

APR 3 1967
INSTITUTION

Workers League Is Formed to Bring Socialism to U.S. Labor

by the editors

Supporters of the Bulletin of International Socialism, organized in the American Committee for the Fourth International, held their first national conference in New York City over Thanksgiving weekend. The conference adopted a major Perspectives resolution calling for a deepening of an orientation to reach the American working class with a socialist program. In line with this orientation the American Committee for the Fourth International was dissolved and the Workers League was formed.

The A.C.F.I. has its origins in a struggle inside the Socialist Workers Party against the revisionism to which that organization has succumbed. It conducted this struggle and all its subsequent work in solidarity with the International Commit-

tee of the Fourth International. In August of 1964 the leadership of the SWP expelled the IC supporters because these comrades had attempted to get a discussion within the SWP over the betrayals of the working class by the LSSP in Ceylon.

For two years A.C.F.I. has carried on a struggle for working class politics in the United States. It conducted a serious political dialogue with Progressive Labor seeking to bring that organization to the realization of the need to break with reliance on the Chinese bureaucracy and to pursue a consistent class line in this country, particularly in relation to the Negro struggle. It has intervened forcefully within the peace movement fighting for the military victory of the National Liberation Front and for a turn on the part of the peace movement towards the American working class, the

only force capable of stopping Johnson. It has carried on a constant battle for working class internationalism, for the program of Marxism as developed by Lenin and Trotsky.

For two years A.C.F.I. carried on this struggle through the pages of the mimeographed Bulletin. Starting in September, A.C.F.I. was able to launch the Bulletin in printed form and with this more effective weapon seriously developed the sales of the paper to the working class.

The major document passed at the conference, "Perspectives for Building the Revolutionary Party in the U.S." reported on by Fred Mueller states unequivocally that the world capitalist system is in a fundamental crisis. This crisis is creating the conditions for a renewed upsurge of the American (Continued on page 3)

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Dec. 19, 1966

Ten Cents

Impact on economy

Johnson Cuts Poverty War And Expands Vietnam War

by Jeff Sebastian

In the past two weeks President Johnson has announced a cut of over \$5 billion in domestic appropriations, such as the war on poverty and urban housing, and an expansion of \$9 billion in appropriations for the Vietnam War.

The war in Vietnam is eloquent testimony to the absolute bankruptcy of U.S. capitalism as a social system. No clearer sign of the sickness of the U.S. economy can be found than the fact that business would be in a recession right now if it was not being propped up by government war expenditures.

Indeed, almost half of the increase in total U.S. output for the period April to September was accounted for by government outlays for war. This figure was close to 25% for the previous six month period. The growing shift towards war production will not solve the problems plaguing U.S. capitalists, but rather introduces a host of new ones.

Growing military expenditures are increasing imports and decreasing exports, adversely affecting the balance of payments problem. In addition this absolute dependence on military production for Vietnam is causing economic dislocations which could bring on a crisis in the event of a stop to the war, thus increasing the need for the escalation.

construction

The effect of the war inflation on consumer demand and the continuing record interest rates is also having a major impact on the economy. The construction industry has been most heavily affected.

This key sector of the economy is virtually facing a depression. Private housing starts are at a postwar low,

having declined over 40% in the past year. Homebuilding in general as well as industrial construction and construction of schools, offices, stores, etc. are experiencing major declines. In the last year employment in construction has declined by almost a quarter of a million.

Construction is intimately connected with other areas of the economy. The crisis in this industry will affect the steel industry and is already significantly decreasing production and employment in the lumber, stone and glass industries.

auto

Another vital area facing immediate crisis is auto. Production may drop as much as 3/4 of a million cars in 1967. Layoffs and a shorter work

week is the prospect facing many autoworkers, as well as workers in industries which supply the auto industry, such as steel. Major auto production cuts have already been announced and sales are declining by as much as 8%. Business investment for new plants and equipment is expected to slow progressively in coming months.

These signs of slowdown and recession in the middle of a so-called boom coupled with the developing militancy in the labor movement point to the beginning of a real squeeze on profits. Increasing capitalist competition both nationally and internationally along with a growing confrontation of the government with the working class can be expected in the next period.

(Continued on page 4)

postpones strike deadline

by a Welfare Worker

The December 5th Executive Board meeting of the SSEU (welfare workers) indicated a profound disorientation on the part of the leadership and should serve as a serious warning to the membership of possible betrayal.

At a time when the union is faced with an impending strike, the first item on the agenda was a proposal to take 1/7 of the workers' yearly dues, amounting to about \$45,000, and invest it in an insurance program. It was claimed that this would add prestige to the union and recruit 500 members who would not otherwise join. Most executive board members were not aware of the sum involved and passed this motion. It will not be referred to the membership for

approval. THERE WAS NOT ONE MENTION OF THE STRIKE FUND!

The second item was a proposal to build a community organization group to be called "Citizens Committee for a Decent Welfare System." (Believe it or not!) This group would be fronted by various well known liberal politicians, civil rights leaders and labor

LEGAL REASONS

The issues raised in the Nov. 21st letter by Farrell Dobbs, Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, about what happened at Caxton Hall on the night of November 17th, we cannot discuss at this stage for legal reasons.

--Dec. 3 Newsletter.



DEBORAH O'CONNELL SPEAKS BEFORE CONFERENCE.

Mage Prepares the Defeat of SSEU

leaders to give it prestige. No program was proposed. The leadership hopes to gain allies among welfare clients in the event of a strike. To propose a group which can only prove even more impotent than F.A.I.R. is an admission of bankruptcy. AGAIN NOT TO BE BROUGHT TO THE MEMBERSHIP.

The major proposal from the leadership was to bypass the Dec. 31st contract expiration date and tell the city that the union would not strike till Feb. 1st. This was passed although many militants argued for No Contract, No Work. The city is not bargaining seriously and is in fact indicating that it will demand a no strike, no work action clause, a management prerogative clause and a transfer policy it

can live with.

faith

President Mage seems to believe that she can bargain in good faith with a city administration that is doing everything in its power to destroy the union through Tri-Partite. She even holds out hope for arbitration and fact finding, refusing to realize that only a militant rank and file can win union demands.

The leadership is doing everything possible to keep the membership unorganized and confused. The leaflets distributed are vague and confusing and do not even mention strike. The present policy guarantees that clerks and supervisors also in contract negotiations will be sold out for (Continued on page 2)



LABOR SCOPE

by Dan Fried

LBJ AS STRIKEBREAKER

No sooner had the Dec. 5 Bulletin warned in a bold headline that "Anti-Strike Legislation Threatens Unions" than it was revealed that before the elections LBJ had quietly set up a special panel whose task it will be "to search for new ways to cope with strikes that are judged to threaten the national interest." This panel is to submit a report by mid-December which could be used as the basis for new emergency "strike legislation".

Now that the election is over



LBJ does not need to be as quiet about these plans for (anti) "strike legislation" while at the same time moving cautiously as to the exact form of such legislation. Apparently, there are divisions within the administration and the capitalist class as a whole as to how best to cook the goose. Whether they come up with some form of compulsory arbitration (which Taft-Hartley lacks) or as the Wall Street Journal suggests, outright anti-strike legislation similar to that of the

Wilson government in Britain --one thing is certain--they plan to cook labor's goose one way or another.

It is possible that many workers do not realize that the outcome of this anti-strike legislation could put militant rank and file trade unionists behind bars while their brothers are forced into submission. Rank and file unionists should realize that not only is such government repression possible but that the workers can do something to fight it. The militancy of the workers in the transit and airlines strikes can be carried over to a militancy against Johnson and his Democratic Party "friends of labor" who are fashioning the strait-jacket for labor. In other words, the economic fight against the employers' government. This means a complete break with the phoney labor politics of COPE sponsored by Meany and the other bureaucrats. It means that the militant rank and file in the unions must stop looking for capitalist "friends" and start putting up their own people independently, in opposition to the Democratic Party.

COLLARS-WHITE, BLUE

The last year and one half has seen a marked gain in the organization of workers previously outside of unions. The AFL-CIO reports the percentage of NLRB elections won in the year ending last June 30th was 57.8%, the highest in ten years. The 243,994 workers for whom AFL-CIO unions won bargaining rights was the largest number in seven years.

A "sign of the times" is that a newly-formed union of teaching assistants at the University of Minnesota is considering af-

iliation with the Teamsters Union. There has been a tremendous spurt in the organization of college teachers, hitherto considered "unorganizable" by many in the labor movement. The AFL-CIO American Federation of Teachers now claims more than 25,000 college teacher members--more than triple the total of two years ago. The AFT has organized 1,000 instructors at Chicago Junior Colleges, 14 of 18 campuses in the California state college system and has recently made headway in a campaign for withdrawal of accreditation from St. John's University where AFT members were fired last year for striking. The successes of the AFT represent a trend toward union-consciousness and militancy by many white collar and even so-called professional workers. The potential of alliances of such workers with 'blue collar' workers was recently illustrated by the decision of the New York welfare department workers to form an alliance with the sanitation workers to fight the City's anti-labor Tri-Partite plan. (See Bulletin, Dec. 5, 1966.)

BREAKING THE CHAINS

Another group of workers that have gained in union organization are low paid unskilled and semi-skilled workers such as are employed in New York City's chain restaurants. Last year, an organizing drive of the Hotel and Restaurants Employees Union won representation at the Horn and Hardart "Automat" chain after many years of unsuccessful attempts. Recently, the same union won a contract representing the 4,000 hitherto unorganized

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printed entirely by union labor

Schraffts employees. Shortly afterwards, the union won representation of the 900 workers at the Bickfords chain which had also resisted organization. It is not without significance that a majority of the workers at these chains are Negro or Spanish speaking, (mainly Puerto Rican), further exploding the myth sometimes voiced in liberal and Negro nationalist circles that low paid minority workers are against unions or that unions are the property of privileged whites.

TEXAS BATTLE

Since its very beginning the Bulletin has featured reports on the drive by the NFWA to organize the California agricultural workers in opposition to the capitalist growers like

Di Giorgio and their vicious goon cops. This drive to organize agricultural workers has now taken hold in the Texas Rio Grande valley. (See Bulletin, Dec. 5). The latest ploy of the capitalist growers there has been to bring in scabs from across the border in Mexico. The Mexican-American workers who have been trying to organize their union in face of vicious opposition of the local Starr County government have been stopping the poverty stricken Mexican nationals as they cross the international bridges to attempt to work the struck farms.

A recent rally of the strikers was the culmination of a march by 40 of the workers some 500 miles to the state capital in Austin where they petitioned for a \$1.25 minimum wage. The strikers are currently paid \$.85 an hour. While no help can be expected from the Texas legislature, the announcement by strike leader Eugene Nelson that the farm workers would organize politically to "sweep the cockroaches" out of the county courthouse in 1968 is hopefully a beginning of the kind of organization which will sweep the cockroaches out of office in the state and federal government as well.

SSEU

(Continued from page 1) the lack of a militant lead from the SSEU.

What is needed is a massive campaign of organizing and leafletting to make all major contract issues clear. Also essential is material directed to clerks and supervisors to show that we want to fight with them against the city for the best possible settlement. A general membership meeting should be called and the build up for the meeting should stress its absolute urgency.

The task before the militants is the building of a broad based left wing caucus capable of advancing a program and perspective for struggle against the city.

Kremlin and Washington Conspire Against China, Vietnam

all fear working class

by Fred Mueller

The U.S. State Department announced on November 28 that it was raising U.S. diplomatic relations with Hungary and Bulgaria to the ambassadorial level.

The initiative in this latest and very significant move towards closer relations between the imperialists and the Stalinist bureaucracy in Eastern Europe was taken by the U.S. The bureaucracy responded quickly. And the move comes just 10 years after the heroic but abortive Hungarian Revolution. In a recent issue of the Bulletin we pointed out the growing friendliness and community of interest between the Stalinists and the imperialists. This latest development only underlines this fact more sharply.

As the war in Vietnam deepens, the bureaucracy "normalizes" relations with the very imperialists who are being forced to follow a more and more brutal and aggressive policy to meet their growing crisis. The cynicism with which the Soviet bureaucracy

pushes the heroic Vietnamese people to the side, so to speak, must be exposed and understood. We cannot allow the continued betrayals to go unanswered.

isolation

A basic aim of Kremlin policy is to isolate China, and all the latest moves fit into that pattern. Gromyko's revealing discussions with Rusk and with Johnson himself point up the extremely grave danger posed by the continued and more and more open betrayals of the Stalinists.

The very fact that U.S. -Soviet discussions on Soviet-Chinese border tensions and other problems took place at all is significant. Implicit in the discussions was an appeal by the Russians for "understanding" and even perhaps more than that, in relation to their continuing and worsening disputes on the long Soviet-Chinese border. Not only is the ideological split continually sharpening, even the possibility of some kind of limited common front against the im-

perialists is now being completely ruled out in favor of a more and more open bloc between the imperialists and the Kremlin against the Chinese! As recently as a couple of years ago, the Kremlin at least verbally reaffirmed its defense of China against imperialism, in spite of its sharp differences. Even such verbal assurances are not now forthcoming. This rapid evolution of the Soviet position now only proves the depth of the crisis of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

hungary

But the Chinese are not at all blameless in this situation. The bureaucracy which is now maneuvering against them is the same bureaucracy which crushed the Hungarian workers, with the enthusiastic support of the Chinese leadership. The Chinese uphold the very same anti-internationalist and anti-Marxist dogma which has given rise to so-called modern revisionism is its advanced state of decay.

The Chinese uphold the early

stage of decay, which is of course no fundamental improvement as far as the working class is concerned. They denounce the symptom but resolutely defend the disease itself. This is clearly shown by their past and present policies, in relation to Hungary, to the Indonesian debacle, to their rule in China and to the current so-called cultural revolution. It must be stressed that Stalin, Mao, Krushchev and Brezhnev all have nothing in common with Leninism and have much more in common among themselves than any of them do with Marxism.

But our analysis cannot stop here. We cannot look at the latest developments apart from their roots and development. It is not enough to merely observe the strength of the imperialists, the isolation of the Chinese, and the non-Marxist character of both the Moscow and Peking leaderships. If we neglect to take the world crisis of capitalism and the bureaucracy into account, the latest trends towards the increased isolation of China will

leave the impression of a strengthened imperialist world, whereas the reality is far different. This impressionism and formalism is what lies behind the pessimism of groupings such as the Spartacist and the Voix Ouvriere group in France.

deepening

We must remember that the capitalists must also contend with the world working class. It is the class struggle, as a matter of fact, it is the struggles and pressures exerted by the working class all over the world, in the U.S. and Britain, Hungary and the USSR, as well as in Vietnam, which is giving rise to the growing detente between the U.S. and the USSR and the concomitant isolation of China.

The imperialist and Stalinist crisis is deepening, not easing. Never has the opportunity as well as the necessity for the building of a new revolutionary leadership through the Fourth International been greater.

SLL WRITES: WAGE CONTINUOUS STRUGGLE FOR DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM

To: The First National Conference of the A. C. F. I.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the S. L. L. we send you warmest fraternal greetings for the success of your inaugural conference.

The working class in the United States is the most powerful force in the world and it is within this class that you must build your party.

This is a basic principle of Marxism and one which applies with particular urgency to the conditions existing inside the United States. It is not Black Power or the dozens of peace and civil rights movements which extend throughout the country which will resolve the basic questions of our time but the working class led by a revolutionary party.

It is at this point that we separate ourselves completely from the revisionists. We emphatically reject their idea that the Negroes by themselves as well as middle class movements can settle accounts with American imperialism. Whatever critical support we are called upon from time to time to extend to such movements the essence of our support must be based upon making clear our criticisms of their shortcomings.

If we appreciate the role of the working class then we will understand how important it is to wage a continuous struggle for dialectical materialism as against pragmatism and empirical idealist philosophy.

It will be worse than useless to pay lip service to such a struggle and hope that your movement can muddle along without coming to grips with the basic source of revisionism.

We shall do everything in our power to help you with this struggle. But at your conference we urge you not to evade it. The historical education of the revolutionary party must proceed from an understanding that all its day to day difficulties have to be seen as a development to the challenge of

Marxist theory. This theory cannot be extended except through the building of the revolutionary party. Every time you come across difficulties, accept that they are a challenge to the extension of Marxist theory. Once we understand this process we shall really succeed in overcoming our difficult problems.

It is not enough to write about the trade unions. All over the metropolitan capitalist countries these organizations are now thrown more and more into a crisis because of the weakening economy of imperialism. This applies to the United States as well as to Britain. We must make every effort to intervene and make contact with all workers who are in struggle within the trade unions.

The contents of your paper show that this is very much appreciated by A. C. F. I. but please do not forget one important fact. The more you penetrate the trade unions the more you are called upon to tackle the basic questions of the application of dialectical materialism.

It is precisely in these organizations that the ranks of the working class are held back by idealist pragmatism.

The S. W. P. and the Robertson group are in the same revisionist camp. You are the only representative of revolutionary Marxism in the whole of the North American continent today. We are confident that you will take this responsibility as seriously in the future as you have done in the past.

Allow us once again to wish you every success in your conference and to assure you that we will be looking forward with great interest to learning about what you decide.

Yours fraternally, G. Healy, National Secretary Socialist Labour League.

WORKERS LEAGUE

(Continued from page 1)

working class. This has already found expression in the militant struggles of the Negro people and the increasingly intense strike battles of the trade union movement--the New York City transit strike and the airline strike in particular.

It is the responsibility of American Marxists, the document insists, to intervene in these new struggles, to bring class consciousness to the American working class. Radicals who abstain from the struggles of the working class, like the Socialist Workers Party, are betraying the cause of socialism.

labor party

The central need of the American working class is to turn these economic struggles into political struggles. The great American trade union movement is basically impotent because the labor bureaucracy that dominates it ties it to the capitalist system and their two major parties. Thus socialists interject into all struggles of the class the need for a workers party, for a labor party based on the trade unions as the next great step forward.

The Perspectives resolution sees the Federal Government being increasingly forced towards a serious confrontation with the labor movement. This confrontation will expose the true antilabor character of both capitalist parties and the futility of battling the bosses on the economic front only to vote for the bosses' parties at the polls.

The resolution will be printed in its entirety as a special insert in the next issue of the Bulletin.

8 page paper

Following the adoption of the resolution, Tim Wohlforth made a report on its concrete implementation. The central proposal was to struggle to expand the printed Bulletin to eight pages by September of 1967. This would enable the Bulletin to increase its coverage of the trade unions and Negro movement, expand its treatment of political and theoretical questions, and enlarge its circulation. A special drive to expand the paid circulation of the Bulletin was also launched to give a real base for this expansion.

It was also announced that the Bulletin would sponsor a national tour this Spring to expand the circulation of the press and to develop the Workers League in new areas. The publication and distribution of books, pamphlets and other literature is also to be stepped up. The central goal in all this work is to transform the Workers League into a serious national movement capable of carrying out its central tasks within the American working class.

Reports from local areas stressed the impact the printed paper was having and the success members experienced selling the paper in working class districts where no other socialist paper had been seen for years or perhaps decades. All agreed there was a real receptivity on such issues as the inflation, the need for a labor party, the war in Vietnam, the growth of racism. Members also reported on important beginnings of trade union work which open up the possibility of serious caucus formations in the coming period.

worker youth

A point of discussion under both the Perspectives resolution and national and local tasks, was the youth. The Coordinating Committee of A. C.



BULLETIN EDITOR TIM WOHLFORTH REPORTS.

F. I. had drafted a special addenda to the Perspectives resolution proposing an orientation towards teenage working class youth. These youth feel more directly the threat of unemployment, the draft, race prejudice. These youth are also freer from conservatizing influence than their parents and more open to revolutionary ideas. The addenda was adopted by the conference and this work has already begun.

Bob Johnson of the Twin Cities gave a separate report on the American Negro and the relation of his struggle with those of the working class as a whole. The report was accepted and the incoming National Executive Committee of the Workers

League was instructed to draft a complete resolution on the Negro question as soon as possible. (See page 4 for summary of Johnson's report)

international

A highlight of the conference was the report of the representative of the International Committee of the Fourth International. The IC representative stressed the central importance of the Third Congress of the International Committee held last April. This Congress was held at the time of an enormous crisis of the capitalist system which was presenting in the most forceful way the need for revolutionary leadership of the working class. The two groups which walked out of that Congress --Voix Ouvriere and Spartacist--symbolize the dissension of the working class at the time of its greatest need. The Voix Ouvriere, which writes off the whole struggle for Trotskyism within the Fourth International since 1940, represents a middle class rejection of theory. Spartacist represents the other side of the coin, a middle class rejection of proletarian discipline.

The representative also stressed the importance of the recent Liege demonstration where 900 French and English youth marched with the program of the Fourth International as a serious force in continental Western Europe. There is an enormous response among young people in Europe to internationalism, itself a reflection of the growing capitalist crisis and the revival of the working class.

In the eyes of the International Committee, the crisis of U.S. capitalism in particular is of central importance. The great violent struggles of the Negro masses in Watts and elsewhere are primarily significant as forerunners of the coming struggles of the working class as a whole. The concept of the working class smashing imperialism is not a distant dream but a very immediate question of our day. This is why the International Committee takes such an interest in the development of those who fight for its program in the United States.

continuity

Included in the attendance at the conference were comrades who had participated in the great class struggles of the 1930s as well as young comrades just coming to socialist consciousness in this period. The continuity of the Workers League with the past struggles of the Socialist Workers Party has been maintained within the actual membership of the organization.

The group that had gathered together, small though it is, is qualitatively different from the old SWP. This organization begins first and foremost with the international struggle, with internationalism. It has conducted and continues to conduct a constant battle against American pragmatism and for the Marxist method. It is now going through an internal revolution as it breaks out of its propagandistic existence and seeks to connect up with the American working class.

There is no other group in the United States which is even attempting this. The struggle for Marxism, for internationalism, for leadership in concrete workers' struggles are all part of the same struggle. This struggle today is conducted in the United States only by the Workers League which stands in solidarity with the International Committee of the Fourth International.

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report to conference

The Socialist Road to Negro Emancipation

by Bob Johnson

(The following is a summary of Comrade Johnson's presentation on the Negro question to the founding conference of the Workers League.)

Part and parcel with the concrete intervention is the development of Marxist theory. Theory without intervention is no theory at all, while intervention without a never ceasing struggle for theoretical clarity is utter opportunism.

The development of our resolution on the Negro struggle is inseparable from our methodological approach. Many of the past mistakes made by would-be Marxists in relation to both theoretical and political work within the Negro struggle can be traced to methodological errors in the beginning of their work.

Without correct method, which sees reality in change, it also is easy to fall into formalist errors. Formal method is inflexible, unable to see the relationship between form and content, to see the limitations, temporal and physical of its generalizations. Thus we have a prejudiced "white working class", "integrationists", "separatists", "Negro struggle", "nationalism", "third world and colonial revolution".

The formalist will never see the changing meaning (content) of these terms and forms of struggle.

The mistakes of "radicals" in the U.S. on this question is bound up with the world-wide crisis of working class leadership. Only as we struggle toward resolving this crisis on all fronts, in all its aspects, can we speak of developing a resolution on the Negro question. As "unique" to America as this question is, it cannot be abstracted from the world working class struggle, from the development of a world revolutionary perspective and a revolutionary perspective for the U.S.

race-class

In "Black Nationalism and Marxist Theory" we came forward with the concept of the Negro as a "race-class" in an attempt to get to the origins of the Negro question. While today, in the crisis of imperialism, this "race-class" is in a process of disintegration, it is essential to an understanding of the material roots of the question as



WATTS 1965 -- VICTORY WILL COME WHEN NEGRO JOINS STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM.

well as to the dynamic of the struggles of Negroes historically in the U.S.

At once the description "race-class" implies the dual nature of the Negro people and the dual nature of the Negro struggle. It suggests that in the Negro people we have a people with a fairly distinct characteristic of "race" who were separated off in the process of the proletarianization and the growth of capitalism in the 1600's and 1700's for a special class position in slave society. This "race" aspect was developed into a social feature in this process, with its own logic, while the class position determined and provided the arena for waging a struggle against the race system (social discrimination on the basis of race) as part and parcel of the class struggle.

This is our general perspective then: The Negro people are separated off on the basis of race for a unique, special status, within the class structure of American society as a whole, the working class in particular. (Thus class forces bind them to the society while race is used to keep them separate.)

We must analyze the dialectic of "race-class" struggle, the unity of the struggle against capitalism (of course not some contrived civil-rights--labor--peace coalition), the inner mechanism of these struggles, their processes--and all this from the framework of our overall perspective for the building of the vanguard party and our understanding of the class

struggle in all its manifestations.

(Our general orientation toward the Negro struggle is as proletarian revolutionaries. We struggle for class unity, class power, class consciousness and leadership in today's struggles in their development into tomorrow's battles.)

We cannot address the Negro struggle as outsiders giving advice about Marxism as does the SLP nor do we see our job as that of standing on the sidelines cheering on all developments as does the SWP. These two positions might be viewed as opposite extremes to be avoided. On the contrary they reduce themselves to essentially the same thing--abstentionism, complete abdication of the responsibility of Marxists to change the world, to develop revolutionary theory and raise the level of existing consciousness.

To speak of working class unity, black and white, we are speaking in terms of a struggle in development. We are not pretending that white workers are not prejudiced. We see the problem of black-white unity as part of the general problem of working class unity. Rather than deny today's obstacles to such unity, we must fight to overcome them. We pose class unity of black and white workers not out of allegiance to old dogmas, nor because it would be "nice", nor because Negroes are only a minority. It is rather out of a profound analysis of both the workers struggle and the Negro strug-

gle and what it is going to take for victory.

Going back to the Negro struggle: we asserted that we have a race question in the context history "provided" for its solution--the class struggle. How can we make this clearer? An historical analysis of the problems of the Negro struggle and the class struggle in America will shed much light on this whole question.

Those periods in the history of the Negro struggle at which the greatest breadth of action, scope and dynamic were reached, were those in which the class struggle in America similarly sharpened and cut away the apparent "harmony".

abolition

The Abolition movement prior to the Civil War is an excellent example. The anti-slavery struggle brought the American working class to its highest degree of class consciousness to date. This came not out of sympathy for the oppressed slaves but rather out of class opposition to the expansion of the slave system into the western lands. They correctly felt the danger to their status as free workers in the expansion of slave labor.

As saturated with Southern propaganda as the workers were, as afraid of the potential competition with freed Negroes as the workers were, they united with them in a dramatic effort against the slavocracy because they felt the real threat to their security in the competition with the

system of slave labor. It was just a matter of which force was stronger, which problem to the workers was more pressing, more vital to their existence. After the war, the labor movement and the Negro movement went in opposite directions, given the bourgeois nature of the Reconstruction and the low level of the leadership of both movements.

populism

The Populist Movement which swept the country at the end of the century again saw the Negro struggle reach a higher stage of development. The unity of poor whites and Negroes in the South against the ruling class terrified the latter, and Jim Crow in its worst forms can be traced to this reaction of the masters to the temporary unity against them by their servants, the oppressed Negro and white farmers of the South.

Much more serious attention must be given to historical analysis of the Negro struggle in America. Without such analysis it is understandable that many absurd conclusions still be drawn by impressionistically reacting to today's struggles and jumping to conclusions based on premises other than the basic feature of the U.S.--the class struggle.

transcends

Negro and labor history have both shown that the class struggle not only transcends race but also provides the only adequate base for the solution of both class and race problems. The Negro struggle as an independent question does not "go away" or become "secondary" with increased class struggle but is deepened, more resolutely led.

Lastly, it is the merging of the Negro struggle and the class struggle of workers that is essential to the victory of both struggles. This requires correct leadership which can catch hold of the full meaning of the present epoch. The recognition of the primacy of the class struggle enriches and deepens one's understanding of the Negro struggle. The next step in the Negro struggle, if it is to succeed, will be in the direction of class struggle of all workers, the unity of the working class against capitalism.

JOHNSON CUTS

(Continued from page 1)

It is essential to understand that for the capitalists there is only one solution to any threat to their profits. They must make the workers pay for it. Democrat or Republican, liberal or conservative, their main difference is how best to shift the burden onto the working class. That is all. The British wage freeze and anti-strike legislation is a good example of how British capitalists must deal with serious threats to their profits.

One school demands fiscal responsibility. They scream about budget deficits and inflation and advocate cutting down welfare expenditures and

holding back wages to guarantee the employers a larger share of an inflated pie. The other school steals from the workers by raising prices and reducing the worth of the wages workers receive. Lord Keynes was an eloquent spokesman for this. "Whilst workers will usually resist a reduction of money wages it is not their practice to withdraw their labor whenever there is a rise in the price of wage goods." (What a marvelous defense of theft!)

stolen

In practice Lyndon Johnson has stolen from both schools in order to steal from the

workers. He cuts welfare, plots anti-labor legislation and possible tax increases and all the while he inflates. It is necessary to add that these policies themselves are somewhat contradictory.

Inflation may decrease the real wages of workers but it also brings into question the soundness of the dollar and increases the tendency to turn in dollars for gold. The budget deficit causes by the Vietnam War makes a tax increase all the more necessary. Yet while tax increases are one way to deflate the economy they can add to the crisis just when certain key sectors are experiencing a downturn. High

interest rates are contributing greatly to the construction recession, but attempts to ease money restrictions could add to the flow of dollars abroad in search of higher interest! Attempts to ease the balance of payments problem by cutting back of imports and by cutting back on funds for underdeveloped countries will have profound effects on European and colonial economies which will in turn affect the U.S. economy.

In preparing to deal with its own economic crisis the U.S. will have to take on not only its own working class but the workers and peasants of the entire world.

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