

*Handwritten: H. Rap Brown - Birmingham Dept. of - 66 -
Workers League*

HOOVER
SEP 11 1967
INSTITUTION

OPEN LETTER TO DUBOIS CLUBS CONVENTION

Bulletin

OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

Vol. 4, No. 1

67-89

Sept. 11, 1967

Ten Cents

H. RAP BROWN

Why The Persecution A Look At His Program

The 'long hot summer', which may not yet be over, of ghetto rebellions has brought into the limelight the names of Stokley Carmichael and H. Rap Brown. The yellow journalists, joined in an equally vicious way by the pundits of the more respectable press like the New York Times, have attempted to create the impression that these men are the cause of the so-called riots.

The press, of course is not alone in elevating these men to an apparent position of omnipotence. 'Black Power' advocate H. Rap Brown, Chairman of SNCC has now replaced Carmichael who is on a world tour as the number one whipping boy of the American judicial system. Brown was indicted in Maryland for instigating arson and riots and currently is out on bail in New York after a courtroom struggle which reduced his bail from 25,000 to 15,000 dollars. This smear campaign and government persecution must be opposed 100% by all those who call themselves socialists or claims to believe in the principles of American democracy.

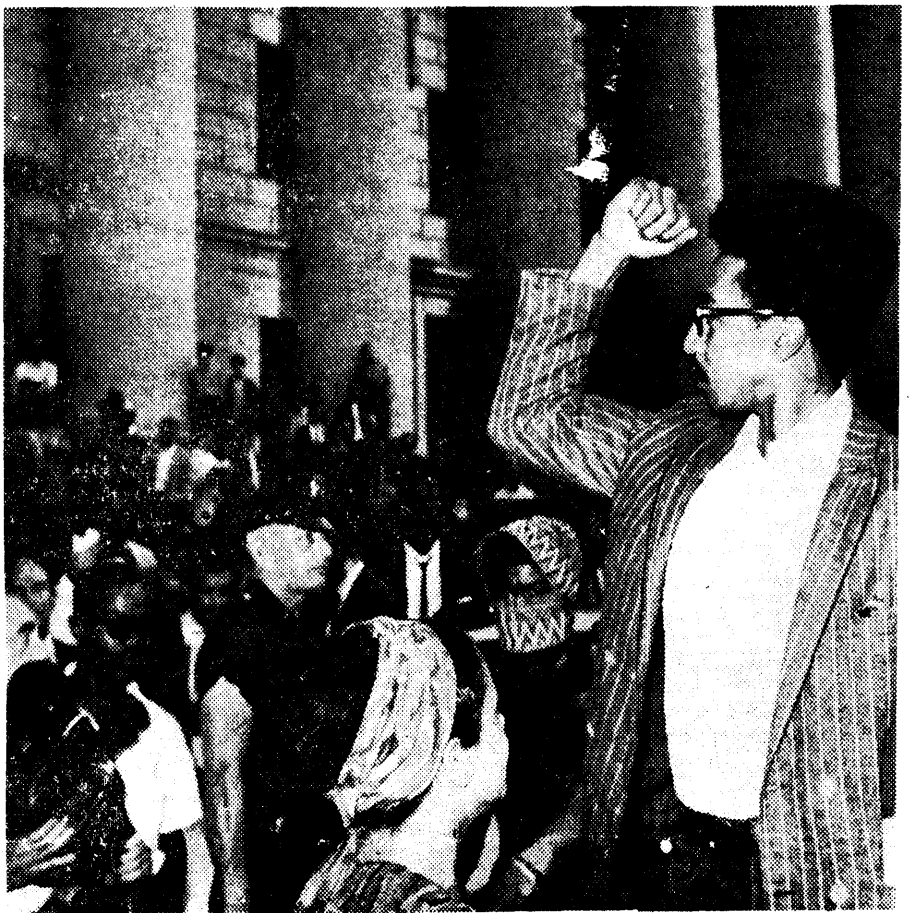
The persecution of Brown and the hysteria that accompanies it is a shame-faced attempt to divert attention away from the basic causes of the rebellion: the miserable conditions of the black workers in the ghetto created by capitalism. At the same time, the campaign against Brown is an attempt by the ruling class to intensify racism among white workers by portraying Brown as some kind of mad demon who is going to lead the masses in a bloody war to exterminate the whites. Brown, in his own way, illustrated the absurdity of the charges when he shrugged them off, saying, "I don't have to tell people what to burn. Did I tell black people to burn Detroit?"

In reality it is a complete myth that Brown as a leader has any base among the masses in the black ghetto. This is not necessarily to his credit and reflects the reality that his following is primarily among middle class white and black radicals, middle class black nationalists, etc. The same can be said of Stokley Carmichael, who is played into a great black leader not only by the press but by many radicals and socialists as well. A recent item in Newsweek (Aug. 7, 1967) says quite a bit about Carmichael's relation to the struggle of the black masses: "When Stokley Carmichael sounded off in Michigan's second largest city last May, its 20,000 local Negroes virtually ignored him. But the Detroit riots triggered a spree of arson and looting that engulfed Grand Rapids along with five other outstate cities. Some 250 guardsmen poured in to restore order...after 44 persons had been injured and 278 arrested, Grand Rapids Negroes were slowly returning to normal."

Defense of Brown against the frame-ups and persecutions do not imply support to his program of 'black power' any more than our criticisms imply lack of support to the rebellions themselves which we see not as 'race riots' but as class wars. Seeing the rebellions only racially, as struggles for 'black power', Brown believes these rebellions if only increased qualitatively but remaining limited to black people, can emancipate the black man. Believing as he does that "an organized minority always wins" and that "all you need to make a revolution is matches, a can of gasoline and some rags", Brown offers a course of inevitable defeat, frustration and demoralization to black militants.

The "power" that oppresses the black worker is the "power" of the capitalist class, based not on color, but on profits--on the dollar. These profits are maintained by the exploitation of the entire working class black and white. The power to maintain this exploitation is provided for the capitalists not only

(Continued on Page 8)



H. RAP BROWN SPEAKS OUT

MEANY THREATENS NATIONALIZATION-P.2

NEW YORK TEACHERS PREPARE STRIKE-p. 2

INTERNATIONAL YOUTH MANIFESTO-p.4

CHINESE BATTLE BRITISH IN HONG KONG

-p.6

ARAB MASSES FIGHT ISRAELI RULE-p.6

WEST COAST PEACE GROUPS DUMP SWP

-p.8



Future of Latin American Revolution.....

.....aftermath of OLAS conference

EDITORIAL

Meany Threatens Nationalization

George Meany, President of the A.F.L.-C.I.O., usually considered a safe, sane and "respected labor statesman" by the spokesmen and leaders of big business in America, has recently earned the disfavor of that great "liberal" spokesman for the bosses, The New York Times. What did Meany the man who once bragged to the N.A.M. that he had never led a strike, say to bring the wrath of the Times down on his head? What crime did he commit?

Reacting to the action by Congress last July in blocking the Machinist's strike against the railroads and in seeking to impose a compulsory settlement on the strikers, Mr. Meany raised the "spectre" of nationalization. Meany didn't call for the nationalization of all basic industry and utilities or breathe a word about "workers control". Hardly. He simply called for the nationalization of industries, like the railroads, where the government outlaws strikes which are "against the public interest". Meany said that such industries should be "taken out of private hands", that no one should get a private profit out of the operation of a business that cannot be struck. It is only natural that the Times, the voice of the bosses should get nervous when the spokesman for a 14,000,000 man strong labor movement challenges almighty private profit, even in the limited way that Meany has.

For the bosses, profit is first and the welfare of the workers and the right to strike be damned. But the workers can only keep their heads above water and try to get a little more out of the "great society" by fighting the bosses and the government which protects big business. The cries from the Times that labor does not represent the "public" are a smokescreen behind which the bosses grind down the working class all over the world from Vietnam to Detroit in order to maintain their bloated profits.

The workers should give a clear answer to the Times and the Johnson administrations' plans for anti-labor legislation which will increasingly outlaw strikes: Nationalize, yes. Not just the railroads, but the utilities like Con. Ed., the Banks and all of basic industry under control and management of committees elected by the workers themselves in the shops and plants. We support Meany's call 100%, but feel that the workers should do him one bet-

confront anti-strike offensive

NYC Teachers Face Showdown With Lindsay

by Fred Calhoun

NEW YORK-- As the September 11th date for the opening of schools draws closer, there is little indication that there will be a contract for the 56,000 teachers represented by the United Federation of Teachers (AFL-CIO). The union is asking for a pay scale of \$7,200-\$14,000, an expanded teacher training program, increases in welfare benefits and the number of sick days, a reduction in class size, and the expansion of the "More Effective Schools" program into every ghetto school. The union has already committed itself not to return to work without a contract. However, Al Shanker, president of the UFT, was able to get the union delegates to call for mass resignations instead of a strike--this is to evade the penalties of the new Taylor Law (known as RAT) that fines municipal unions for striking.

The Board of Education has announced that for any consideration of a pay raise, the union will have to agree to give up certain gains won in previous contracts--like a cutback in the number of "self-treated" sick days--

and accept measures that would cause a marked deterioration of education in ghetto schools: for example, decreasing the number of preparation periods and the elimination of teaching positions in the MES program. At the same time, the city also announced that starting in September, 80,000 children living less than one mile from school would no longer be given free transportation. All told, these measures are part of a generalized attack on the working class by the bosses; not only to lower real wages and worsen working conditions on the job, but to cut costs in such vital areas as health benefits, welfare, and education. As the capitalists prepare to increase unemployment and automation, they have no intention of wasting money to provide education and job training for the children of the working class.

costs

Lindsay intends to continue his plan to cut labor costs in New York. Having beaten the Social Service Employees Union, the UFT is next on his agenda. No doubt, he expects that Shanker, who sold out his membership in 1963 and 1965, will be of assistance to him now. In the past Shanker has taken advantage of the summer vacation to prevent adequate strike preparation and to allow him to negotiate in secret with the Board. Then he would call a delegate assembly shortly before school was set to open and tell all of the "victory" that had been won. Unprepared for a strike, and not able to read Shanker's settlement, the delegates had no choice but to accept the settlement and call off the strike. The fact is that while certain undisputable gains have been won, the starting salary for teachers has increased by only \$100 since the first contract was ratified in 1962. The ranks are certainly disgusted with

Shanker's sell-outs and have demanded a substantial pay raise, and also have made it clear that they would like to see in writing what they are getting before they open the schools in September.

In an attempt to get public support for their strike, the UFT has begun a campaign of plastering posters in the subways and taking spot commercials on the radio calling on the populace to support the union in its efforts to give New York the school system it deserves. But the union must go beyond these vague appeals. It must come out clearly for massive expenditures of federal money for quality education--with control by school boards elected by the community; for replacing outmoded vocational training with real apprentice programs with the promise of jobs--controlled by the trade unions; for free transportation and lunches for every student.

students

Teachers must consider their students as allies. In this regard, the UFT's demand that each teacher have the power to suspend "disruptive students" is particularly reactionary, for it places the teachers squarely on the side of the school system against their pupils. Teachers must support the demands of youth for a decent life with a meaningful future--without the prospect of unemployment or a one-way ticket to Vietnam. Last June students in a Harlem school staged a one-day boycott of school with the approval of the UFT to protest the dismissal of two teachers from the MES program. A mass refusal of students to return to school without their teachers would be helpful in winning better conditions for teachers and students. And teachers should not let their "professional dignity" prevent students from walking picket lines.



LABOR LEADERS JOIN BUSINESS TYCOONS IN PRAYER

ter by mounting a campaign throughout the trade union movement for this goal under the slogan NATIONALIZATION NOW--UNDER WORKERS CONTROL. The achievement of this goal and even the beginnings of a militant campaign for it would be a real step forward for the trade union movement and do a millions times more for the "public interest" than the hypocritical editorials of the Times.

Certainly, Johnson and the bosses parties, the Democrats and Republicans, will laugh at this goal, rejecting it out of hand. But their laughter will turn into rage and tears when the workers say, "no, we're not kidding" and begin to organize their own party, a labor party as the only means of achieving nationalization. The militants who want to spark the campaign for nationalization must once again do Mr. Meany one better by leading the fight for a labor party to challenge LBJ and all other Democrats and Republicans in '68 breaking forever with all phoney "Friends of Labor".

To win their strike, teachers must understand that what is happening to them is part of an attack on all workers. Here in New York, Lindsay intends to solve the city's financial problems on the backs of municipal workers by keeping up a policy of job freezes, speed-ups, reorganization plans, and lay-offs. To do so, he must as much as possible turn the unions into organs of the state apparatus and prevent workers from striking. This is the meaning of the Taylor Law. Just as important is Lindsay's Office of Collective Bargaining. Instituted with the full cooperation of the city labor bureaucracy, OCB channels all labor disputes to a seven-man panel who decide just what issues a union has the right to negotiate on and then makes recommendations for a settlement. Sitting on this panel--as representatives of the working man--are Paul Hall, head of the Seafarers Union and Al Shanker's old pal, Harry Van Arsdale, head of the Central Labor Council. We can expect that both the city and Van Arsdale will pressure Shanker into accepting the good offices of OCB to settle the teachers' dispute and send the teachers back to work on September 11--without a contract ratified.

Several weeks ago, the Fireman's Benevolent Society pulled out of OCB; they had been told that the number of firemen on a truck had nothing to do with job content. Another city union, 371, representing clerks and supervisors in the Department of Welfare was informed that they could not bargain on work load. If Shanker recommends that the union accept OCB, the ranks must emphatically reject it--or else they will discover that issues like class size and the number of unassigned periods are matter of policy to be determined by the Board of Education only.

There are presently several

caucuses in the UFT that have correctly come out against Shanker's resignation gimmick and in favor of a strike call. But no alternative leadership has come forth with a program that could lead the ranks to victory. Central to such a program would be the recognition that the strike is a political one, waged against the government's attempt to throttle the unions with laws like RAT and OCB. A defeat of the teachers now, especially after the recent defeat of SSEU, would be a severe blow to the city labor movement, and would make the task of other unions--like the Transit Workers Union, whose contract expires December 31--to maintain the wages and working conditions of its workers that much more difficult.

support

There must be a determined effort to reach city labor and mobilize the ranks against RAT and OCB and in support of the UFT. The June 19 rally at City Hall when some 7000 teachers demonstrated in the rain must be repeated on a larger scale--with the participation of thousands of other city workers--as the first step in such a campaign. Workers in other city unions must campaign for their unions to come out solidly behind the UFT in whatever steps are necessary to defeat the city even to the extent of staging sympathy strikes. Preparations must be made now so that the government does not dare invoke the penalties of the RAT Law, so that the principles behind OCB are smashed once and for all, and so that the entire labor movement can take the offensive from the bosses in a campaign to protect the wages and working conditions of every working man. This will require, in addition to the economic struggle or political struggle, the building of an alternative to the anti-labor Democratic and Republican parties--the labor party.

Subscribe Now!

enclosed 50¢ for ten issue introductory sub.
enclosed \$2.00 for full year's sub.

Name _____

St _____ City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Send to: Bulletin of International Socialism, Rm. 8, 243 E. 10 St. NYC 10003. Checks payable to: Bulletin of International Socialism.

Open Letter to W. E. B. DuBois Clubs Convention: NEW POLITICS - VIETNAM - GHETTOS - OCTOBER



W. E. B. DUBOIS

To the Third National Convention
W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America

Dear Comrades,

Your convention is being called, as you note, at a time of "deep and growing unrest in America." Precisely for this reason the challenge before socialist youth is greater than in any other period in recent history. The possibility of building a mass socialist organization with real roots particularly among working class youth is a very real one.

Such a movement can only be built by squarely facing up to political questions and struggling to develop a program that can make socialism a reality in the United States. Frank discussion among socialist youth is therefore an absolute necessity. It is in this spirit that we address you on four critically important political issues.

NEW POLITICS

We have read your statement to the National Conference for New Politics meeting in Chicago with great interest. We agree completely with you on the need for a complete break with the two major capitalist parties and to struggle to present a real alternative to Johnson in 1968. But what is needed, in our opinion, is first of all a complete and fundamental break with these two parties and secondly the creation of a party that poses a real alternative program to those of the two major parties.

We feel it is wrong and dangerous to advocate, as you do, combining work within the Democratic or Republican parties with support for a third party presidential alternative. Johnson's policies are not the policies of Johnson the man. These policies find political expression in this country through both major parties. This is because of the class nature of these parties. Both parties are defenders of the capitalist system and as you yourself note the unrest presently rocking this country "is created by the crisis of a system based on exploitation. It is aggravated by an imperialist war." This system you refer to is capitalism and imperialism, as you well know, is not the policy of individuals but inherent within the capitalist system itself.

If a third party presidential ticket is combined with work within these capitalist parties such a ticket, rather than representing a real break from the politics of the system which perpetrates the imperialist war against the Vietnamese and creates

the general crisis in this country, such a party will only be a cover for continued subservience to these politics.

Yes we need to "offer a concrete alternative to the two war parties." But these two parties are war parties because they are capitalist parties. That is, these parties must defend the social system they are rooted in, based upon, and in this period this requires imperialist war. There is no such thing as a "peace" party or "peace" candidate which is also a capitalist party or a capitalist candidate. Its absurd to think that peace can be achieved by the capitalists. A class alternative must be created. The only class capable of offering an anti-imperialist alternative to the imperialist drive of the capitalists is the working class.

This is why we say socialists must struggle to create a labor party, a party based primarily on the trade unions but also including the exploited minority peoples and the youth.

We are as aware as you are of the difficulties in building a labor party in this country. We realize that the trade union leadership supports the war in Vietnam, is generally hostile to the Negro masses, and distant from working class youth. We are also aware that such sentiments penetrate many rank and file workers exposed as they are day in and day out to capitalist propaganda.

Therefore the building of a labor party cannot be separated from a struggle to reach the American working class with the program around which such a party can be built. This means going to the factories and telling the truth about the war in Vietnam. This means fighting within the trade union movement against racism and for the unions to support the ghetto uprisings of the Negro masses. This means fighting for a program to link the interests of working class youth and older trade unionists--for instance fighting for a shorter work week and job training for youth.

The working class is already beginning to feel

the oppression of the American capitalists in a very direct manner. The war is being supported with inflation which robs the workers of their pay and with increased taxes. It is the sons of the workers who die every day in Vietnam. The Johnson Administration has made it clear in the case of its actions in the Railroad strike its intention to saddle American labor with new anti-strike legislation. It is our task to link up these issues directly affecting American workers with broader issues and explaining that the struggle against the common enemy--the American capitalists--can only be waged through the creation of a labor party.

Do not seek to mislead the American workers with a King, who supports armed suppression of the Negro uprisings, or a Spock who still thinks in terms of voting Republican. Remember the lesson of the 1948 Wallace campaign. Remember where "progressive capitalist" ended up--a supporter of U.S. imperialist aggression in Korea and a supporter of Eisenhower in the 1952 elections.

VIETNAM

War is the basic test of the internationalism of socialists. The question is do we react to a war like the Vietnam War from the point of view of patriots--that is partisans of the specific interests of a particular capitalist country--or do we react to it from the point of view of the international working class which owes no allegiance to any capitalist state? We are socialist internationalists and we believe that no serious socialist movement can be built on any other basis.

Let there be no mistake about it--the issues involved in Vietnam are crystal clear. There are two sides. On the one side stands the National Liberation Front with the support of North Vietnam. The NLF has the support of the masses of the Vietnamese workers and peasants. It is their political arm, their war, their revolution. On the other side is the puppet regime of Ky and the U.S. imperialists.

We stand with the NLF. We favor their victory. We wish to see the U.S. imperialists driven out of Vietnam. Where does the DuBois Club stand? This is the question you cannot evade. There are only two sides. You are either on one side or the other.

It is our belief that victory of U.S. imperialism would be a blow not only to workers in other lands but to the working class in the United States. It would strengthen the hand of our enemy, the American ruling class. It would weaken the position of the American working class. It is this that we must explain to the American workers. Anything short of this is caving in to the chauvinism and jingoism that is so powerful in this country.

GHETTO UPRISINGS

The struggles of the Negro masses in Newark, Detroit and many other cities are of the greatest importance. We know that the DuBois Club stands with us in calling for solidarity with the ghetto fighters and for their defense against the armed might of the capitalist state.

Socialists, however, have a responsibility which

THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION and the AMERICAN WORKING CLASS

-A Class Series in Six Sessions-

1. American Socialism Before October 1917
2. The Birth of American Communism
3. The Left Opposition and the Re-Birth of American Communism
4. The Life and Death of the Socialist Workers Party, Part I
5. The Life and Death of the Socialist Workers Party, Part II
6. The International Committee--Continuator of the Struggle for the Program of October

time: 8:00PM dates: SUNDAYS SEPT 24 thru OCT. 29 place: BEACON HOTEL (Silver Rm) 75th & BROADWAY, NYC auspices: Bull. of Int. Soc. For more info call: 473-9948.

goes beyond defense, important though this defense is. We must understand the causes of these rebellions and we must struggle to develop a program which will bring these rebellions to victory. We must see these rebellions as rooted in the system of class oppression in the United States. The Negro masses, the most oppressed section of the class, are the first to rebel against it arms in hand. But they are only the first. The major significance of the rebellions is that they give us a foretaste of the class battles to come. We can see not only the potential for struggle that exists in broad layers of the American working class but the determination of the capitalists to answer any rebellion with armed suppression.

The crying need today is to link up these struggles of the Negro masses with the struggles of the class as a whole. This again raises the question of a labor party. The question posed by the rebellion is one of power. But it cannot be answered by talk of black power alone. The Negro isolated from the working class as a whole cannot achieve its emancipation. Its emancipation can only be achieved as part of the broader emancipation of the class as a whole.

This can be seen clearly as soon as we get to the concrete level of what the Negro is fighting for--a program which can free the Negro from oppression. Housing must be nationalized to take the profit out of slums. The slums must be torn down and new apartments built on a massive scale. The Negro youth in particular must be given job training at union wages and put to work in rebuilding these homes. Every vestige of discrimination must be removed from the American labor movement and every effort to bring Negroes into the unions at all levels, in all trades. Education must be completely revamped. The National Guard must be demobilized and replaced with workers defense guards. Black and white workers must fight together to remove the exploiters, to nationalize basic industry, to turn our economy over to the control of the workers themselves and utilize its great wealth to create a better society for all.

Such a program cannot be realized through separatism and black parties. Such is the program only a party of the American working class, a labor party can fight for.

OCTOBER REVOLUTION

This fall marks the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution. That great revolution shaped the very world we live in. It created the Soviet Union and it is the duty of all socialists to battle to defend the socialist conquests of October against all who seek to roll them back.

It is therefore important that DuBois Club members insist on being told the complete truth about the Soviet Union and its history. This requires an objective assessment of the role of Leon Trotsky. It was Trotsky who first struggled against the bureaucratic degeneration of the USSR. It was Trotsky who exposed the real role of Stalin as head of that bureaucracy which crushed workers democracy within the USSR and which played a role of collaboration with the capitalists outside the USSR.

All these issues are again raised in the world today. Is there real workers democracy inside the USSR when parties loyal to the social formations of the USSR are not allowed to exist? Is there a danger of capitalist restoration within the USSR as free competition is encouraged and trade with the West expanded? Is the USSR leadership more concerned with deals with the U.S. imperialists than in leading a struggle against imperialism? What are the real issues involved in the dispute between China and the USSR, in the dispute between Castro and the USSR?

Our task today is not only to fight for socialism in our own country but to battle to defend the conquests of October and to extend them. For this we must be armed with the complete knowledge of the history of the USSR since October. DuBois Club members must insist on getting all the facts. For our part we will be happy to make available material related to the true history of the Communist movement since October, 1917 and discuss with you the building of a revolutionary movement in the U.S.

YOURS FRATERNALLY,
YOUNG WORKERS LEAGUE

MANIFESTO CALLS ON WORLD'S YOUTH TO FORWARD TO INTERNATIONAL

The recently held International Assembly of Youth will undoubtedly go down in history as the most important gathering of youth since the 1920s. Youth from all the major continents of the globe came together on a field in Southern England and hammered out a common program of struggle for socialism. This program is printed below. Now that these youth have returned to their home countries they will begin a struggle to build revolutionary movements on the basis of this program.

The program was drafted by a special commission composed of representatives of all countries. This commission based much of its work on the actual reports delivered to the assembly by the different delegations. Particular effort was given to the problem of linking the struggles in the advanced countries to those in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. A series of specific transitional demands were drafted for these countries as well as for the countries dominated by bureaucracies.

Now the delegations will take this program and struggle for an international conference of socialist youth to be held in Europe sometime during 1968. The Young Workers League and the Workers League voted for this manifesto unanimously and declared their intention of struggling inside the United States for the political program expressed in this manifesto.

EIGHT HUNDRED YOUTH gathered at the International Assembly of Youth held in Britain from July 29 to August 3, 1967 call upon youth all over the world to unite in the struggle for socialism.

Everywhere young workers, peasants and students are in the forefront of the struggle against imperialism, whether it be in Vietnam or in the heart of Europe or the United States of America. Similarly, it is from the youth that the forces are coming forward to challenge the ruling bureaucracy's capitulation to imperialism.

It is now necessary to consciously organize and unite these struggles. The next step is for all the organizations represented at the Assembly, all those who agree with our aims, to work for an International Conference of Revolutionary Youth in 1968, as a step in the establishment of an international socialist youth organization.

1. The first aim of youth all over the world must be the overthrow of the capitalist system and the establishment of workers' power for the construction of socialism. The continuation of capitalism brings ever increasing dangers to humanity's very survival.

Atomic energy and automation, conquests of human science and industry which could bring abundance of wealth and the abolition of manual toil for the whole human race, are transformed by capital into instruments of super-exploitation and sheer destruction. Only war or the removal of hundreds of millions from production and culture, can result from the continuation of capitalism.

Private property in the means of production, the control of the world's resources by a few giant trusts and finance houses, and the division of the world between the great imperialist powers, together with the aim of the imperialists to regain what was lost in the October Revolution, and later in Eastern Europe and China, all this turns the vast promise of abundance into the threat of destruction and mass misery.

Only the victory of the working class and socialism can carry humanity forward.

Capitalism has remained in existence since the First World War only because the leadership of the working class has betrayed. The resolution of this crisis of working-class leadership is the prerequisite of humanity's further progress.

There is no way forward for youth except on the basis of this struggle for a new, revolutionary, working-class leadership. It is insofar as youth's struggles take forward the resolution of this crisis that they are in any way successful.

The present crisis of imperialism creates favourable conditions for this struggle to go forward. In an attempt to stave off their crisis the capitalists find it necessary to attack every established historical gain of the working class, from its living standards and trade union organization in the advanced capitalist countries to the nationalized property relations in the USSR, Eastern Europe and China.

These attacks produce a mounting class struggle, increasingly of a political character, in which the question of state power is posed. The Stalinists, following the line of class-collaboration and 'peace', are more and more exposed in these struggles as counter-revolutionary. In order to preserve its own privileges, the Kremlin bureaucracy and its servants collaborate with the imperialists to isolate and smash the revolution in China and in Vietnam, and to politically disarm the working class of the advanced capitalist countries.

The task of revolutionary socialists is to defend all the gains which are under attack, by class-struggle methods, understanding that through these struggles a new leadership must be built.

The Kremlin bureaucracy, the bureaucracies in Eastern Europe do everything to paralyse the struggle of the proletariat against imperialism. For the same reasons they also stood against their own proletariat as in Poland and Hungary in 1956. Against the proletariat they rely on imperialist and pro-bourgeois forces.

2. Youth all over the world come forward in all these struggles as the most militant fighters against the class enemy, but, more important, also as forces from which the new working-class leadership is being built. In the countries of Eastern Europe, Russia and China, in semi-colonial and colonial countries, as well as in the capitalist countries, youth are learn-

ing in struggle that they must fight not only against capitalism but also against the established bureaucratic leaderships of the working class.

Through each phase of the struggle, they are learning the necessity of drawing strength from the working class to train a cadre which can unite the class in struggle for power. Such a leadership can be built only on the basis of internationalism proceeding from the unity of the world struggle against imperialism and the bureaucracy, and from the past lessons of the Marxist movement in struggle.

3. All over the world the crisis of imperialism poses the same questions to revolutionary youth. Through the class struggle a new leadership must be built for the socialist revolution.

The very same crisis which forces the imperialist government of the United States to wage war on the Vietnamese workers and peasants forces them to also wage a more subtle war against American workers and youth at home. The American ruling class is now preparing a new stage in its struggle against the working class in the form of anti-strike legislation and incomes policy.

At the same time American youth are left without a future except to go to war against their brothers and sisters in Vietnam; education deteriorates, and unemployment for youth grows. The exploitation of the Negro workers increases.

The rebellion of the Negro workers in Detroit and other American cities is but a foretaste of the great class battles to come. The next task for American revolutionaries is to battle for a Labour Party to unite the struggles of the trade unions, Negroes and youth and start the struggle for working-class political power.

The mounting class struggle in Britain, particularly the development of political strikes like the seamen's strike in 1966, has shown that no section of the working class can be victorious except under a leadership preparing for the struggle for power. This is because the deepening crisis forces the capitalist state to intervene directly on all questions facing the working class.

The perspective of the Young Socialists is to march step by step with the working class through their experiences of a Labour government in order to expose the right wing leadership and their Stalinist collaborators. The years of struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy, reformism and revisionism were the essential preparation for this radicalization.

The General Strike in Belgium of 1960-1961 showed that the working class is fully capable of destroying capitalism. The problem of the leadership of the class has been clearly proved to be the main one. The centrists lined up behind the reformist trade unions to help them lead the strike into a nationalist blind alley.

It is on the basis of this betrayal that the bourgeoisie has been able to carry on its offensive, with the help of the bureaucracies. It is against the manoeuvres of these bureaucracies to split the struggle that the working class is fighting back, through violent but isolated strikes.

In order to break the isolation of these strikes it is necessary for the young revolutionaries of Belgium to fight for the unity of the Flemish and Walloon workers against middle-class nationalism.

In France the government Fifth Plan, working for 700,000 unemployed by 1970, and its attacks on education and professional training, are leading to growing youth unemployment and the reduction of youth to an unskilled mass. Thousands of students are expelled from the universities. In order to carry out their plan to impoverish the working class, the French capitalists take special powers for the State.

Confronted with this situation, those political tendencies which capitulate before imperialism cannot assure the defence of youth. On the contrary, their collaboration with the capitalist State permits the employers to build up the structure of a police state, which makes towards police and military control of youth.

It is necessary to break with all class collaboration. Young revolutionaries must fight for the working-class united front, for a national demonstration of youth against unemployment and the attacks on youth conditions and skilled training. Through this battle they will resolve the problems of building the revolutionary youth organization.

In Italy 1,400,000 are officially unemployed and there are many others. Every year 300,000 workers are forced to emigrate which means enormous sacrifices for themselves and their families. The first five-year-plan begun by the capitalist government anticipates the continuation of these conditions. This plan guarantees the employers against nationalization.

But despite the collaboration of the bureaucracies, the Italian bourgeoisie is not satisfied. It seeks from Parliament a law on Public Safety which is more fascist than that of Mussolini in 1931.

The evolution of Greek capitalism has created a mass permanent unemployment which particularly hits the youth. At the same time the migration of workers from the countryside into the towns has thrown into industry tens of thousands of youth, miserably paid and without technical training or education.

Greek capitalism particularly exploits young workers who have never had the right to organize. Even though the trade unions are closed to them, youth have been in the first rank of great violent struggles. When in 1965 youth turned out in force in these political struggles the Stalinists diverted them.



BRITISH YOUNG SOCIALISTS LEAD STRUGGLE AGAINST

Today young workers are looking for a new road to fight, going beyond the Communist Party, which was exposed by its collapse in the face of the military coup.

The German capitalist class, under pressure of the crisis, is preparing for civil war. In order to survive it must draw Eastern Germany back into its empire and lower the standard of living of the German workers.

It has appealed to the German Social-Democratic Party, which has joined the government, to lead a diplomatic trade offensive on Eastern Europe and the USSR and to bring the trade unions to their knees in the face of the Emergency Laws, which mean the integration of the unions into the state machine.

The youth threatened by unemployment and total militarization must fight hand in hand with the workers inside the trade unions, against the Emergency Laws and against the capitulationist bureaucracy, defending their right to independent youth organizations inside the trade unions.

Even if at this stage the building of a revolutionary youth organization in Western Germany is only beginning, it must give a conscious expression to the struggle of youth in both parts of Germany, uniting the fight of the youth in East Germany with that of West Germany against capitalism and for a Socialist Germany taking its place in the Socialist United States of Europe.

Ceylon typifies the new intensification of the class struggle in the colonial and ex-colonial countries as a result of the crisis of international capitalism. As the class struggle develops the bourgeoisie is planning an onslaught on the working class while each revisionist trend adapts to imperialism.

Ceylon has been under an emergency since January 1966. These laws are mainly used against the working class. The extreme rightist UNP government which came into power with the fall of the Pablotite-leftist coalition government is threatened by a wave of strikes. Most of these strikes take place outside the leadership of the Pablotites and centrists. A syndicalist political line is consciously imposed on these essentially militant struggles by all the Pablotite and Stalinist leaderships.

The situation in Ceylon poses immediate questions before the working class and before the revolutionaries. A party must be forged in the immediate future to prevent right wing reaction from repeating the Indonesian debacle.

In Algeria, the reactionary government has tried to dismantle the Students' Union (UNEA) and to impose a puppet leadership on it; the students replied heroically, despite threats and pressures. At the Congress held this year, the leadership proposed by the government was rejected unanimously by 850 students.

In the same way the central trade union organization (UGTA), controlled by the bureaucracy since the first congress in 1963, is subject to repression: many trade union militants were imprisoned because they expressed the protests of workers against the dictatorial police power which put into question the gains of the workers in trying to restore lands which had been taken over by their former owners.

The trade union journal has been banned; despite this strikes broke out in different factories. There are at present in Algeria more than two million people unemployed, and 700,000 emigrant workers are for the most part youth.

The experience of the liberation struggle and of the regimes emerging from them, as well as the nationalist and opportunist policies and the lack of perspective of the present oppositions, show us the need for a revolutionary leadership and an inde-

Fourth International

Vol. 4 No. 2

August

A Journal of International Marxism

Published by the International Committee of the Fourth International

EDITORS—TOM KEMP, CLIFF SLAUGHTER

Send 60¢ to:

Bulletin of International Socialism

243 E. 10th St. New York, N. Y. 10003

Bulletin of International Socialism



editor - Tim Wohlforth

art director - Marty Jonas

circulation - Fred Mueller

Published bi-weekly by the Workers League. The Workers League is in political solidarity with the International Committee of the Fourth International. Editorial offices: Rm. 8, 243 E. 10 St., N.Y. 10003. Midwest Office: Box 14902, University Sta., Minneapolis, Minn. 55414. Western Office: Box 1663, S.F. Calif. 94101

Vol. 4, No. 1 (67) Sept. 11, 1967

printed entirely by union labor

WORLD'S YOUTH TO UNITE IN STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM TOWARD INTERNATIONAL YOUTH CONFERENCE



BRITISH YOUNG SOCIALISTS LEAD STRUGGLE AGAINST WILSON GOVERNMENT

Today young workers are looking for a new road to fight, going beyond the Communist Party, which was exposed by its collapse in the face of the military coup.

The German capitalist class, under pressure of the crisis, is preparing for civil war. In order to survive it must draw Eastern Germany back into its empire and lower the standard of living of the German workers.

It has appealed to the German Social-Democratic Party, which has joined the government, to lead a diplomatic trade offensive on Eastern Europe and the USSR and to bring the trade unions to their knees in the face of the Emergency Laws, which mean the integration of the unions into the state machine.

The youth threatened by unemployment and total militarization must fight hand in hand with the workers inside the trade unions, against the Emergency Laws and against the capitulationist bureaucracy, defending their right to independent youth organizations inside the trade unions.

Even if at this stage the building of a revolutionary youth organization in Western Germany is only beginning, it must give a conscious expression to the struggle of youth in both parts of Germany, uniting the fight of the youth in East Germany with that of West Germany against capitalism and for a Socialist Germany taking its place in the Socialist United States of Europe.

Ceylon typifies the new intensification of the class struggle in the colonial and ex-colonial countries as a result of the crisis of international capitalism. As the class struggle develops the bourgeoisie is planning an onslaught on the working class while each revisionist trend adapts to imperialism.

Ceylon has been under an emergency since January 1966. These laws are mainly used against the working class. The extreme rightist UNP government which came into power with the fall of the Pablotite-leftist coalition government is threatened by a wave of strikes. Most of these strikes take place outside the leadership of the Pablotites and centrists. A syndicalist political line is consciously imposed on these essentially militant struggles by all the Pablotite and Stalinist leaderships.

The situation in Ceylon poses immediate questions before the working class and before the revolutionaries. A party must be forged in the immediate future to prevent right wing reaction from repeating the Indonesian debacle.

In Algeria, the reactionary government has tried to dismantle the Students' Union (UNEA) and to impose a puppet leadership on it; the students replied heroically, despite threats and pressures. At the Congress held this year, the leadership proposed by the government was rejected unanimously by 850 students.

In the same way the central trade union organization (UGTA), controlled by the bureaucracy since the first congress in 1963, is subject to repression: many trade union militants were imprisoned because they expressed the protests of workers against the dictatorial police power which put into question the gains of the workers in trying to restore lands which had been taken over by their former owners.

The trade union journal has been banned; despite this strikes broke out in different factories. There are at present in Algeria more than two million people unemployed, and 700,000 emigrant workers are for the most part youth.

The experience of the liberation struggle and of the regimes emerging from them, as well as the nationalist and opportunist policies and the lack of perspective of the present oppositions, show us the need for a revolutionary leadership and an inde-

pendent working-class organization with a view to posing correctly the problems of the proletarian revolution.

In the struggle against the old leaderships who have betrayed the colonial countries also the youth will play the foremost role in building a revolutionary proletarian party for the leadership of this struggle.

Madagascar, Aden and other countries remain strategic points for world imperialism and its control over Africa and South East Asia. The international working-class movement must fight for the maximum solidarity with the revolution in these countries.

The capitalist state is striving everywhere to discipline youth and destroy any independent youth or working-class organization. These moves represent the same basic tendency in capitalism as did Nazism, with its systematic brutalization and militarization of youth in the interests of the monopolies. As automation advances, so long as capitalism remains, then millions of youth are left without education, without skills, without jobs of any kind, so that in every advanced country a massive pool of unemployed youth is created which the employers hope, with the help of the capitalist State, to use for their own reactionary purposes, as in Vietnam.

They are helped in this by the Stalinist and Social-Democratic bureaucracies, which make every effort to turn the youth away from the revolutionary road which is the only guarantee of their future. In Greece, for example, the influence of the Stalinists on the youth movement disarmed it and prepared the path for the military dictatorship, with its open attack upon even elementary democratic rights and freedom of expression.

The plans which the capitalists have for the utilization of automation and the accumulation of profits require a force of millions of youth in Europe and America which is deprived of organization and rights and is completely 'mobile', open to changes required by the capitalists. In the European Common Market, the capitalists carry this out on an international scale with the workers of less advanced capitalist countries such as Greece, Turkey, parts of Italy and so on as a reservoir of cheap and unskilled labour. Thus the international struggle of youth must be expressed in the slogan 'The United Socialist States of Europe'.

The fundamental political question for the youth of Eastern European countries is in fact part of the same struggle as that of the youth in the advanced capitalist countries. The solution of these problems makes it imperative to find a link between the struggles of the international working class and youth and the fight of workers and youth in Eastern Europe and the USSR to defend and extend their revolutionary gains.

An essential part of the building of a new revolutionary international of youth is the fight of the working class and the youth of these countries for the political revolution. The building of this international of youth cannot be achieved without the effective participation of the youth of the USSR and Eastern Europe.

Alongside the intensification of the struggle of the working class in the metropolitan capitalist countries, the imperialists tend to greater and greater exploitation of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples, using particularly the tactic of 'divide and rule'. This is precisely the reason for what is happening today in a number of colonial and semi-colonial countries: particularly

in Nigeria, since the assassination of Prime Minister Abubakar, an imperialist puppet, the City of London and Wall Street have tried to maintain their exploitation by encouraging inter-tribal warfare.

In these conditions, unity of the struggles of the workers in the advanced capitalist countries with the workers and peasants of the colonial and semi-colonial countries is imperative.

The International Assembly of Youth in carrying out its aims and objectives of building a revolutionary international leadership of working-class struggles, accepts and realises the peculiarities of the role of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples since the deepening of the crisis of capitalism increases as a result of the crisis going on in the semi-colonial and colonial countries.

Further to achieve the aim as quickly as possible of the construction of the United Socialist States of Europe, to make every effort to attain this goal, one must recognize the significant role of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples as a major ally in the struggle of the advanced workers of Europe.

In the colonial countries, famine and wars of conquest result from the depredations of imperialism and threaten the survival of whole peoples in the immediate future. The Chinese, Vietnamese and many other people have learned in struggle that there is no other path for them at this stage of history but an armed struggle to the death against imperialism. They are in fact fighting in the front line of the struggle of youth in every country in the world.

The imperialists are driving at the re-conquest of mainland China, a task which would involve the deaths of tens of millions of workers and peasants. The betrayals of the Kremlin bureaucracy are designed to help the imperialists isolate the Chinese revolution. Every blow struck against imperialism by the Vietnamese and Chinese masses is a blow to strengthen the struggle of youth against capitalism everywhere, and similarly the fight of the Vietnamese and Chinese is strengthened by our political struggle against the capitalist state and its agents in the labour movement in the capitalist countries.

The organizations responsible for calling and organizing this Assembly, the Young Socialists (Great Britain) and 'Révoltes' (France), as well as many others who have taken part, are movements which have been built not only on the basis of a struggle against the capitalist class and its state but also in struggle every day against the treacherous bureaucracies which lead the labour movement and try to impose their leadership on the youth.

It has only been in a struggle against these bureaucracies that the YS and 'Révoltes' came to full recognition of the internationalist basis of their work. To fight for solidarity with the Vietnamese Revolution has only been possible with an implacable struggle against Stalinist influence and obstruction. Everywhere the Stalinists have relied upon the power of their 'own' bourgeois state to fight against the revolutionary line on Vietnam.

When this fight against Stalinism, as well as against imperialism, was taken a stage further, at the Liège demonstration of October 1966, the YS and 'Révoltes' found themselves opposed by all those pacifists and false 'internationalists' who will call for a fight everywhere except in their own country, against their own bourgeoisie. It was on the basis of all these political gains that the foundation was laid in Europe, America and Asia for this Assembly.

It is on the basis of the continuation of this fight against pacifism and reformism, as part of the fight against capitalism, that the international youth movement will now grow. The next task is to build the strength of the organizations represented here, and to spread the work of the international youth movement in every country, including those under Stalinist rule.

These organizations will turn all their efforts and resources to the success of the International Conference of Youth in 1968.

In every country the youth movement must be built on the broadest base, taking in every aspect of youth's activity and interests, with the sole aim of strengthening young people politically, organizationally and physically for their task of the overthrow of oppression and exploitation everywhere. It is only a movement built on the firm foundations of the struggle for workers' power which can open up these perspectives of a truly mass youth movement.

There can be no solution for the problems of youth anywhere in the world outside the struggle for a socialist revolution, for which the building of a revolutionary leadership is the first necessity.

The organizations represented at this Assembly pledge themselves in this context to fight for a workers' or workers' and peasants' government against the ruling class. The struggle will be waged on these transitional demands:

- (1) For a shorter working week, increased holidays and the abolition of shift work.
- (2) For universal trade training, in working hours, for all youth.
- (3) For the right of all youth to a free higher education to the highest level.
- (4) For the unity of the employed and unemployed through a struggle in the trade unions.
- (5) For immediate public ownership under workers' control of all enterprises where unemployment takes place.
- (6) Full political rights, including the vote at 18.
- (7) Adequate leisure and sports facilities to be available to all youth, organized by themselves. No state control of youth organizations.
- (8) Abolition of all restrictions on the movement, work and rights of emigrant workers so that the unity of the working class is strengthened.
- (9) Youth in every country fight against their own ruling class unconditionally for the independence of every colonial nation.
- (10) In the colonial and ex-colonial countries as much as in the rest of the world youth must be the foremost fighters against imperialism and for the building of a revolutionary working-class leadership.

The transitional and democratic demands on which we fight in the colonial and semi-colonial countries are:

- (1) Complete independence from imperialist domination. Opposition to every imperialist attempt to divide the colonial

masses on tribal or foreign capitalist control.

- (2) An end to all repressive laws. Constituent assemblies. Freeing of all national trade unions.
- (3) Break-up of the estates. Proletarian support for land, including trade unions.
- (4) Complete independence and the right to strike.
- (5) The 8-hour working day. Over conditions of work.
- (6) Organized international peasants struggling for land, South Africa and Rhodesia.

These demands will be fought against the imperialist and Stalinist bureaucracies.

Transitional demands on the Stalinist bureaucracy

- (1) Sliding scale of wages.
- (2) Equal pay for equal work (women and youth).
- (3) Unemployment dues. Setting up of a big work programme to be created by those who are unemployed.
- (4) Workers' control of production.
- (5) For the youth, a live, and the right to work.
- (6) Freedom and independence.
- (7) The right to strike.
- (8) Freedom of speech and assembly.
- (9) Freedom of the press.
- (10) Control by the workers of work and discipline.



CONFERENCE OF FRENCH REVOLUTIONARIES

- (11) In the face of the imperialist attack propose a national day of the largest masses.
- (12) Freedom for parties to organize the collective struggle.

Forward to the youth in the front line.

Forward to the youth in the front line.

Forward to the youth in the front line.

This international struggle on the following lines:

Unconditional defence of the youth of the world and China against the imperialist attack.

Victory to the workers' and peasants' government.

Long live the heroic youth of the world.

Long live the heroic youth of the world.

Long live the heroic youth of the world.

Long live the heroic youth of the world.

Long live the heroic youth of the world.

Forward to the youth in 1968!

CONTENTS

Editorial

In Celebration of Das Kapital
by Geoff Pilling

CLASS AND ART
A newly-translated speech made by Leon Trotsky in 1924

Marxism and Stalinism in Britain
1920-1926 (Part 1)
by M. Woodhouse

Fourth International

Vol. 4 No. 2 August

A Journal of International Marxism
Published by the International Committee of the Fourth International

EDITORS—TOM KEMP, CLIFF SLAUGHTER

Send 60¢ to:

Bulletin of International Socialism
243 E. 10th St. New York, N. Y. 10003

TO UNITE IN STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM

INTERNATIONAL YOUTH CONFERENCE



STRUGGLE AGAINST WILSON GOVERNMENT

pendent working-class organization with a view to posing correctly the problems of the proletarian revolution.

In the struggle against the old leaderships who have betrayed the colonial countries also the youth will play the foremost role in building a revolutionary proletarian party for the leadership of this struggle.

Madagascar, Aden and other countries remain strategic points for world imperialism and its control over Africa and South East Asia. The international working-class movement must fight for the maximum solidarity with the revolution in these countries.

The capitalist state is striving everywhere to discipline youth and destroy any independent youth or working-class organization. These moves represent the same basic tendency in capitalism as did Nazism, with its systematic brutalization and militarization of youth in the interests of the monopolies. As automation advances, so long as capitalism remains, then millions of youth are left without education, without skills, without jobs of any kind, so that in every advanced country a massive pool of unemployed youth is created which the employers hope, with the help of the capitalist State, to use for their own reactionary purposes, as in Vietnam.

They are helped in this by the Stalinist and Social-Democratic bureaucracies, which make every effort to turn the youth away from the revolutionary road which is the only guarantee of their future. In Greece, for example, the influence of the Stalinists on the youth movement disarmed it and prepared the path for the military dictatorship, with its open attack upon even elementary democratic rights and freedom of expression.

The plans which the capitalists have for the utilization of automation and the accumulation of profits require a force of millions of youth in Europe and America which is deprived of organization and rights and is completely 'mobile', open to changes required by the capitalists. In the European Common Market, the capitalists carry this out on an international scale with the workers of less advanced capitalist countries such as Greece, Turkey, parts of Italy and so on as a reservoir of cheap and unskilled labour. Thus the international struggle of youth must be expressed in the slogan 'The United Socialist States of Europe'.

The fundamental political question for the youth of Eastern European countries is in fact part of the same struggle as that of the youth in the advanced capitalist countries. The solution of these problems makes it imperative to find a link between the struggles of the international working class and youth and the fight of workers and youth in Eastern Europe and the USSR to defend and extend their revolutionary gains.

An essential part of the building of a new revolutionary international of youth is the fight of the working class and the youth of these countries for the political revolution. The building of this international of youth cannot be achieved without the effective participation of the youth of the USSR and Eastern Europe.

Alongside the intensification of the struggle of the working class in the metropolitan capitalist countries, the imperialists tend to greater and greater exploitation of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples, using particularly the tactic of 'divide and rule'. This is precisely the reason for what is happening today in a number of colonial and semi-colonial countries; particularly

in Nigeria, since the assassination of Prime Minister Abubakar, an imperialist puppet, the City of London and Wall Street have tried to maintain their exploitation by encouraging inter-tribal warfare.

In these conditions, unity of the struggles of the workers in the advanced capitalist countries with the workers and peasants of the colonial and semi-colonial countries is imperative.

The International Assembly of Youth in carrying out its aims and objectives of building a revolutionary international leadership of working-class struggles, accepts and realises the peculiarities of the role of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples since the deepening of the crisis of capitalism increases as a result of the crisis going on in the semi-colonial and colonial countries.

Further to achieve the aim as quickly as possible of the construction of the United Socialist States of Europe, to make every effort to attain this goal, one must recognize the significant role of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples as a major ally in the struggle of the advanced workers of Europe.

In the colonial countries, famine and wars of conquest result from the depredations of imperialism and threaten the survival of whole peoples in the immediate future. The Chinese, Vietnamese and many other people have learned in struggle that there is no other path for them at this stage of history but an armed struggle to the death against imperialism. They are in fact fighting in the front line of the struggle of youth in every country in the world.

The imperialists are driving at the re-conquest of mainland China, a task which would involve the deaths of tens of millions of workers and peasants. The betrayals of the Kremlin bureaucracy are designed to help the imperialists isolate the Chinese revolution. Every blow struck against imperialism by the Vietnamese and Chinese masses is a blow to strengthen the struggle of youth against capitalism everywhere, and similarly the fight of the Vietnamese and Chinese is strengthened by our political struggle against the capitalist state and its agents in the labour movement in the capitalist countries.

The organizations responsible for calling and organizing this Assembly, the Young Socialists (Great Britain) and 'Révoltes' (France), as well as many others who have taken part, are movements which have been built not only on the basis of a struggle against the capitalist class and its state but also in struggle every day against the treacherous bureaucracies which lead the labour movement and try to impose their leadership on the youth.

It has only been in a struggle against these bureaucracies that the YS and 'Révoltes' came to full recognition of the internationalist basis of their work. To fight for solidarity with the Vietnamese Revolution has only been possible with an implacable struggle against Stalinist influence and obstruction. Everywhere the Stalinists have relied upon the power of their 'own' bourgeois state to fight against the revolutionary line on Vietnam.

When this fight against Stalinism, as well as against imperialism, was taken a stage further, at the Liège demonstration of October 1966, the YS and 'Révoltes' found themselves opposed by all those pacifists and false 'internationalists' who will call for a fight everywhere except in their own country, against their own bourgeoisie. It was on the basis of all these political gains that the foundation was laid in Europe, America and Asia for this Assembly.

It is on the basis of the continuation of this fight against pacifism and reformism, as part of the fight against capitalism, that the international youth movement will now grow. The next task is to build the strength of the organizations represented here, and to spread the work of the international youth movement in every country, including those under Stalinist rule.

These organizations will turn all their efforts and resources to the success of the International Conference of Youth in 1968.

In every country the youth movement must be built on the broadest base, taking in every aspect of youth's activity and interests, with the sole aim of strengthening young people politically, organizationally and physically for their task of the overthrow of oppression and exploitation everywhere. It is only a movement built on the firm foundations of the struggle for workers' power which can open up these perspectives of a truly mass youth movement.

There can be no solution for the problems of youth anywhere in the world outside the struggle for a socialist revolution, for which the building of a revolutionary leadership is the first necessity.

The organizations represented at this Assembly pledge themselves in this context to fight for a workers' or workers' and peasants' government against the ruling class. The struggle will be waged on these transitional demands:

- (1) For a shorter working week, increased holidays and the abolition of shift work.
- (2) For universal trade training, in working hours, for all youth.
- (3) For the right of all youth to a free higher education to the highest level.
- (4) For the unity of the employed and unemployed through a struggle in the trade unions.
- (5) For immediate public ownership under workers' control of all enterprises where unemployment takes place.
- (6) Full political rights, including the vote at 18.
- (7) Adequate leisure and sports facilities to be available to all youth, organized by themselves. No state control of youth organizations.
- (8) Abolition of all restrictions on the movement, work and rights of emigrant workers so that the unity of the working class is strengthened.

The struggle for these demands is the means to strengthen the fighting ability of working-class youth all over the world against the class enemy. Our organizations, through this struggle, mobilize the mass of youth for the building of a new political leadership, because in our epoch every one of these questions involves a fight against the capitalist state.

Youth in every country fight against their own ruling class unconditionally for the independence of every colonial nation.

In the colonial and ex-colonial countries as much as in the rest of the world youth must be the foremost fighters against imperialism and for the building of a revolutionary working-class leadership.

The transitional and democratic demands on which we fight in the colonial and semi-colonial countries are:

- (1) Complete independence from imperialist domination. Opposition to every imperialist attempt to divide the colonial

masses on tribal or religious lines. Expropriation of the foreign capitalist companies under workers' control.

- (2) An end to all repressive laws and restrictions and political liberties. Constituent Assembly based on universal suffrage. Freeing of all political prisoners. Freedom to organize trade unions.

The workers and peasants will at the same time struggle independently to build workers' and peasants' councils, in which they will prepare to resolve the democratic and agrarian tasks of the revolution in struggle against the national bourgeoisie.

- (3) Break-up of the estates of the landlords and the peasantry. Proletarian support in the towns for the peasant struggle for land, including their armed struggles.
- (4) Complete independence of the trade unions from the state and the right to strike for all workers.
- (5) The 8-hour working day, paid holidays and workers' control over conditions of work.
- (6) Organized international support for the workers and peasants struggling for the overthrow of the regimes in South Africa and Rhodesia.

These demands will require an implacable struggle not only against the imperialists but also against the Stalinist and opportunist bureaucracies.

Transitional demands for countries under the control of the Stalinist bureaucracy are :-

- (1) Sliding scale of wages.
- (2) Equal pay for equal work (this concerns the work of women and youth).
- (3) Unemployment due to economic reform necessitates the setting up of a big fund for the unemployed. This should be created by those with the highest incomes.
- (4) Workers' control of foreign trade.
- (5) For the youth, a job to go to, a place to study and to live, and the right to travel abroad.
- (6) Freedom and independence for trade unions.
- (7) The right to strike.
- (8) Freedom of speech.
- (9) Freedom of the press.
- (10) Control by the workers over the administration of their work and discipline.



CONFERENCE OF REVOLTES, FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH

- (11) In the face of the bureaucratic trade union apparatus we propose a national conference of workers, bringing together the largest masses of workers to deal with their problems.
- (12) Freedom for parties of workers and peasants which recognize the collective ownership of the means of production.

Forward to the world socialist revolution, which will be realised through the struggle of the working class, with the youth in the forefront all over the world.

Forward to the political revolution of the working class in the countries controlled by the bureaucracy!

Forward to the United Socialist States of Europe and the unity of the workers of the whole world!

This international unity must be posed now, through a struggle on the following principles:

Unconditional defence of the gains of the October Revolution and the revolutionary victories in Eastern Europe and China against imperialist attacks.

Victory to the workers and peasants of Vietnam! For the defeat of the US imperialists in Vietnam! For workers' action in every country against all the imperialists who attack the Vietnamese and Chinese!

Long live the heroic struggles of the Vietnamese people!
Long live the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 against Stalinism!

Long live the world socialist revolution!
Long live the world struggle for socialism!
Long live the international unity of the working class!
Long live the international revolutionary struggle of youth!
Forward to the International Conference of Socialist Youth in 1968!

[Adopted August 4, 1967.]

CONTENTS

Editorial

In Celebration of Das Kapital
by Geoff Pilling

CLASS AND ART
A newly-translated speech made by
Leon Trotsky in 1924

Marxism and Stalinism in Britain
1920-1926 (Part 1)
by M. Woodhouse

as ussr-us sign deal

Chinese Red Guards Battle British Hong Kong

by Marty Jonas

Against the background of increased cooperation between the Soviet bloc and the imperialists at the cost of the Chinese revolution, the struggle to continue and extend the Chinese revolution goes on.

The past few weeks have seen the signing by the U.S.S.R. (with endorsement by Warsaw Pact countries) of a "non-proliferation" atomic weapons pact. At a time when the necessity is to intensify the fight on all international fronts against imperialism, the Soviet Union is cuddling up to mass murderers at the conference table. At a time when the necessity is for international revolution, the Soviet Union comes hat in hand to the imperialists, landing on their side of the barricades against the Chinese revolution and its necessary defense.

Is it no wonder that China has refused to enter into a "united front" proposed by the Soviet Union for defense of Vietnam? Such a "united front" would only be used for the Soviet bureaucracy's purposes of selling out the Vietnamese and Chinese revolutions. One may just as well trust the imperialist devil in a united front as trust them.

All that the weighty term "non-proliferation" means is that the Soviet bureaucracy has given up on the revolutionary potential of the world proletariat and, more and more, given up the pretense of being their revolutionary leadership; rather, they are now obviously "statesmen" and the U.S.S.R.

has degenerated to the behavior of a "world power." They are satisfied with the present balance of imperialist vs. Soviet defenses and wish to make it official--hence, the pact.

As for the Chinese revolution and its defense, helping the imperialists police it is a necessary task for the Soviet bureaucracy. The Chinese are carrying on a real fight--despite its faults--against imperialism; and that throws a monkey wrench into the Kremlin's diplomatic machinery. The Chinese are too militant; they sometimes stir up the masses; they rock the international boat. The Soviet bureaucracy hopes for some stability for itself; the Chinese threaten this with their so-called "sectarianism" and "ultra-leftism."

The latest area where the masses are being stirred up by China is in Hong Kong. The great struggle against capitalist restoration and for the continuation of the Chinese revolution--exemplified by the Red Guards and the Cultural Revolution--has been extended into the Crown Colony of Hong Kong, swiped after the Opium Wars in the last century by British imperialism. The Chinese bureaucracy has been content until this year to let this major imperialist port rest on their doorstep. But pressured by the increased militancy of the Red Guards, they have provided a minimum of leadership to the Hong Kong workers. Unfortunately, this leadership, though commend-

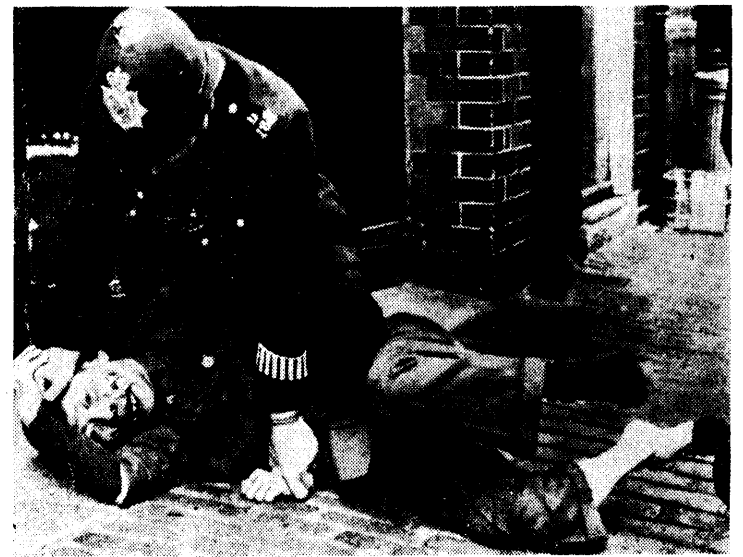
able, is pragmatic and limited. The bureaucracy may at some point seek to limit the struggle, as Hong Kong in British hands is an excellent source of trade and revenue for China.

militancy

But the working class of Hong Kong has a fantastic militancy and desire for extension of the Chinese revolution. There will be no easy coming to terms on Hong Kong with British imperialism. The Hong Kong workers and the Red Guard movement have linked hands in this struggle and will see about that.

The recent sacking of the British chancery in Hong Kong is the latest evidence of the seriousness with which the Red Guards treat their struggle. By this retaliation for the British terrorism against the Hong Kong workers, they have indicated their consciousness of the inseparability of the Hong Kong struggle from their own: the struggle for the Chinese Revolution cannot stop at the borders of China. Even the bourgeois fiction of diplomatic immunity is dwarfed by the struggle.

The Red Guards have been carrying on their struggle for over a year, and the opposition to them has been mounting steadily. What started as an attack on those "taking the capitalist road" in the right-wing Moscow-oriented wing of the bureaucracy has widened to take in greater and greater portions of the entire bureaucracy.



BRITISH COPS TAKE REPRISALS IN FRONT OF CHINESE EMBASSY IN LONDON

Many in the left-wing of the bureaucracy who initially encouraged the mobilization of Red Guards are now urging moderation, curbing, and sometimes demobilization. What started as a movement against the restorationist section of the bureaucracy now threatens the life of the entire bureaucracy itself.

Although Mao has unleashed the Red Guards, until they break from his leadership--until Liu and cohorts are really confronted politically--the struggle will suffer from Mao's pragmatic and idealist outlook. Mao's leadership must stand up to the same sort of examination as Liu's. This turn towards a political

understanding of the events in China--and Russia--must be combined with a further turn toward the Chinese working class and a perspective of extending the revolution far beyond China. To insure the victory of the Chinese Revolution, the Red Guards must build their leadership around such a program, and make links with the socialist youth of all countries. Until they do, until the Fourth International is built out of the struggles in China and every country, the world working class will be sold out again and again by the imperialists and their Stalinist and Social-Democratic friends--at the conference table, on the picket lines, and at the barricades.

MIDDLE EAST MASSES BATTLE ISRAELI IMPERIALIST OCCUPIERS

by Fred Mueller

The course of events in the Middle East since the six-day war last June has confirmed the imperialist and counter-revolutionary character of Israel's war against the Arab states.

The Zionists now maintain control over 26,100 square miles of occupied Arab territory in the Sinai, Syria and Jordan. This included a population of one million Arabs, about 300,000 of whom have fled the Israel occupation. The new territory is held by the Zionists primarily for its use in bargaining with the Arabs. It represents an economic burden to the Israeli regime, and the Israeli capitalists cannot now contemplate annexation of all this area because it would lead to a situation in which the Arabs constituted a 1/3 minority, instead of the 10% at present.

Israel is budgeting only \$27 million for the occupied areas out of a total budget of \$1.7 billions. This is a reflection of the economic crisis of Israeli capitalism and of its imperialist character. The Arab masses are for the time being to be used as pawns, maintained on a barely subsistence level while Israel continues its aggressive policies. At least a section of the Zionist bourgeoisie does contemplate the eventual annexation of large parts of Arab territory as well.

170,000 Jordanian refugees who fled the Israeli advance in June have applied to return to

the west bank of the Jordan. There are in addition 90,000 Syrian refugees and 35,000 who fled further to the west into Egypt. The policy of the Zionist regime towards the refugees as well as towards the Arabs remaining under its jurisdiction is completely cynical and reactionary. Only 40,000 at most, of the 170,000 Jordanians are likely to get back to their homes by the August 31 deadline, which the Zionists have thus far refused to alter.

resistance

While Israel's rulers seek to use the occupied areas as a bargaining weapon, the Arab population has not resigned itself to this cynical game. The occupiers are meeting with organized resistance in the form of slowdowns and strikes. The Zionists feel threatened by the organized opposition and the economic burdens they are shouldering. They have responded with repression. Additional troops have been moved in, many arrests made, storekeepers fined and disciplined for closing their shops. Moderate bourgeois politicians and businessmen have been arrested in Jerusalem and the Gaza strip as examples to the entire population. The Zionist aim is to break any resistance movement before it gets going and to prevent a genuine working class opposition from forming.

Meanwhile the crisis continues in Israel. The war has solved nothing, either from

the political or economic standpoint. Unemployment continues, even grows, while thousands of reservists are being kept mobilized, in part to deal with the unemployment crisis. Behind the facade of national unity which is trumpeted in the capitalist press there is a tremendous internal crisis which continues to develop, a crisis which demands the independent action of the working class against the Israeli bosses and their government.

stalemated

The stalemated diplomatic situation points up the futility of the Zionists' military action, and the impossibility of any solution for the Middle East without the overthrow of imperialism and Zionism. Even in the short run the conquests of the Israelis are no solution, bringing added burdens instead of the security the Zionists assertedly are seeking. The imperialists and the Zionists have a combined strategy, and this exposes the lie that Israeli policy is not imperialist in character. Both the imperialists and their staunch Zionist allies seek to push back the Arab masses, to crush the Arab revolution, behind imperialist support for Zionism are the huge imperialist oil interests in the region.

As elsewhere in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the imperialists have moved to undermine left nationalist regimes, not because these regimes con-

sistently struggle in the interests of the masses against imperialism, but because the pressure of the masses makes these very same regimes no longer trustworthy allies for the imperialists. So Washington and Tel Aviv both seek to force the Arab states to negotiate by waiting for economic pressures to lead to collapse or near-collapse in the Arab countries. Meanwhile they skillfully exploit Arab disunity and the imperialists still rely upon the most reactionary of the bourgeois regimes. This whole reactionary strategy has a chance to succeed only because of the betrayals and bankruptcy of the entire bourgeois nationalist leadership.

None of the Arab regimes have given a clear lead to the masses. The disastrous course of the war was itself a reflection of the bankruptcy of these regimes. Nor have they been able to take any move since the war that would even begin to prepare for serious struggle against imperialism. The bourgeois nationalists continue to try to stand between imperialism and the masses.

support

The Arabs must be supported in their struggle against imperialism and Zionism. There can be no struggle against imperialism without struggle against Zionism, although the methods of the bourgeois nationalists cannot be the methods of the workers and of the rev-

olutionary parties which must be built in this region. We support the Arab masses in spite of, not because of, the present leaderships. Those, however, who speak of socialism and revolution but are incapable of taking sides in the struggle, of distinguishing between Arab nationalism and Zionism, are capitulating to the pressure of imperialism and bourgeois public opinion.

The strategy of imperialism must constantly be exposed. In particular the vicious lie that anti-Zionism equals anti-Semitism must be fought. The latest example of this is the hysterical attack against the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) for its allegedly anti-Semitic stand. The New York Times, spokesman for bourgeois liberalism, led this attack, slandering SNCC's anti-Zionist stand and labeling it as pro-Nazi and anti-Semitic. In reality the SNCC statement, while it does not start from a class analysis, correctly defends the Arabs against imperialism and Zionism, and is not anti-Semitic. To be sure, this defense of the Arabs is not enough. The only real defense, the only successful defense, is a class defense. The only way to achieve the goal of genuine independence from imperialism is through a socialist revolution led by the working class. For this task revolutionary parties of the Fourth International can and must be built in the Middle East.

OLAS AFTERMATH: FUTURE OF LATIN AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Castro rewrites marxism

by Tim Wohlforth

"The duty of every revolutionary is to make a revolution." So affirms the general resolution of the OLAS conference. This is a position which hardly anyone can really dispute. The real content of the conference was devoted to the question "How?". It is precisely this question which requires serious discussion in the aftermath of the OLAS conference for the very fate of the socialist revolution in Latin America hangs in the balance.

It is sadly the case that so far socialists in this country have ignored this question. Rather their reaction has either been a matter of uncritical enthusiasm--the Militant and the National Guardian--or as in the case of the Worker repeating the factional slanders of the French Communist Party.

saluting

The Militant salutes OLAS as a "qualitative step forward" which opens the way "for regroupment of revolutionary forces in Latin America." It seems, according to Joseph Hansen, that the conference reaffirmed "the program of socialist revolution."

What actually did happen at the conference, and you will never find this out from the Militant, is of considerable importance. In the first place, and it is this aspect of the Conference which got the most publicity, a political break took place between the forces supporting Castro in Latin America and those under the influence of the Kremlin. These forces had formed a common bloc at last year's Tri-Continental Conference.

Interestingly the Militant saluted the Tri-Continental--which represented a bloc between Castro and the Kremlinites--with just as much enthusiasm as today it salutes OLAS--where this bloc fell apart. In fact the phraseology is almost identical. The January 31, 1966 Militant called Tri-Con "step forward for the revolutionary struggle in Latin America." Ah, the Latin American masses are lucky. When Castro and the Kremlin bloc together it is a step forward and when Castro and the Kremlin break up this bloc it is also a step forward. Such is the theoretical level of the Militant.

differences

Hansen may see the differences posed at OLAS between reform and revolution or socialist revolution and some other kind of revolution. But this was not the way Castro posed it. He stated the differences were between "those who believe that revolutionary ideas must be accepted by the masses before starting revolutionary action, and those who believe revolutionary action is the most efficient way for ideas to achieve acceptance by the masses." What Castro means by "revolutionary action" is also clear. Time and time again the conference defined this as "armed struggle" and only armed struggle. Further where this armed struggle is to take place is also stated unambiguously: "We have come to the conclusion that in most of the countries of the continent it is in the countryside where the struggle can best be developed and where it is possible to develop the most important class struggles..."

Castro also insists that the political leadership of the revolution in countries where there exists both guerillaist operations and revolutionary movements in the cities must rest with the guerillas in the countryside.

These positions are completely oppositional to the position of the Marxist movement developed through a century of class struggle. Specifically they represent a repudiation of Lenin's contributions to Marxist theory, contributions which made possible the October Revolution. Castro seems intent on celebrating the 50th anniversary of this great revolution by repudiating all its lessons for the struggle today. The SWP celebrates in its own way by hailing Castro's attacks on Leninism as "a qualitative step forward."

narodniks

To begin with, Castro reverts to the views of the Russian Narodniks, a terrorist group which Lenin decisively fought in the early 1900's. These revolutionists, many of them very sincere and dedicated people including Lenin's own brother, attacked the Marxists for struggling to win the masses over to a revolutionary consciousness. Instead they resorted to terroristic actions starting, as does Castro, that these revolutionary actions will transform the masses by example. The result was the physical destruction of many dedicated revolutionists just as Castro's policies are leading to the same thing in Latin America.

Lenin and Trotsky did not oppose armed struggle. In fact the October Revolution itself culminated in the Petrograd insurrection - the armed



THE DUTY OF A REVOLUTIONARY IS TO MAKE A REVOLUTION-- BUT THE QUESTION IS HOW

struggle for power. But they both insisted that such struggle be well prepared by long years of struggle to build a party which had the support of the working class and to develop the consciousness of the working class both through an internal struggle within the party for theoretical development and a constant external struggle to connect up the party with the level of the masses. Castro dismisses this whole struggle for the party and for theory.

anti-theory

Theory in particular comes in for some of Castro's most scathing attacks. The theoretician is pictured as someone who devotes himself to avoiding revolution rather than preparing for it. Recognizing as he must that his own views stand in sharp contrast to Marxism, Castro has made it clear he intends to rewrite Marxism. He appeals to "living Marxism." "It must be said that even Marxist literature will have to be renovated. There is a 'Marxist' phraseology which can barely be distinguished from the rosary and catechism of the Church." It is clear Castro intends to "renovate" Marxism by reviving views Lenin destroyed over 50 years ago.

Lenin and Trotsky were particularly noted for their insistence on the importance to the socialist revolution of the struggle in the countryside. The October Revolution was successful in good part because the Bolsheviks were able to link up the struggle of the peasant for land with the struggles of the proletariat.

But Lenin and Trotsky always insisted that the central struggle was that of the proletariat and the central arena of struggle was in the city. Leadership for the struggle in the countryside must come from the proletariat in the cities not the other way around, as Castro now states.

Within a context where the leadership of the struggle is seen to be the guerilla army in the countryside, where the struggle for revolutionary consciousness among the urban masses is repudiated it is empty verbiage to state as Castro states that the peasant war "will be a revolutionary war guided by the ideology of the proletariat." The ideology of the proletariat does not float in midair unconnected to any form nor is it mystically handed out by Castro himself. Such an ideology takes the form of the working class party. The proletariat can only assert its ideological hegemony over the struggle in the countryside through the form of the proletarian party asserting its authority over the cadres who struggle in the countryside and not the other way around.

danger

These theoretical positions are extremely dangerous to revolutionaries in this country as there will be a tendency not only to support Castro in foisting these views on Latin America, but seeking to apply them within the United States. For instance Castro comments: "The Negroes in the U.S. did not speak of objective conditions first before taking up arms to defend their rights." True, so true. And, yes, we support the American Negroes in their uprising against the capitalist state.

But it is just as true that the Negro masses lost, were beaten down by the cops, the National Guard, U.S. troops. The question then is just what do the American Negroes do now? Rise up again arms in hand? Or seek to understand the objective conditions which led to their defeat, struggle to develop a program for victory, and then rise up in a conscious struggle which can win? We advocate the latter course.

We urge American Negroes to understand that they are fighting, not whites, but a race-class op-

pression which has its roots in the capitalist system itself. The Negroes will remain enslaved until capitalism is destroyed. For capitalism to be destroyed more than the armed struggle of the Negro masses is needed. The American working class as a whole must be brought into a political struggle for power --a struggle to supplant bourgeois power with workers power. As a first step in this struggle for political power we must fight for a labor party which will unite the struggle of the Negro, other oppressed minorities, the trade union movement, the youth into a common political battle against capitalism.

kremlin

Castro develops his deeply revisionist positions in the form of a polemic against the rightist views of the Kremlin-oriented CPs in Latin America, particularly the Venezuelan party. It is important not to lose sight of the rottenness of Castro's view because those of his opponents are rotten still. This is of course exactly what the Militant and the National Guardian do.

One is reminded of the early years of the Communist movement when Communists denounced the opportunism and reformism of the Socialist parties' electoral activity and utilized this reformism as an excuse to avoid any electoral activity of their own. The Third International brought up sharply such ultra-leftists insisting that electoral activity can be utilized in a revolutionary way and pointing to the experience of the Bolshevik Party in the Czarist Duma.

It is true that the Kremlinites utilize talk of the need to develop the revolutionary consciousness of the masses as excuses for no activity and for an opportunist policy towards the national bourgeoisie. This does not mean we must abandon the struggle for the development of revolutionary consciousness. It is true that many Marxist "theoreticians" utilize theory as a way to escape revolutionary responsibility. But this does not mean we abandon theoretical work. It is true that unfavorable objective conditions are many times used as an excuse to abandon any work whatsoever but this does not mean we go ahead and carry on revolutionary struggle without relating this struggle to the objective conditions in the particular country.

changes

The truth is that the objective conditions are changing in Latin America. It is critically important that we understand the character of these changes. The world crisis of capitalism is driving the capitalist regimes in Latin America into a deep crisis. These regimes are forced to struggle against the working class and to unleash a campaign of terror not only against guerillaists in the countryside but anyone in the cities capable of giving leadership to the worker's struggles.

What these changing objective conditions require is a Leninist policy of the construction of working class parties in the major cities of Latin America, parties which connect up to the current struggles of the class. Such parties must see themselves as part of the world party of the proletariat, the Fourth International, and at the same time reach out to give leadership to the struggling peasant masses.

This requires a constant political struggle against both the opportunism of the Kremlin CPs and the anti-theoretical, anti-proletarian, adventurist policies of those forces supporting OLAS. If revolutionaries go beyond Castro's battle against Moscow to a battle against Castro himself then truly the Latin American Revolution will take a qualitative leap forward.

West Coast Peace Groups Dump SWP; Antiwar fight Must Build Labor Party

by Jeffrey Sebastian
SAN FRANCISCO--August 6 marked a new stage in the peace movement. On that date, approximately 150 people huddled together in a vast auditorium, reserved for at least 500, to deliberate further peace protest.

At a time when Johnson and his military gorillas are hurling new divisions into the war effort and bombing closer and closer to China, this uninspiring gathering was called by the West Coast Spring Mobilization Committee to "improve coordination between all those concerned about the escalation of the war."

Although billed as a West Coast conference there was little representation from outside San Francisco and virtually no black representation. The great majority of these present were supporters of the SWP and CP or members of such toothless pacifist groups as Women's Strike for Peace.

Only a few months earlier, SWP hack, Harry Ring, treated us to the following observation on the Spring Mobilization Committee. "April 15 was an historic day. A relatively small group of individuals and organizations armed with a correct assessment of the political temper of the country organized the biggest anti-war demonstration this city or country has ever seen." The gentlemen of the Spring Mobilization Committee appear to have lost their touch. Spring is long past.

desperate

Indeed this conference was organized as a desperate measure. Having long ago succumbed to political bankruptcy, the Committee was now posed with a problem of much greater concern to these bureaucrats - financial bankruptcy. After the April 15 demonstrations, the Spring Mobilizers were faced with an insoluble dilemma. What could they do for an encore? So ineffective and demoralized have their forces become that a rally scheduled here for August 5 had to be cancelled for fear that they would not be able to carry it off.

Everyday and every night they watch the napalm being shipped to Vietnam and stand in silent witness. Soon the conscience of America will be touched. All were invited to bring sleeping bags and join

them in their search for pneumonia. A reporter for Californians for Liberal Representation issued a call for all to get out and campaign for San Francisco's own John Burton, Democratic candidate for State Senate. With such rubbish an entire morning was filled! This, we are told can stop Johnson's war machine!

Perhaps the most ludicrous episode was the keynote speech delivered by Carlton Goodlett well known Uncle Tom and publisher of the Sun Reporter which covers every rape and murder in the area. After an interminable address, the main point of which was that violence is terrible, Dr. Goodlett called for a minute of silent prayer for the dead of Hiroshima. The spectacle of dozens of SWP and YSA members joining their pacifist and Stalinist allies in standing with their heads bowed in prayerful silence was absolutely nauseating.

The SWP has completely abandoned political principal. For years they struggled to keep politics out of the peace movement. They addressed themselves to liberals and pacifists. They campaigned for Herbert Aptheker in their turn toward Stalinism, they capitulated totally to the right wing. Only recently their entire slate in the West Coast Spring Mobilization Committee was defeated and replaced with one supported by the Stalinists. Having well used them, the Stalinists have now flung them aside. Without position or post they stood silently with heads bowed.

One year ago Fred Halstead, leading SWP member, signed a statement entitled "Mr. President, in the name of God, stop it." His comrades in the leadership have used that year well to embark on a campaign to convert their entire flock.

degeneration

We would not presume to take sides or give advice over the question of which group packed the most meetings, who was least democratic and who tried to change the decisions most often. These were the issues brought up on the floor... We can only point out that the SWP having deserted political principals was doomed to fight the Stalinists on their own organizational grounds. As practiced as the

SWP has become in such maneuvers they were up against far more experienced professionals.

So complete is their political degeneration that the SWP-YSA forces were unable to pose any political alternative to the conference. They have tied themselves so closely to the right wing that having been tossed aside not one of their people could explain what had happened. Not only has the SWP betrayed the young people who came to them looking for revolutionary leadership but they have worked for and prepared a situation in which thousands will be confused and demoralized by the disintegration of the peace movement.

This conference has a significance that goes far beyond the small group of people who met in San Francisco. As the war expands, it is combined with a major offensive by the government against the working class. Mass disaffection with the policies of the Democratic and Republican parties raises the possibility of a break in the form of a third political party. Nothing terrifies the Stalinists more than the spectre of the working class embarking on a struggle for its own party. With the policy of "peaceful co-existence" and cooperation and support for liberal politicians they are determined that any third party which may arise be kept within the safe limits of capitalist politics and eventually channeled back into the Democratic party.

Thus their struggle in the peace movement is to line it up for support to a King-Spock peace party. Despite its consistent record of support to the right wing, the SWP is seen as a threat to such a policy and so it has to go. We can expect to see the San Francisco battle repeated on a national scale as the struggle to confine the peace movement to liberal capitalist politics deepens.

logic

The truth is that the King-Spock ticket is nothing more than the logical political expression of the peace movement that the SWP played such an important role in creating. Both Spock and King have been major spokesmen for this movement and the political positions of the movement



WORKERS LEAGUE IN ANTI-WAR DEMONSTRATION

have been limited to ones acceptable to these two men. The peace movement is a middle class movement both in composition and in program. So logically it finds expression in a middle class political protest movement.

It is this which explains the ease with which the Stalinists have been able to take over sections of the peace movement from the SWP -- not some matter of organizational maneuvering. And this is just the beginning. The SWP and YSA have played their role in bringing about this middle class coalition in the form of peace committees and demonstrations. As long as the 1968 elections remained a distant thing, the SWP-YSA and the CP could collaborate peacefully in this effort. Now the 1968 elections are posed sharply before everyone. The struggle against Johnson must take on a political form. Thus the break between the SWP-YSA and CP as the CP takes over this creation and the SWP-YSA finds itself isolated.

Let it be noted for that for a full year now the SWP has had the opportunity to pose a class political alternative in the peace movement and has failed to do so. Let it be remembered that only the Workers League marched in the April demonstration under the class banner calling for a LABOR PARTY. Today it is the Workers League, not the SWP-YSA, which campaigns for a labor party in 1968 as the only real alternative to Johnson.

betrayals

We are convinced that the young people who have joined the SWP-YSA did not do so because they wished to create a stampede to King-Spock. Yet by adapting to the liberals and Stalinists, by abandoning working class politics and by refusing to campaign for a labor party as the one alterna-

tive to the betrayals of the capitalist parties this is what they have done. The SWP will of course oppose King-Spock but they are as much responsible for it as if they had organized the campaign to launch it. If they turn away from it now it is because party history is too strong to allow them to go along but, as the CP proves, party history alone cannot save a party which has abandoned the working class from further betrayals.

We are convinced that these young people did not join the SWP-YSA because they wished to strengthen the liberal call for negotiations. Yet by calling only for "bring the troops home now," by refusing to support revolutionary defeatism and victory for the NLF they could not pose a real alternative to the liberals. It is not enough to be for the victory of the NLF in your hearts. The working class must know why it should support this as well. As difficult as this is, to struggle for anything less is to betray.

The SWP is no longer a revolutionary party. It will be unable to explain this defeat. It may twist and turn but it will be unable to fight it. We are convinced that many of these young people will be demanding explanations.

Only the Workers League has struggled consistently to build consciousness for a labor party. Only the Workers League has campaigned to support the victory of the NLF. Only the Workers League bases itself on all that is fine and revolutionary in the SWP's own history. Only the Workers League bases its perspective on an international struggle to build the Fourth International, World Party of Socialist Revolution. It is for this reason that only the Workers League can provide the explanations of their defeats to these comrades.

H. RAP BROWN

(Continued from Page 1)

by police and armed forces, but by divisions and hostilities among workers, black and white. The divisions within the working class prevent the workers, black and white from exercising the only power capable of defeating the capitalists and that is the power of the entire working class organized behind a labor party. Brown is correct when he says that the Democratic and Republican parties are one and the same. But he proposes no alternative which can unify the black and white workers.

To pose black power in terms of the 'taking over of cities', Negro nationhood, independent black parties or any other separatist solution is a diversion. It abdicates the struggle to unite all workers at the very time when more and more workers come into struggle with the same enemy as the black rebels in the ghetto. This is not only true in the trade union struggle where black and white workers have to fight government anti-union legislation and may have to take on the National Guard in any militant strike. Even in the ghetto uprisings there was a good deal of integrated rebellion. The Movement, west coast newspaper of SNCC reported in its August issue on the Detroit insurrection, as follows: "...by the time the looting and burning spread into every lightly integrated neighborhoods, the riot was one of destruction

and looting and was not directed against people. By the second day, whites were aware of this and seeing Negroes looting, some whites chanced joining them. Both whites and blacks were so busily engaged in scurrying away with the booty that who and what they were became insignificant. Whites stayed away from the densely populated black areas. On segregated 12th St. the conflict was strictly racial. About a mile away on Grand River and Trumbull whites and Mexicans alike looted and burned." Other reports from cities across the country indicate similar actions which cut across racial lines.

It is clear to these rebels that the Democratic party which brought in the bloody repression of the National Guard and Federal troops as a solution cannot possibly be their friend. At the same time many black and white families who see their sons be sent to Vietnam never to return grow increasingly bitter with Johnson and the Democrats. Railroad workers and other trade unionists see Johnson and the Democrats who outlaw strikes more and more as their enemies. City workers grow angry as Democrats and Republicans gang up on them to prevent strikes of public employees. This is the U.S.A. today, but not as H. Rap Brown sees it. The Democrats and Republicans are in crisis. There has never been a better time to build a labor party which will unite black and white workers than now.