no matter for serious revolutionaries to take lightly. The very fate of hundreds of millions of workers and peasants hangs in the balance. It must be approached with the utmost seriousness and theoretical thoroughness. One does not dispense with the struggle for the revolutionary party lightly, basing oneself on momentary impressions and shallow empirical thinking. But, as we shall see, this is exactly what the SWP has done.

In his introduction to a pamphlet reprinting some of the SWP's earlier writings on Cuba, (March 22, 1968) George Noack states: "As the tenth anniversary of the epoch-making Cuban revolution approaches, it is much easier to see which side was right and which side was off base in this controversy in the first months and years of its unfolding." With this in mind we will now turn to the "Draft Theses on the Cuban Revolution" reprinted in this pamphlet, written on December 23, 1960 and carried at the June, 1961 SWP convention.

forms

Section 10 of the "Theses" defines Cuba as follows: "When the capitalist holdings in the key sectors of Cuban economy were taken over by the government, Cuba entered the transitional phase of a workers state, although lacking as yet the forms of democratic proletarian rule."

Section 12 then spelled out how the SWP saw this weakness of lack of "forms" of proletarian rule would be overcome: "The Cuban government has not yet instituted democratic proletarian forms of power such as workers, soldiers, and peasant councils. However, as it has moved in a socialist direction it likewise proved itself to be democratic in tendency. It did not hesitate to arm the people and set up a popular militia. It has guaranteed freedom of expression to all groupings that support the revolution. In this respect it stands in welcome contrast to the other noncapitalist states, which have been tainted with Stalinism." Thus the SWP looked to the Cuban government which was "democratic in tendency" to institute from on top "democratic forms of proletarian power."

Debs was fond of quoting Marx to the effect that the emancipation of labor was the task of labor itself. Not so for the SWP. It will be done for the working class by the Castroite governmental bureaucracy. Over seven years have passed since this was written. Certainly enough time to work out proper "forms" of proletarian rule. How has the SWP's predictions stood up to the acid test of historical development?

arms

In the first place the SWP saw the Castro leadership as democratic in tendency because it "did not hesitate to arm the people and set up a popular militia." But on August 20, 1965 this government issued "Preventive Notice No. 2: All Combat Arms Must be Handed Over." Stating that current conditions demand "from us a rigorous control of all combat armaments existing in the country," it resolves "that from today and until the First of September of this year all civilians members or not of reserve units and of Popular Defense must deliver to the Unit of the DOP closest to their homes, combat arms, deposits, ammunition and accessories of the same which may be in their power."

If the arming of the people signifies a government "democratic in tendency", we ask the SWP what the disarming of the people including members of the popular militia signifies? We also wish to know why the Militant never reported this directive to its readers? Of course "side arms, shot guns and hunting rifles" are excepted. But even the most severe anti-gun law now pending in Congress would not take these away from the people. Is the American government "democratic in tendency"?

freedom

Now let us look at the second indicator of the "democratic" tendency of the Castro government, its purported guarantee of "freedom of expression to all groupings that support the revolution." Soon after this was written the Castro government cracked down on the only opposition party in Cuba, the small group of supporters of Posados, a breakaway from the Fourth International. Members of this group were jailed and an edition of Trotsky's "Permanent Revolution" destroyed in a print shop. Since then, to our knowledge, there have been no oppositional groups in Cuba. In addition more recently pro-Chinese publications have been seized in Cuba and the Chinese Embassy denounced for making available such material to the Cuban public?

In January, 1965, at the Tri-Continental Congress, Fidel Castro, who according to the SWP was not "tainted" with Stalinism, launched a vicious attack on Trotskyism in the spirit of the Moscow Trials. He states: "For if Trotskyism represented at a certain stage an erroneous position, but a position within the field of political ideas, Trotskyism became in later years a vulgar instrument of imperialism and reaction." True to his democratic tendency Trotskyists were not permitted to rebut this attack. In fact the Yon Sosa group in Guatemala, which was not a Trotskyist group but which was attacked by Castro at the Congress for purported Trotskyism, was barred from participating in the Congress.

Even more recently is the Escalante trial. Escalante was given a fifteen year sentence because of his IDEAS, his political support to the position of the Soviet Union and his critique of Castro from that perspective. Not a single ACT was charged against him. The trial was held in secret and in every respect the star chamber procedures working class militants oppose in capitalist countries was duplicated on Cuban soil.

The record is perfectly clear. After seven years there exists no freedom of expression for working class tendencies in Cuba. This is the objective truth and it is about time the SWP informed its members and sympathizers of the state of affairs. Instead of carrying out its elementary 'socialist duty' of protesting the suppression of workers democracy in Cuba, it whitewashes the Castro government over the Escalante Trial.

party

Let us now turn to a related question--the question of the party in Cuba. The Cubans, Cannon states, "have proceeded to construct one along Marxist lines and are still engaged in that task nine years after their victory." Well let's take a look at this party constructed "along Marxist lines." Ernest Mandel says, thinking he is defending this party: "As for the Cuban Communist Party, while its leadership has not yet been democratically elected at a Congress, its members have been elected in the shops, factories, and farms." (Note Mandel's phrase "not yet".) We waited seven years on the last "yet" for forms of "democratic proletarian rule". How long are we to wait for democracy in Castro's party? Is this the way a Marxist party is constructed and does it mean in any sense the working class

through this party asserts its rule democratically in Cuba.

The evolution of the Cuban party has nothing in common with either Leninist principles for the construction of a revolutionary party nor workers democracy in any form. The party was created from on top by an already ensconced governmental apparatus. The central committee of this party was chosen by Castro and Castro alone and is beholden to him and no one else in Cuba. (Ah yes, he read his list for the central committee to a mass rally and those in attendance shouted approval. This is democracy a la DeGaulle or Hitler, not Lenin.)

Since all its members are chosen by Castro so each of its members can be removed by Castro and, as the Escalante affair reveals, can find themselves imprisoned by the government for their dissident views.

This is a party that has never held an internal discussion around a theoretical document, never has even gone through the motion of holding a Congress to determine its policies. Even the most bureaucratized party in the Soviet Bloc countries is forced to hold discussions around documents and hold congresses--rigged though they may be. No leader of a Soviet bloc country since the death of Stalin has concentrated in his hands alone anything approaching the power now in Castro's hands.

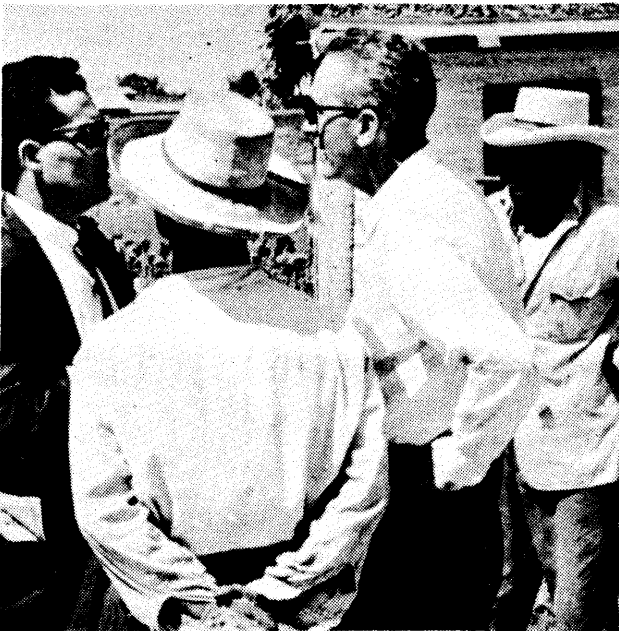
As everyone knows in a Leninist party it is the members who elect new members and the members who decide policy and elect the leadership. In Castro's party non-party workers are asked to elect party members but these party members cannot elect the party's leadership. Clearly the workers are asked to elect people whose only task is to implement decisions arrived at by the governmental bureaucracy uncontrolled in any way by the working class. The workers are thus asked to elect what are in effect their own foremen and straw bosses, whose task it is to see to it that the workers perform their tasks as the government sees fit.

In a Bolshevik movement the party members are selected on the basis of their agreement with the party's political line and their willingness and ability to both contribute to the development of this line as well as implement it and fight for it among the less conscious workers in a disciplined manner. Since party members in Cuba are denied any voice in determining the party's leadership and line and their only task is to implement the decisions of the bureaucracy then why not have the workers elect these people as those elected have no power.

That James P. Cannon, the author among other writings of the fine book on this very subject "The Struggle for a Proletarian Party", could hold up such a party as being constructed along Marxist line is a sign of the degeneration of his own party, the SWP. That he does so in an article on the vanguard party commemorating the 50th anniversary of the Russian Revolution is an act that can only be rivalled by turning to Stalin's day.

defense

There is another aspect of the 1960 "Theses" which requires standing up to the acid test of the seven year history since it was written. However one may define the class character of the Cuban state or the nature of the Cuban leadership,



DOBBS ON COOKS TOUR OF CUBA IN 1960

OLUTION

all revolutionaries must recognize the Cuban Revolution as an important part of the struggle of the colonial peoples against world imperialism. It is the central duty of revolutionists to defend Cuba against imperialism--not only against direct military intervention; but all the kinds of indirect economic pressures imperialism uses to bring rebellious colonial countries to their knees. Let us remember the fate of Algeria which emerged after a bloody seven year battle a nominally independent state only to remain tied economically to imperialism through the reactionary Boumedienne regime leaving the Algerian masses in capitalist misery.

The Cuban Revolution has survived nine long and difficult years but today it is more in danger than it ever has been in the past. It can only be defended through a conscious understanding of the nature of the dangers it faces. Certainly to minimize these dangers is only to disarm the working class in the face of the imperialist colossus. But this is exactly how the SWP approached this question in 1960 and exactly how it approaches the question today. It claims to be the world's foremost defender of Cuba. We intend to examine its credentials.

This is how the SWP posed the question of defense of Cuba in Section 20 of its 1960 "theses": "Despite the colossal power of American imperialism and its counter-revolutionary ruthlessness, plus the grave dangers and sacrifices these signify for the Cuban people, the perspectives for the defense of the revolution are most promising. It occurs in the general context of colonial uprisings beyond the capacity of the imperialist powers to contain and it derives strength from this vast upheaval. The Cuban revolution occurs, in addition, in the context of the rising world power of the Soviet countries, whose interests coincide with the defense of Cuba. Finally, the workers and peasants of the small island appear as the vanguard of the Latin American revolution and therefore enjoy mass support on a continental scale."

The SWP was not worried. The Cuban Revolution is not in serious danger. It would be defended by (1) uncontainable colonial uprisings, (2) support from the Soviet countries; (3) its mass support in Latin America. We shall look at each of these three factors separately and see what these past seven years has revealed.

defeat

First, the uncontainable colonial revolution. Seven years have passed and there have been no more Cubas. The colonial revolution has faced defeat after defeat after defeat. If this is not containment we would like to know what is?

But let us see what the SWP itself has to say about this. Writing in an introductory editorial in the Spring 1966 International Socialist Review which reprinted all the documents of the 1965 World Congress of its United Secretariat, the SWP states: "At the present juncture the forward march of the world revolution has been temporarily checked by a series of setbacks suffered in the colonial countries, the area of most intense activity since the Second World War. These reverses began with the reactionary military takeover of April 1964 in Brazil (Not true. They began with the Evian Accords which settled the Algerian War but preserved French imperialist dominance of Algeria, Accords greeted at the time by the SWP as a victory--TW) which encouraged a string of similar overturns in Latin America and have culminated with the anti-Communist bloodbath in Indonesia and the deposing of Nkrumah by a military conspiracy in Ghana this March."

The SWP editorial then goes on to assure us: "Although the latest counter-revolutionary events in Africa and Asia took place after the writing of these Congress documents, they do not in the least invalidate its analyses or conclusions." But on the very next page is printed a resolution which states: "But the successes of imperialism have not been able to halt or hurl back the advance of the colonial revolution, fed by objective conditions which imperialism has proved incapable of modifying in the least degree. It has not succeeded at all anywhere in stabilizing the situation or breaking the militancy of the masses."

On one page there is talk of a series of "setbacks" and on the next it is stated that "imperialism has not been able to halt or hurl back the advance of the colonial revolution" and that "it has not succeeded at all anywhere in stabilizing the situation or breaking the militancy of the



FIDEL CASTRO MAKES THE DECISIONS AND MASSES ARE ALLOWED TO APPROVE

masses". What about Algeria, Indonesia, Ghana, Guinea, the Dominican Republic, etc., etc.? If this was not halting and hurling back and breaking militancy then what is?

guerilla

Let us now look at the third argument as it is very much related to the first--the view that Cuba represents the vanguard of the Latin American revolution and enjoys the support of the Latin American masses. There is of course no question as to the second part of this formulation. The masses in Latin America undoubtedly still are greatly sympathetic to Cuba particularly because of its defiance of American imperialism. But as to Cuba's role as the vanguard of the Latin American revolution this has received cruel blows in the last few years.

Every attempt of the Cubans to organize this vanguard on the Cuban model and on this basis to carry forward the Latin American revolution has met with complete failure. It is not only bourgeois nationalist regimes like Ben Bella's, Sukarno's and Nkrumah's which have failed. Cuban inspired guerrilla warfare has led only to the slaughter of many fine and dedicated revolutionaries. First there was the destruction of the Venezuelan movement. More recently comes the complete wiping out of Guevara's guerrilla band in the mountains of Bolivia.

Here the very formulator of guerrilla warfare Cuban-style, a leader of the Cuban revolution, and a major figure for years in the Cuban government tried his hand at revolution. After months of isolation in the mountains in a country with a rich revolutionary tradition where miners held out arms in hand for over a decade, where peasant revolts are common, where there was mass opposition to the military government in La Paz failed completely to build any kind of base. Here where all the conditions were ripe for revolution, the Cuban way proved to be a complete failure. And yet neither the SWP nor the rest of the Guevarists of the American left have seen fit to analyze the causes of this defeat and on this basis to offer a revolutionary alternative which can succeed for the colonial peoples.

stalinism

Now let us look at argument number two--"the rising world power of the Soviet countries, whose interests coincide with the defense of Cuba." The theoretical implications of this statement are immense. Stalinism, according to Trotsky, represents a counterrevolutionary force. The Soviet bureaucracy is not interested in the defense of revolution but in collaboration with the imperialists. These so-called Trotskyists were able to state in 1960 that the interests of Stalinism coincided with the defense of Cuba and thus the Stalinist bureaucrats could be safely relied upon to defend Cuba against imperialism.

Not long after these lines were written came the Cuban missiles crisis. There the defense of Cuba by the Soviet Union came squarely up against the Soviet Union's desire to co-exist with capitalism. And so without consultation with the Cuban government the missiles were unceremoniously removed. Clearly on this occasion the interests of the Soviet bureaucrats and Cuba did not coincide.

What is the role of the Soviet bureaucracy in relation to Cuba today? Again we go to an SWP source--Ernest Mandel, the SWP's leading light in Europe. Writing on the Escalante trial this April he states: "The Kremlin remains faith-

ful to its strategy of 'peaceful coexistence' and maintenance of the status quo....It helps Cuba--but only enough to permit bare survival under the imperialist blockade....In Cuba this pressure is aimed at compelling Castro to liquidate the revolutionary strategy projected for Latin America... The parallel action of the State Department and the Kremlin...is obvious here."

reality

If we look at this question of the defense of the Cuban Revolution within the context of our whole assessment of the SWP international theoretical outlook discussed in this series of articles we can see it as an example of the theory of "new reality" at work. According to this theory the new conditions in the postwar world mean: (1) that the colonial revolution, regardless of the nature of the forces and parties leading the struggle in particular countries, is irrepressible and will leadership automatically in the process and (2) Stalinism can no longer betray but must assist the development of the colonial revolution. This latter position was most clearly stated by Morris Stein a leading member of the SWP, in the 1961 Cuba discussion: "The Soviet Union is compelled today, instead of playing a counter-revolutionary role--to place itself on the side of revolution."

Such an outlook dispenses not only with the conscious struggle to build the revolutionary party but with the role of the working class itself. No mention is made by the SWP of the role of the working class in either the metropolitan or backward countries in the defense of the colonial revolution from imperialism nor in carrying forward the colonial revolution. These revolutionary tasks are left to other parties and personages and to other social classes--in particular the peasantry and the petty bourgeois intellectuals.

There can be no question about it. The very real setbacks forced upon the colonial peoples by imperialism over the past seven years, setbacks which have deepened the isolation of Cuba and contributed to weakening her defense, can be attributed fundamentally to the failure of leadership in the colonial countries. Certainly the masses are ready for revolutionary struggle over a vast area of the world's surface. But for victory these masses must build a conscious party based upon the working class which battles for a revolutionary alliance in struggle with the peasant masses as did the Bolshevik party in 1917. Cannon's blunted instruments have dealt crushing blows against the colonial masses. The SWP must assume a share of responsibility for these defeats. In this way the SWP has contributed to the strengthening of imperialism and to the weakening of the defense of Cuba and other colonial countries who resist, even partially, imperialism.

erroneous

History has proven the SWP's evaluation of Cuba to be completely erroneous on all accounts. Working class opposition inside Cuba is suppressed. The armed people have been disarmed. The Cuban Communist Party is nothing more than an instrument to implement government policy uncontrolled by the Cuban masses. After seven years of struggle with blunted instruments the colonial peoples have experienced defeat after defeat. Every attempt of Cuba to start guerrilla movements in Latin America modelled after her own struggle has met with defeat. The Stalinist bureaucrats, instead of changing their spots, now bear down

(Continued on page 8)



SEAMEN PICKET WHITE HOUSE TO PROTEST NON-UNION CREWS ON U.S. FLAG SHIPS IN FAR EAST TRADE

by Dennis O'Casey

The April '68 federal court decision rendered by judge Constance B. Motley setting aside the results of the 1966 National Maritime Union's officers election provides an excellent example of how NOT to fight the trade union bureaucracy.

The court decision arose out of a two year effort by James M. Morrissey and other NMU dissidents around the opposition sheet, "The Call" to get the Labor Dept. to intervene on their behalf against NMU head Joseph Curran on the grounds that undemocratic election procedures had blocked their election in 1966.

filthy

There can be no doubt that Joseph Curran is among the filthiest and most bankrupt hoodlums in the labor bureaucracy today. 30 years in office has allowed him to parley a \$90,000 salary and a \$655,000 personal pension fund. He and his cohorts are all supplied with new Lincoln Continentals and innumerable other luxuries at the expense of a membership which Curran has sold into an 8 year contract with the shipping bosses.

As far as Morrissey's charges regarding election procedures: constitutional requirements railroaded through phony membership meetings limit eligibility for union office to 1/2 of 1% of the membership, require service in posts obtained only through appointment by Curran, and present innumerable other road blocks to election. Nor are dissidents at all safe from Curran's goons when more subtle discriminatory practices fail to make their point. Under these conditions the '66 elections were so farcical that only a third of the membership voted.

MORRISSEY VS. CURRAN

nmu-program for victory

The point is, however, that Morrissey by proceeding against Curran with the aid of the Labor Dept. weakens his own fight against Curran and endangers the position of the union as a whole.

However justified the complaints raised by Morrissey, it is not these that the Labor Dept. is interested in when it intervenes in the NMU; they merely provide a pretext. The Labor Dept. is out to smash the power of the NMU and it intervenes for this and for no other reason. The strategy of the state in the next period will be to further expand its role in settling labor disputes and policing the internal affairs of unions so as to break the independence of the unions from the state, incorporate the unions into agencies of the state, and in this way disarm the unions on the eve of big class struggles soon to open up in this country.

kennedy

The issue here is much the same as that raised by Kennedy's vendetta against Hoffa, carried out under the appearance of a campaign against union corruption, it was essentially aimed at breaking the power of the IBT at the very moment when the IBT was preparing for its first national contract. It is the same Landrum-Griffin law that emerged from the Kennedy attack on the IBT that is used today to justify Labor Dept. intervention in the NMU.

Though Curran is no defender of the independence of

the NMU from the government, he is not blind to the possibilities of exploiting this issue against Morrissey. Thus he justifies his corrupt rule by correctly pointing out in his recent pamphlet on the incident "The Target is You" that, "it is no coincidence that the court case has been brought to a head at a time when: (1) we are developing the groundwork for the job of negotiating deep sea contracts; (2) the battle for a sound government policy on the merchant marine is at a critical stage and (3) the NMU has been successful in forming the most powerful coalition of maritime labor strength in history, which became a fact when ILA, MEBA and MMP all joined with the NMU, ARA, the Steelworkers and the Shipbuilders in the AFL-CIO Maritime Committee." It is because the crisis in the maritime industry is drawing the union and the shipping bosses irresistibly towards a major showdown in the next period that the Labor Dept. seeks to hamstring the union with legal difficulties, not because it supports Morrissey.

repudiate

We say that if Morrissey wants to build a real opposition to the Curran machine the first thing he must do is repudiate any further reliance on the Labor Dept. in this fight.

The crisis in the maritime industry arises from the fact that American flag ships using American union labor are less

and less able to compete with foreign owned and American ships under foreign flags using cheap foreign labor. As a result more and more American companies are registering their ships under foreign flags. Even large U.S. government subsidies aimed at maintaining the U.S. merchant fleet do not prevent the irresistible tendency towards its liquidation.

In a last ditch effort to revive at least a part of the industry, shippers again backed by government subsidies are seeking to cut their labor costs through automation and containerization programs.

Curran's program for delaying the demise of the American merchant marine is to assist the employers in holding down labor costs and to go along completely with the industry when it pockets the savings obtained through automated methods. Curran sees no other way out.

strike

The two day NMU strike against 73 operators on June 28 called under the union "me too" reopener clause is the only kind of phony fight Curran will undertake. According to Curran the NMU was founded in 1936 because the old International Seamen's Union failed consistently to win wage parity with the West Coast. Today members of the West Coast SIU and SUP average \$180 monthly more than members of the NMU. Curran calls a two day strike merely to get a piece of what the other unions have already won and that only under extreme pressure from his ranks.

Curran's autocratic rule in the NMU cannot simply be explained by his desire to line his pockets and the fact that he is a bum as

"The Call" attempts to do. The real basis for his stifling of union democracy lies in his fear that a real offensive from the ranks forcing him into a fundamental confrontation with the shipping bosses would put the industry and the NMU out of business.

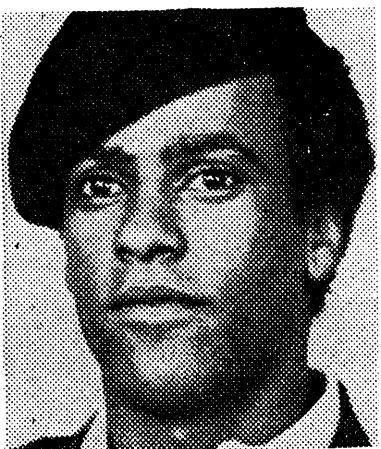
Morrissey should be fighting this conception--showing how the bosses can be made to pay and the merchant marine made to flourish. First the demand must be raised that in order to prevent foreign labor from being used as a threat over the heads of American seamen the NMU begin to play a vigorous role in supporting the struggle of maritime unions internationally for wage parity with the American unions. Second, the demand must be raised that the NMU pledge itself to a fight to set the national wage pattern in Maritime--no more reliance on "me too" scraps after the West Coast settles. Third, the demand must be raised that all savings to the employers obtained through automation and containerization be shared equally with the union in the form of more vacation time, pensions to all workers laid off, pay bonuses, etc.

CRUX

Finally and this is the crux of the matter, if the owners say they cannot meet union demands and keep their ships under American flags the NMU must immediately call for the nationalization of those companies whose books bear this out. Nationalization under workers control is the only answer there is to the problem of keeping a US merchant marine under American flags. Moreover government subsidies must no longer be used to keep profits rolling in to private shipping companies who would otherwise be bankrupt. Under nationalization these funds can be used to expand the US merchant marine and raise conditions for US seamen.

program

This is the program that Morrissey should fight for now and take into the new elections when they are held. It is with this kind of a program that points the way forward on the issues of wages and conditions that a mass opposition can be built in the NMU that will not need the intervention of the Labor Dept. to cut through Curran's maneuvers against union democracy.



by Lucy St. John

The trial of Huey Newton has begun in Oakland. Huey Newton must be defended by the entire working class! He is the victim of a vicious attack by the ruling class.

LABOR MUST FIGHT TO FREE HUEY NEWTON NOW!

It is a first step on the part of the American ruling class to destroy any movement on the part of the Negro people and the working class as a whole to defend itself against the increasing attacks by the rulers of this country.

Huey Newton was attacked last October by the Oakland police and shot. In the melee a cop was shot and Huey is charged with his murder.

The charge is a frame-up and part of a whole series of attacks on the Black Panther Party of which Huey is one of its leaders. These attacks include the jailings

of other Panther leaders as well as the brutal murder of Bobby Hutton.

The Black Panther party was formed and fights today for the armed self defense of the Negro people against the oppression and armed repression by the ruling class. The state began its attack on the Black Panthers after it demonstrated last year in the California State Assembly against the gun control laws being passed. The Panthers walked into the assembly armed showing the politicians that it had no intention of laying down its arms while

they continued their attacks on the ghettos.

attack

The attack on Huey Newton and the Black Panthers must be seen as an attack on the working class as a whole and a warning to the working class that any one who prepares to defend himself against the attacks of the state will be dealt with - with whatever means necessary.

At the same time that the ruling class is openly attacking the Black Panthers, it is moving to disarm the rest of the working class in more

subtle ways. What lies behind the attack on Huey is the same thing that lies behind the frenzy being perpetrated by the ruling class over the gun control laws - that is to completely disarm the American people so that they cannot fight back. Using the assassinations as a cover, the government is moving to disarm the working class. If one looks behind the assassinations and the recent snipers, it can be seen that even the strictest gun control laws which Johnson is proposing would not have prevented these

(Continued on page 8)

builders strike hits cincinnati

by Mike Ross

CINCINNATI-- At midnight, May 24th, Cincinnati's major construction projects ground to a halt. This halt was brought about by a strike of several key building and construction trade unions, whose contracts had expired, including cement finishers, laborers and hod carriers, carpenters and teamsters. Without these men on the job, most other work stopped, despite the fact that other contracts had not expired.

issues

The major issues are money and a guarantee of a minimum number of working hours during the year. Many have been misled by the local press into thinking that the construction workers get too much already, such as the \$4.90 per hour a journeyman carpenter received on such construction sites as the Cincinnati Riverfront Stadium and Bethesda Suburban Hospital. What is not realized is two things: first, a carpenter or a bricklayer, electrician or other construction workers for that matter usually does not work 40 hours a week on a year-round basis. Construction work has a seasonal quality to it, and it is not unusual for a worker in this industry to spend several weeks or several months idle between jobs. Second, the profits the building firms and their associates in the banks and savings and loans make out of most commercial construction jobs is enormous.

The unions concerned have declared that after they sign their contract, they won't go back on the job until all contracts of other unions are settled. This has put a stop to the old trick of the bosses of having one craft scab against another.

To understand the problems facing Cincinnati building trades workers, some background is necessary.

Until the end of World War II, the Cincinnati construction craft unions had organized most residential building companies and almost all companies. Due to an upsurge in commercial and industrial building from 1945 to the early 1950's, the bulk of the organized workers held jobs on commercial and industrial sites, such as the atomic energy plant in Fernald, the Terrace Plaza hotel and the various new plants being built in Evendale (General Electric, Formica etc.) This created a huge shortage of manpower in the residential sector. Instead of recruiting into their ranks from the youth and unemployed to fill these vacancies, the building trades unions did

nothing. The bosses saw their opportunity and took it; they hired new men and trained them, but paid well below the union scale. As a result, the building trades unions today have only a foothold in the Cincinnati residential building industry.

At the same time, much energy was frittered away in jurisdictional disputes.

Finally realizing what had happened, the construction union leaderships decided that the residential industry had to be reorganized. This they attempted in 1956-1957. Yet it failed. Why? First, because the organizers agreed on a lower scale for residential workers. At that time, a union journeyman carpenter, for instance, was making about \$3.75 per hour on commercial sites; his non-union counterpart was getting from \$2.50 to \$3.00 on residential sites. The union leaders and organizers proposed a union scale of around \$3.25 per hour for residential jobs. What they failed to explain to their members is that residential workers usually work year round, while commercial site workers often work only six to nine months of the year. This kept the membership from solidly supporting the organizing drive the way they should have and prevented its success.

Although a great step forward has been made by refusing to work until all have settled, something more must be done. The building trades union must stop bargaining separately and demand a single contract covering all construction firms and unions in the Cincinnati area.

organizing

Then, the six thousand strikers must be put to work while the strike is in process. Not by getting them another job, but by having them work at organizing the non-union residential building industry. Otherwise the non-union workers in this industry will form a reservoir of potential scabs who can be used against the unionized workers. In order to do this, building trades militants will have to wage a long range struggle against the racism permeating building trades unions. We will never be able to organize the non-union black and Appalachian white construction workers if we fall for the bosses' tactic of looking down on them.

And finally, since the bosses are giving the usual line that they don't have the money to meet the workers demands, the construction trades unions must counter with the demand: 'Prove it! Open your book to inspection by every rank-and-file worker in the industry.' This demand can also be aimed at the banks and savings and loan companies who have so much tied up in, and take a good chunk of money in form of profits out of this industry.



YOUNG SOCIALISTS NATIONAL COMMITTEE LEADS 'INTERNATIONALE' AT CONFERENCE

by Karen Funkiel

LONDON--This autumn, the Young Socialists will move to build YS branches within the universities all over England. The struggle to bring working class youth from the area into various colleges will unite students and young workers on the basis of countering government attacks on grants and wages.

Student-worker councils functioning to expose and combat cuts in university spending, and linking this with the demand in the factories to open the books, will expand and give political power to the demand for a free university. The youth will point up that as modernization schemes only enslave the working class under capitalism, so education also has no future under this system. Students are merely transformed into parrots of the philosophy of the state. This link between the students and the working class in common struggle against the government must be made before the idea of a free university can have any meaning.

The fight will also be brought within the student union (NUS) leadership against the students who represent the university authorities. A section of 'Keep Left', the newspaper of the Young Socialists, will be devoted to the student struggles starting in

September.

theory

At a weekend school, recently held in London by NALSO, (National Association of Labor Students Organizations), the student organization of the Socialist Labor League, Marxist theory and

thus deny the need for the party.

These loose groupings of 'radicals', like the SDS in the States, must be continually exposed for their lack of seriousness and their ultimate end which is to rechannel the revolutionary potential back into the treacherous old

BRITISH YOUNG SOCIALISTS TO INVADE UNIVERSITIES

the above plans to combat revisionism on the campus were discussed.

The lessons of the French struggle were hotly debated. It became quite clear to all those attending that any organization which carries out activities initially against the university will come up against the government. Further, if this organization preaches separate action from the working class, it must of necessity either end in defeat or accomplish nothing. Adventurism has no place in a serious revolutionary movement. The kind of leftism displayed by the Cohn-Bendits, the Tariq Alis, and the leadership of the newly formed Revolutionary Socialist Students Federation in Britain, is nothing but a convenient left cover for those who are not serious about the struggle for socialist revolution and

leaderships of the working class.

marcuse

To contest the need for a revolutionary party, as Marcuse, a major spokesman for the new left does, is to condone the building of broad centrist movements which of necessity must adapt to the lowest political common denominator.

Thus, the most important thing for students to achieve in the coming period is the understanding of working class politics and with that, the destruction of the methods and ideas of the bourgeoisie which permeate the universities.

The concept of individual action flows from the bourgeois illusion that one's individual freedoms and his own ideas are to be considered above all else. Marxism breaks with this illusion. Hence, it was decided at this NALSO conference to take working class socialist youth onto the campuses.

This move will definitely prove to be a very significant political offensive in the coming critical period in England. It will be both a challenge to the theoretical development of the youth cadres, and an attack against those movements which ignore the need for political clarity, and thus, shirk their revolutionary duty to build the party.

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NOTICE TO READERS

Because of summer publication schedule we are skipping an issue. The next issue will be dated September 2nd.

GERMAN WORKERS AND THE FIRST WORLD WAR

by V. Barat

Trotsky once wrote that imperialist war killed every form of vagueness and brought mankind face to face with its most fundamental problems. The truth of this assertion was demonstrated in its most tragic form at the outbreak of World War I, in August 1914. With the sole exception of the Russian Bolsheviks, the vast majority of each of the European Socialist parties abjectly surrendered to the patriotic drum-beats of its own bourgeoisie. Some shame-facedly, others arrogantly, invented alibis of all kinds to justify their betrayal of their solemn oaths to oppose by all conceivable means their governments and thereby prevent the physical and spiritual destruction of their respective proletariats. The profoundest shock of all, the one whose tremors were devastating enough to destroy for all time the Second International as any revolutionary force, was administered by the official leadership of the German Social Democrats (SPD) in their shameful capitulation to the Kaiser and his war policies.

The magnitude of this treachery can be grasped when one realizes the incredible authority exercised by the Germans in the Second International the body that had been founded in 1889 under the guidance of Friedrich Engels after the demise of the First International in 1872, following the defeat of the Paris Commune. In 1895, Engels himself wrote: "Whatever may occur in other countries, the German Social-Democracy occupies a particular place and, for the present at least, has therefore a particular duty to perform. The two million voters that it sends to the ballot boxes, and the young girls and women who stand behind them as non-voters, are numerically the greatest, the most compact mass, the most decisive force of the proletarian international army." It was virtually axiomatic at all congresses and conferences of the Second International that final determination on significant issues would be made only after the German comrades had spoken.

It was particularly in matters pertaining to the struggle against the impending war that the SPD was eagerly looked to for guidance by the Russian, French, Italian, Belgian, Scandinavian, Swiss and other parties. At congresses prior to the war all the parties swore to utilize any military conflict "to accomplish the awakening of the people, thus hastening the overthrow of capitalist class rule."

protest

When in late July 1914 it became clear to the SPD that the Hapsburgs of Austria were intent on imperialistically exploiting the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife in Serbia, the party lost no time in denouncing the expansionist aims of the Hapsburgs. On July 25 (the day of the expiration of the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia) a manifesto condemning "frivolous war provocation" was issued by the SPD: "The class-conscious proletariat of Germany, in the name of humanity and civilization raises a flaming protest against this criminal action of the warmongers . . . No drop of a German soldier's blood must be sacrificed to the Austrian despot's lust for power, to imperialist commercial interests. Comrades, we call

upon you to express immediately in mass meeting the unshakeable will to peace of the class-conscious proletariat...The ruling class who in peacetime oppress you, despise you, exploit you, want to see you as cannon-fodder. Everywhere the cry must ring in the despots' ears: 'We don't want war! Down with war! Long live international brotherhood!'"

From July 26 to July 30 the party called anti-war demonstrations all over Germany. In Berlin alone there were 27 such mass meetings.

Then on July 31, when it seemed that the German government was seriously preparing to engage in war for its own imperialist objectives, the leading organ of the SPD, "Vorwaerts," abruptly switched its line: "If the fateful hour strikes the workers will redeem the promise made by their representatives on their behalf. The 'unpatriotic crew' (the expression used by the bourgeoisie against the socialists) will do their duty and will not be surpassed by any of the patriots..." The German government heaved a sigh of relief and declared war on Russia the very next day.

How, it has so often been asked, could this numerically most imposing socialist party in the world be so easily swept away from its apparently secure Marxist moorings? Previous to 1914 the German party appeared to have everything in the world in its favor. From 1890, with the return of its political legality, the SPD had attained a phenomenal growth and influence which were reflected in all vital aspects of the working class movement. It led the most dynamic trade unions compared to which the Hirsch-Duncker 'independents' and the Christian (Catholic) unions were a subsidiary force. The record of the socialists in the arena of parliament matched their trade union successes. Their popular vote in 1890 had been 1,500,000. By the time of the general election in 1912 the SPD had polled four and a half million votes, which represented one third of the country. It won 110 seats out of 397 and became the largest party in the Reichstag. Its electoral victory, if anything, was even greater, for the recent heavy influxes into the cities of workers with strong socialist leanings were not reflected in the count. SPD membership stood at over one million.

The same period registered the unmistakable political eclipse of German bourgeois liberalism. In 1890 the German Humphreys and McCarthys had 76 seats in the Reichstag. By 1912 their parliamentary fraction was reduced to 42.

The SPD had scores of daily newspapers all over Germany; it had well furnished clubs activities, libraries, sports leagues, all were impressive features of this imposing party.

kautsky

Formally, at least, attention to political and economic theory was not neglected by the SPD. In opposition to Bernstein, who under the influence of English Fabianism had developed a reformist, evolutionary theory, the majority of the party leadership appeared to have little doubt that the predatory imperialist aims of Germany and its capitalist rivals would ultimately lead to war. As early as 1907 Kautsky, the most renowned pre-war opponent of Bernstein, had warned the SPD congress that war between Germany and

on the part of every Democratic and Republican politician today means not only stopping any move on the part of the Negro people to defend itself against the repression of the cops in the ghetto but also against the organized trade union movement. Last winter the sanitation men in New York were threatened with the calling out of the National Guard just as a summer before this threat was realized in the ghettos of this country. These threats will become realities in the next period as the American working class struggles to defend its wages and working conditions at a time when the bosses and their government are talking wage restraints and threatening to

enforce these with law if not enforced voluntarily.

duty

This is why it is the duty of every worker black and white in this country to defend Huey Newton in every way possible. The organized working class must take up the struggle to defend the Negro people. The bosses every day attempt to split the working class through racism - to divide the struggles of the Negro people, the unemployed from the rest of the working class. A divided working class aids only the boss. FREE HUEY NOW! WALLACE TO THE WALL! ARMED SELF-DEFENSE FOR BLACKS AND ALL WORKERS!



GERMAN WORKERS MAKE MUNITIONS IN WWI

France was on the agenda and that under no circumstances could international socialists support either side. As was seen, this view was shared by the great majority of the SPD. This same majority knew that Germany's industrial cartels and its banks had become the most concentrated financial oligarchies in the world. The discharge in 1890 of Bismarck, who had favored continental but had opposed overseas expansionism with its requirements of a huge navy, meant the irrevocable aim of German imperialism to push its snout into the trough so long monopolized by other colonial powers, in particular the British.

When the Berlin bankers maneuvered England out of Turkey and brought that ailing land under its own economic yoke, it thereby threatened London's holdings in the near East; above all, however, India and the far East were no longer secure for English imperialism as long as the Germans were on the doorstep of the Suez. Such inter-imperialist rivalry favored, nay necessitated its resolution by war alone. Such facts and analyses were to be found in the SPD press.

practical

Yet the SPD contained within its middle and top echelon paid functionaries who were more attracted by the practical side of the organization than by the struggle for socialism. They looked upon those who were concerned with implications of German imperialism as ha splitting intellectuals. Three men who had originally come from the working class: Friedrich Ebert, Philipp Scheidemann, Gustav Noske, names which even today bring curses to the lips of German workers, held leading posts in the SPD. The butcher of the German revolution, Noske, proudly proclaimed in 1947 that he could never remember even speaking of Marxism in a speech or article, since for him it merely represented an "occult science". One is reminded of George Meany's pompous boast that he never walked a picket line.

That any kind of serious party could tolerate in positions of leadership Fabians and pronounced anti-theorists reveals its great shortcomings. As early as 1907 the perceptive young Trotsky, who had become intimately familiar with the SPD, wrote a book for his Russian readers on the German party. Published by the Bolshevik Printing House it revealed Trotsky's fears that under conditions of aggravated tension, the SPD might not deliver the goods. He had in 1905 expressed much the same concern. Apparently not even he was capable of foreseeing the actual depth of the SPD's 1914 degeneration.

FREE HUEY NEWTON!

(Continued from page 6)

people from obtaining guns. These incidents the American ruling class is using to cover their real worry - the arming of the working class.

arms

While moving to disarm the working class, the ruling class is arming itself with every variety of chemical warfare and tanks. Under the slogan of 'law and order' the ruling class is attempting to get support from the working class, particularly the white working class, for its own destruction. Under this slogan, mace was first used in Minnesota against women strikers.

The cries of 'law and order'

SWP AND THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

(Continued from page 5)

upon the Cuban nation with all their counter-revolutionary weight. Cuba, far from being free from danger, is in its greatest peril in its short but tumultuous history. Yes, George Novack, "it is much easier to see which side was right and which was off base in this controversy than in the first months and years of its unfolding." Your side was off base and ours was right.

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