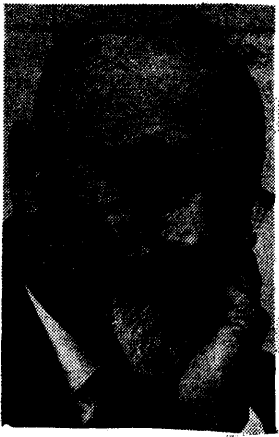


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ISAAC DEUTSCHER AND THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

Bulletin

OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

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Ten Cents

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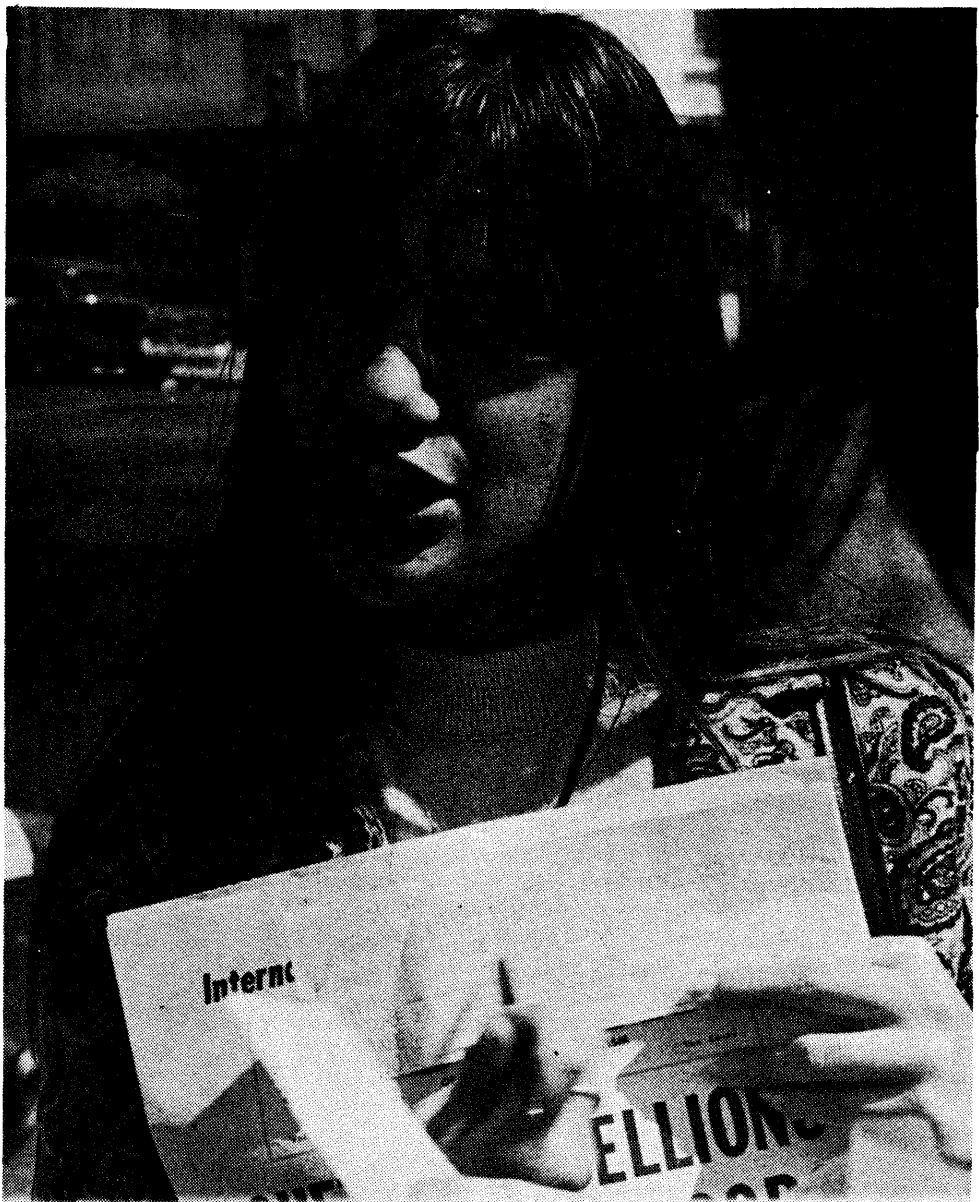
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**WORKERS LEAGUE MOVES FORWARD;
FORMS SAN FRANCISCO BRANCH**

EDITORIAL

THE QUESTION IS: WHO WILL RULE THE UNITED STATES?

This year has been a year of unprecedented strikes and struggles in America while at the same time the war in Vietnam grows bigger and the end of the war farther and farther away. A railroad strike, copper strike, rubber strike, many teachers strikes, auto strike, scattered teamsters strikes, Negro uprisings in Newark, Detroit, and many, many other cities, 500,000 troops in Vietnam, a demilitarized zone turned into a depopulated zone, bombings of Hanoi, of Haiphong, on the border of China, but the Vietcong grows in support and the North Vietnamese dig in with more, determination.

WHY? Why the strikes? Why the Negro unrest? Why the war? This is no matter of incorrect policies or mistakes of an administration. It is a reflection of a system in crisis. The capitalist boom of the 1950's is over. The crisis of the 60's is upon us. The policies of Johnson are not the policies of a man but of a class, of the capitalist class which runs this country, of the capitalist class which runs England, Europe and much of the world. The strikes take place because on the one hand the living standards of the workers deteriorate under the impact of the inflation caused by the war in Vietnam while on the other hand the bosses seek to main-

TO THE EDITOR

Dear Editor:

Despite reservations about a couple of your arguments, I want to congratulate your newspaper for being one of the very few voices of sanity on the question of black power and the role it played at the New Politics convention and in the New York City teachers strike.

Fraternally,
Hal Levin

tain their profits by speed ups in the shops and blows against the working conditions of the workers.

The Negroes rise up in rebellions because after a decade of promises and programs, programs, programs, their lot has not changed in the slightest. The Negro still lives in the worst slums, goes to the worst schools, suffers from massive unemployment, gets the worst jobs when he gets work, faces racist discrimination wherever he turns. All this exists because the capitalist system, despite the fabulous wealth and phenomenal technological developments in the United States, is incapable of taking the first steps to irradiate poverty. The war goes on because American capitalism rests on the exploitation of the rest of the world. In Vietnam it fights, not a handful of "communists", but a whole people who wish to throw off capitalist exploitation. But if the Vietnamese succeed, others will follow their example. So the U.S. rulers throw American working men, black and white, into the jungles of Vietnam in a vain attempt to hold back history, to maintain a status quo the masses of the world are overthrowing.

STALEMATE

Struggle has begun on all fronts against the American rulers, in the shops, in the ghettos, among the middle classes and youth in opposition to the war. But the trade union struggles lead at best to stalemate with the largest wage packages barely keeping up with the rising cost of living and in many cases the wage gains being compensated for by deteriorating working conditions. The ghetto uprisings, heroic though they were, ended in defeat as the U.S. rulers shot down the Negro people using the National Guard and U.S. troop

while the politicians, Democratic and Republicans alike, cheered from the sidelines. Half a million people mobilized against war in April was followed by intensification of that war.

Victory on all these fronts can only come through challenging the power of those who oppress us, the American ruling class. The question all these struggles raise is the same one -- who is to rule America? Struggles which do not tackle this question of POWER cannot lead to victory. Political power is the central question today in the United States.

ANSWERS

What answers to this central question do the various radical forces in the United States give? The black nationalists and those close to them like Stokely Carmichael, Rap Brown and Floyd Mc Kissick answer with black power. But the power of the 11% of the population which is black can change little in America. The decisions of this country are made by those who own the large corporations and banks. Control of the local black communities means little for the banking interests stand behind the slumlord and the stranglehold of the economy by big business prevents the great wealth

of this country from being used to provide good jobs for all and a decent standard of living. The power of the Negro can only be meaningful if linked to the power of the working class, that many million force without which nothing moves in the United States, nothing is made, nothing happens.

The Communist Party sees the need for a political solution to the struggles of the American masses. However it fails to see that for this solution to be a real solution it must be based upon a dif-

ferent class than the one that oppresses us. Rather than calling for the building of a political party based on the working class it now calls for a new third capitalist party based primarily on the middle class reformers. Yesterday it sought to rally these reformers to Johnson. Today Johnson is too much even for the Communist Party so it urges a third party. Tomorrow it will take these same third party advocates back into the Democratic party around a Kennedy or another spokesman of big business.

PROPAGANDISM

The Socialist Workers Party plans to run its own electoral campaign in 1968. It sees this campaign as a propagandistic expression of the middle class peace protest movement and of the black power advocates. It makes no attempt to address the working class itself. But even if it did a small socialist party will not be seen as a serious electoral alternative to the millions of trade unionists and Negro militants. The power of the capitalist class is real. The alternative must be just as real and more powerful.

The Progressive Labor Party recognizes empirically the importance of the trade union struggles which are breaking out across the country. It addresses itself to these workers and urges more militancy, a trade union program to win this struggle or that. Important as this is, Progressive Labor refuses to even face the question of the need for a political alternative for the class. At the recent New Politics conference in Chicago PLP blocked with new left elements opposing any political action at the present time.

LABOR

The Workers League fights for the building of a labor party in the United States. Only a party encompassing the millions of workers, black

and white, really pose an alternative to Johnson. As long as the struggle of the working class remain strictly on the economic front the working class can win no real victories, the Negro masses will remain enslaved in ghettos, aggressive wars against the workers and peasants of other lands will continue and thousands upon thousands of American workers will give their lives to preserve their own exploitation at home.

We are well aware that there is no mass sentiment of a labor party among American workers. Millions of workers are determined to struggle through their unions against these attacks on their living and working conditions but they are not yet ready to take this struggle over to the political front. But the working class will not automatically come to this understanding. It is the task of socialists today to fight for this understanding among the workers. We must participate in each struggle of the working class. We must do all in our power to make these struggles more effective, to mobilize the power of the class against the bosses. At the same time we must point out in the very course of these struggles the necessity of the class going over to an independent struggle on the political field as well.

FREE

It will only be by a combination of an intensification of these struggles with the conscious intervention of socialists fighting for a labor party that the working class will gain an understanding of the necessity to begin the struggle for power. When that happens the very world system of capitalist oppression will be threatened and a world free of exploitation of man by man free of bloody predatory wars, free of poverty and misery and racism will open up before mankind.

Bosses Use French Nationalism to Split the Canadian Workers

by Robert Hartley

TORONTO-- The visit of French President De Gaulle to Quebec proves the point that even the most virulent right wingers and demagogues can play the game of French Canadian nationalism. An elementary task of socialists is to defend the language and cultural rights of French speaking Canadians. It is obvious to anyone living in Quebec, or for that matter in the rest of Canada, that bi-lingualism is a farce. An English speaking worker has job openings according to skill, his French speaking brother is limited by the language he speaks. Quebec is as fully a part of Canada's capitalist economy as any other province; the French speaking bourgeoisie exploits workers just as intense as any English speaking boss.

Ardent exponents of French Canadian nationalism point to the lower wages and longer hours in Quebec. They claim that this is the result of English oppression of the French speaking nations. In actuality

this is the result of the conscious policies of the Canadian and American capitalists. Quebec, and in this respect it is similar to the English speaking Maritime provinces, has traditionally been a backward agricultural province with small family farms, a short growing season, and only limited mechanization. As such French Canadian farmers cannot compete with the more mechanized farms in Western Canada and in the United States. Taking advantage of an impoverished farming population with a surplus labor force flowing into the urban centers of the province in recent years Canadian and American capital have moved to reap large profits by paying lower wages. This is similar to the process in the South and other backward areas of the United States.

CONFLICT

The capitalists then seek to maintain and justify these inferior wage levels by encouraging conflict between the

French and English speaking workers. They want the French speaking workers to blame the English speaking population including the workers rather than to see that it is the capitalists themselves that have created their position of exploitation. Thus while Quebec has seen a large number of important strikes as French speaking workers battle for wage parity with their English speaking brothers the full revolutionary impact of their struggles has been sidetracked down the blind alley of petty bourgeois French nationalism.

As of recent years the Canadian Pabloites organized in the League for Socialist Action, led by Ross Dowson, have gone out of their way to back the petty-bourgeois French nationalist movement. Granted the Pabloite LSA maintains talk of the central role of workers in the struggle for "national liberation", but it is just a matter of time until they drop this last vestige of Trotskyism and adapt fully to the petty-bourgeois politicians they are now

tailending.

REACTIONARY

Quebec nationalism is at its core reactionary. It means the separation of French and English speaking workers when they should be fighting a common boss.

Charles De Gaulle, that master anti-working class politician, must have been aware of the reactionary potential of Quebec nationalism. De Gaulle's visit was intended to take advantage of a division in the Canadian ruling class so as to be better able to extract concessions in the future. Perhaps De Gaulle has in mind a favorable uranium purchase from Canada to bolster the French nuclear program?

Don't think the potential of Quebec nationalism to divide the working class has been slighted by Canada's bourgeois politicians. The Progressive-Conservative Party at this moment is speaking of "two founding peoples", "two majorities", and "deux nations". They know what Quebec nation-

alism means for Canadian capital.

PRICE

The price of Quebec nationalist opportunism will be extracted from the sweat of the French and English speaking working class. For this reason, if for no other, a relentless struggle against the revisionist League for Socialist Action is necessary. The Canadian supporters of the International Committee of the Fourth International pledge themselves to this task.

**TORONTO
WORKERS
LEAGUE**
P. O. BOX 1144
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NY Teachers Strike Ends; Leaders Sign Rotten Pact



the victory its membership demanded.

On Wednesday, Sept. 20th after days of hectic, round-the-clock negotiations--punctuated only for press conferences and court appearances for Shanker and other officers of the UFT to obtain delays in the enforcement of the penalties of Taylor Law--an oral agreement of the terms of a settlement were reached by the Board of Education and Shanker's negotiating team. However, in the writing of this oral agreement, the Board reneged on several key items.

At a rally of some 8,000 teachers on Sunday at the Singer Bowl--at which Shanker originally intended to get the approval of the membership for the contract--the UFT head outlined the settlement he had gotten and the key items still up in the air. In addition to a salary package of \$1200 over two years for most teachers--which will leave a beginning teacher in NY \$1300 behind his counterpart in Detroit--obtained were modest decreases in class size, elimination of certain clerical functions, and several other small gains. One of the most important items, the expansion of the More Effective Schools program, fought for by the UFT in the last contract, and which sought to improve the quality of education in ghetto schools is still unresolved. So is the question of unassigned periods.

SOLD

The conception of "professionalism" held by the vast majority of the teachers--that impelled them to fight for meaningful education and job training for their students, for realistic class sizes and updated curriculums, for adequate teacher training programs have been sold down the river once again by the "professionalism" of the leadership. Shanker has stated publicly that this is everybody's school system--the bosses run it and the working class youth attend it; but this is not what Shanker has in mind.

Since Shanker has never in the past fought for a meaningful contract for his members, no one should have expected that he would do so now--especially since a meaningful fight now meant confronting the Taylor Law. To have fought back against the attack of the ruling class on the conditions of workers and the right to an education for youth--concretized politically by the Taylor Law--would have meant the demise of the bureaucratic concept that teachers comprise an elite group separate from the working class.

It would have meant the kind of mass mobilization of New York city workers talked about at the rally at Madison Square Garden last April. From the absence of any mention of any labor support at the rally on Sunday, save for the parent body of the UFT the American Federation of Teachers, it is clear that Shanker intended the teachers to fight this one out



STRIKING NYC TEACHERS RALLY AT SINGER BOWL.

alone. It is also clear that all the talk in April was so much hot air put forth to reassure the ranks of the AFL-CIO in New York that their leaders were on the ball, and to put pressure on various Democratic and Republican politicians. Rather than turn to their ranks for support, these labor bureaucrats would prefer to make deals with the bosses and their politicians--even as the ruling class is preparing a full scale attack on the unions.

Insofar as the virtual shutdown of the schools was of vital concern to every working person in New York, insofar as the militancy and solidarity of the teachers overstepped the expectations of Lindsay's pundits, insofar as Shanker was willing to be "flexible" with the demands of his members and the needs of New York's school population, the full weight of the Taylor Law was not placed on the UFT--this time. But the possibility that that their union may not bear the full brunt of this political attack--as long as their leaderships sell them out, should be small consolation to the trade unionists in this city.

DEFEND

When federal funds get tighter. and when the local bankers

put the squeeze on harder, a desperate Lindsay or his successor will be forced to abandon all pretense of compromise with the working class. As long as the Taylor Law exists, no worker in New York should feel safe. To protect their gains the workers in New York must prepare to organize against anti-strike legislation and against the absorption of the unions into the state apparatus. Trade unionists must be ready to defend their brothers and sisters when they are attacked by demanding that the bureaucrats fight, call mass rallies, organize defense committees and build huge strike funds for all city unions. Facing the combined opposition of the Democratic and Republican parties workers must begin now the struggle to build a political alternative, a labor party based on the trade unions.

Meanwhile, the schools will be about as rotten and meaningless as before. Youth will "graduate" from dreary classrooms to drearier unemployment lines or still drearier army barracks. Teachers must organize now to fight for control of the schools along with the students. Only in this way will the school system be changed to serve the needs of the youth instead of institutions to discipline them.

by Fred Calhoun
NEW YORK--The New York teachers strike has ended and students and teachers are back in the schools. President Shanker's settlement has been accepted despite the opposition of three out of four vice presidents, one third of the delegates assembly and about one fifth of the membership.

Two things emerge clearly: that the teachers have waged a magnificent strike against the ever present threat of the Taylor Law all but shutting down New York's 900 public schools; but despite the militancy of the ranks, it appears certain that the UFT will not have won anything resembling

MAOISTS TRY TO LEASH RED GUARD ATTACK ON BUREAUCRACY

by Marty Jonas
The Chinese Revolution is far from settled. The International Committee and the Workers League have been maintaining this and the recent events in China tend to bear this out.

As the Russian bureaucracy prepares to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution by firming up their alliance with U.S. imperialism with sweetheart atom pacts and posh new embassies, the youth, workers, and peasants in the Red Guard movement are advancing in their struggles against the Chinese bureaucracy.

UNLEASHED

What started out as an empirical struggle organized by Mao against the right wing of the bureaucracy--the Liu wing--has, according to recent reports, been getting out of the hands of the Maoists. Everywhere roam the youth. They pull respected communist politicians out of bed and parade them through the streets. They commandeer the trains to ride across the country rallying youth, workers, and peasants to their movement. They fight the bureaucracy as best they know how and it is a good fight. But, apparently, the Red Guards must be pulling too

many of the "wrong" people out of bed at night. Moderates in the Mao wing are now calling for self-control from the Red Guards, a return to some kind of stability.

"ULTRA-LEFT"

The bogeyman of the ultra-left has now been called up and blamed for disruption. This "ultra-left" is, rightly or wrongly, accused of being rightist -- out to throw the Cultural Revolution into confusion and use it for its own sinister ends. We cannot speculate at this point on the real political character of the "ultra-left" May 16 Detachment, for instance.

It is not a question of whether the "ultra-left" is really the right-wing in disguise. This may in some cases be true. What is essential is that the Red Guards are a mass movement and as such are beginning to fight for their own interests, which are not necessarily the interests of those who originally inspired the movement.

ARMY

Lately, the army is playing a greater role in these struggles. Acting as an arm of the Maoists, its actions are presented by them as above the factional struggles of the Red

Guards. Its task is stabilization. But there can be no stabilization from outside the struggle. As the army tries to stabilize things, to limit the "excesses" of the Red Guards, it will become part of the struggle -- and so, then, will Chairman Mao. What Mao has unleashed, he is preparing to use the army to stop. Orders have already gone out from Mao's wife -- a left leader -- that soldiers should deal firmly with Red Guards attempting to take their arms. Mao's soldiers and Red Guards! There are lessons for the Red Guards to learn from this.

And while the Socialist Workers Party and its Spartacist wing sit by and contemplate what to them amounts to an irrelevant fight in the bureaucracy, the country is rent by civil war. If it is just a brawl at the top as these aloof radicals maintain, then they must explain the massive upheavals below. China is suffering from the worst economic dislocation in years. Production, shipping, transportation are showing severe ups and downs. This is no economic trouble as in great capitalist crisis, but rather the planned economy of a workers state temporarily set askew by enormous political battles of its masses.



LIU SHAO-CHI IN HIS DAYS OF BUREAUCRATIC GLORY.

These opponents of the Chinese Revolution must also explain the growing tendency of the Mao bureaucracy to issue manifestoes of moderation to the Red Guards. If this is all a clash of bureaucrats with all consciousness confined to the top and the Red Guards a pliable mass of dough, then what is Mao afraid of? They're all his kids, all he has to do is snap his fingers and they go back to school. But it's not that easy: these kids are militant, idealistic youth in alliance with workers and peasants and these are forces that keep going, once let loose.

In "In Defense of Marxism" Trotsky talks about the "bur-

eaucratic impulse" which, though a product of the Red Army of Stalin marching into Poland for the bureaucracy's ends, the workers and peasants of that country to expropriation of land and factories. We support that "impulse"; we support the struggles that come out of it; and we prepare for the struggles against that same bureaucracy when it tries to check the results of its impulse.

In China, in Poland, the struggle is an uneven one and starting under a soiled banner. But revolutionaries must take sides in struggles to advance them. We have taken ours.



V.I. LENIN--ALWAYS THE PARTY MAN.

The recent death of Isaac Deutscher, important historian and biographer, has produced a veritable flow of eulogies from the Socialist Workers Party and its international allies such as Pierre Frank. We feel it is more appropriate on the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution to make an objective assessment of the political and theoretical views of Deutscher.

Deutscher's literary career was closely tied up with the October Revolution and those who led it. A major biographer of Trotsky, he also wrote constantly on Soviet affairs. It is essential to look at Deutscher's assessment of this revolution if we are to build towards new Octobers by understanding the essential lessons of October.

Pierre Frank, the French Pabloite leader, writes that Deutscher's "personality could not have easily unfolded its talents within the framework of an organization and very likely he best served the cause of the socialist revolution as a free-lance writer." For Frank party membership is a personality matter. For us we see Deutscher's failure to function as a party man as directly linked with his most fundamental failing as a Marxist theoretician--his failure to understand the very essence of the October Revolution itself.

Deutscher's theoretical views have played an important role in the internal disputes within the Fourth International over the past decade and a half--disputes which have led to the irrevocable split between the Pabloite International Secretariat supported by the SWP and the International Committee with which the Workers League is in political solidarity.

On January 24th, 1964, Tim Wohlforth, today National Secretary of the Workers League, addressed a letter to the Political Committee of the SWP on precisely this question. The Political Committee neither acknowledged receipt of the letter nor circulated it with the National Committee of the party. In fact some six months later Wohlforth and other oppositionists were expelled from the party and were forced to begin the struggle which led to the formation of the Workers League.

We reprint this letter below because it deals precisely with the central question of Deutscher's relation to the October Revolution and the defense of its conquests. It also makes clear that the current Pabloite eulogies of Deutscher are more than a matter of appreciating the man's scholarship. Rather they reflect an essential political solidarity with Deutscher over precisely those points on which Deutscher opposes the views of Lenin and Trotsky.

Dear Comrades:

The very heart and core of our party is its political program. As the Marxist movement as distinguished from all others seeks consciously to change the world, the defense and development of our program is our most important task. When this program is substantially altered in an essential way, this alteration must also take place in a fully

conscious, honest way.

Comrade Hansen's article in the current ISR "Deutscher on Trotsky" represents a fundamental alteration or revision of one of the most essential parts of the basic program upon which our party was founded and built--the concept of political revolution. Furthermore this revision is not being carried through in an open conscious manner so that it is possible that at least some of the comrades in the movement may not be fully aware of what is taking place.

The 1963 Convention denied representation on the National and Political Committees to our tendency and thus I have been removed from those bodies. The views I presented here are views I would have presented within the Political Committee if I were still a member of that body.

The relationship between Deutscher's ideas and our movement have been extremely important over the past decade. The essential political basis for the 1953 split both within our party and throughout the whole international movement was the going over of a section of the movement to the views of Isaac Deutscher. This is made crystal clear in the basic article of that struggle "Trotsky or Deutscher"--On the New Revisionism and its Theoretical Source" by James P. Cannon (Winter, 1954 Fourth International). Exactly one decade later Joseph Hansen's article "Deutscher or Trotsky" represents a return in all essentials to the views which the party fought in 1954. The circle is completed. Despite the expulsions here and the split internationally the views of Clarke and Co. are today the views of the party.

FOUNTAINHEAD

Hansen, of course, must take some note of the fundamental difference between the line of his current article and the line of Cannon's article of a decade ago. After all Cannon stated in 1954: "The originator and fountainhead of the new revisionism, the modern successor to Bernstein and Stalin in this shady game, is a former Polish communist, named Isaac Deutscher..." Hansen on the other hand sees "a rather wide basis for cooperation" and "practical collaboration" with Cannon's "originator and fountainhead of the new revisionism."

Does Hansen claim that Deutscher has changed his views in the last decade thus laying a political basis for such collaboration and cooperation? No, Hansen cannot claim this for Deutscher goes to lengths in his current book to illustrate that he has not changed his position one whit since the days of Russia: What Next? Does Hansen openly admit that he, and the party's majority leadership along with him, have gone over to the essentials of what Cannon called Deutscher's "new revisionism"? No, for practical political considerations this would be a hazardous course and Hansen is above all a practical politician. Rather he "handles" the question in the intellectual spirit of a Tammany Hall ward heeler.

We are informed that in 1954 the comrades suspected that Deutscher represented an organizational threat to the party. "It turned out, however, that Deutscher was not interested in recruiting from the Trotskyist movement or in organizing a sect of his own, still less a cult," Hansen tells us. "This spoke strongly in his favor," he goes on. Since Deutscher did not personally represent an organizational threat to the party Hansen suggests we should not be so hostile to his theoretical views. Then we are told that during the regroupment period some people utilized Deutscher as a bridge to Trotskyism--a positive organizational aid. As if Lenin refused to attack a Plekhanov or a Kautsky for their harmful theoretical views, and in fact proposed to bloc with them, because some people utilized their pedagogical teachings as a bridge to Bolshevism! For these two organizational reasons "Trotskyists", Hansen confesses, "therefore began their own self reform--in relation to Deutscher."

We suspect Hansen is resorting to this opportunist argument because he must feel it will be more acceptable to the party rank and file than an openly political one. In doing this, Hansen is insulting the cadres of our party. It is clear from the article as a whole that Hansen proposes for "cooperation" and "collaboration" with Deutscher have a deeper political basis than the opportunist arguments quote above. Hansen has substantially moved on to the same political ground as Deutscher and it is this political movement that provides the common basis for the friendly collaborative approach Hansen proposes towards the "fountainhead of the new revisionism."

Deutscher's view on reform or revolution in the workers' states is well known to all our comrades.

ISAAC DEUTSCHER AND THE C

THE TIME FOR AN HONEST

It is not that he insists that Stalinism will transform itself by self-reform but that he does not rule this out. Because of this Deutscher counsels us to sit with him on the sidelines and wait and see for the whole next period if the Soviet bureaucracy will reform itself.

SHAKEUP

Hansen, of course, insists on the maintenance of the word "political revolution" for the process of de-Stalinization." However, he gives to this word a content in its essentials identical to Deutscher. (No wonder he is unperterbed when the word itself is dropped from basic documents of the "reunited" FI.) This he makes clear when he states that political revolution "did not necessarily mean a 'violent explosion,' although it would certainly signify a thoroughgoing shakeup undertaken at the initiative of the masses." Thus in Hansen's deft hands our concept of political revolution is transformed into a non-violent "thoroughgoing shakeup" which is "undertaken" (by whom--the bureaucracy?) at the "initiative" of the masses (under whose leadership?).

Deutscher will find little that he can disagree with in this aside from the terminological question. Certainly, Deutscher recognizes that mass pressure and even mass action can and will spur on or "initiate" the process of "de-Stalinization." Certainly, he sees even reform as a "thoroughgoing shakeup." No, Deutscher's argument is not with Hansen--it is with Trotsky. Above all else, he strongly rejects Trotsky's concept that the political revolution will be a violent uprising of the masses under the leadership of the Fourth International! We can find little solace in Hansen's using the label "political revolution" for Deutscher's ideas; for in so doing he is only following that much more closely in Clarke's footsteps. Clarke also saw in Deutscher's formula, "the concept of political revolution... now for the first time due to find application in life."

There can be no question as to what Trotsky stood for because, as Cannon stated in 1954, "contrary to the whole tribe of revisionist doubletalkers, Trotsky always said what he meant..." This is what Trotsky stood for as Cannon quoted him in 1954:

"There is no peaceful outcome for this crisis. No devil ever yet voluntarily cut off his claws. The Soviet bureaucracy will not give up its position without a fight. The development leads obviously to the road of revolution.

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THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

AN HONEST ASSESSMENT

oppressed masses can revive the Soviet regime and guarantee its further development towards socialism. There is but one party capable of leading the Soviet masses to insurrection--the party of the Fourth International!"

Trotsky states that there can be "no peaceful outcome for this crisis," but Hansen pooh-poohs "violent explosions," Trotsky speaks of "revolutionary uprising" and "insurrection," but Hansen refers to thoroughgoing shakeup." Trotsky insists on the leadership of the Fourth International, but Hansen leaves this out altogether. No wonder Hansen finds a basis today for "cooperation" and "collaboration" with Deutscher, the man Cannon characterized in 1954 as the Bernstein of our day. The choice is between Trotsky and Hansen-Deutscher. We take Trotsky.

Perhaps the most shocking feature of Hansen's article is his obvious reliance on what he hopes to be the bad memories of his comrades. As the party must function as the memory of the class, this is unforgivable. We are referring not only to Hansen's distortions of Trotsky's views and the dishonest way he handles the 1954 position of the party on Deutscher. We are thinking of the more recent Hungarian Revolution. As the party made clear at the time, the Hungarian workers answered this question of political revolution once and for all, and in the most concrete of ways--by their own revolutionary actions. Does Comrade Hansen claim that the Hungarian Revolution was not a "violent explosion?" Does Comrade Hansen now disagree with the position of the party at the time that Hungary showed in the concrete the way in which political revolution would take place at a later date throughout the whole Soviet Bloc? These are serious questions, comrades. They deserve serious answers.

OBJECTIVIST

It is to Hansen's credit that in the latter part of his review he defends Trotsky's struggle to build the Fourth International. However, his defense is, we are sorry to say, a very weak one, because Hansen is incapable of coming to grips with the essential method of Deutscher which leads both to his position on the reform of Stalinism and his opposition to the Fourth International. This failure is understandable--for Hansen has succumbed to the same method himself.

Deutscher is essentially an objectivist--he is a consistent one and he is an honest one. The theoretical importance of the Prophet Outcast lies precisely in that in it Deutscher works out more ful-

ly this objectivist outlook than anywhere else in his writings.

Interestingly, Deutscher's objectivist outlook finds its clearest exposition in his comment on Trotsky's History of the Russian Revolution. This is understandable, for the History is devoted to the world's only successful proletarian revolution--to that great triumph of proletarian consciousness. Deutscher heaps praise unstintingly on this work, but he does have one "small" difference with Trotsky's analysis. Trotsky, it seems, was a "subjectivist."

Trotsky's error, as Deutscher sees it, was that he put too much emphasis on Lenin's role in the revolution, especially in seeing this role as indispensable for the victory of the revolution. After all, Deutscher reasons, basing himself on Plekhanov, is this not giving the individual too much of a role in history and thus contrary to classical Marxism? "And could Lenin's or Trotsky's part have perhaps been played by leaders smaller in stature, with this difference perhaps that the smaller men instead of 'allowing destiny to direct them' would have been dragged by it,?" Deutscher asks. Even more interesting: "But have not in our time the Chinese and Yugoslav Revolutions triumphed under parties very different from that of the Bolsheviks of 1917, and under leaders of smaller, even much smaller, stature? In each case the revolutionary trend found or created its organ in such human material as was available." In this analysis of Trotsky's History, Deutscher is getting right to the roots of the present controversy within the International Movement. It is a credit to his intellectual ability and honesty that he performs this task.

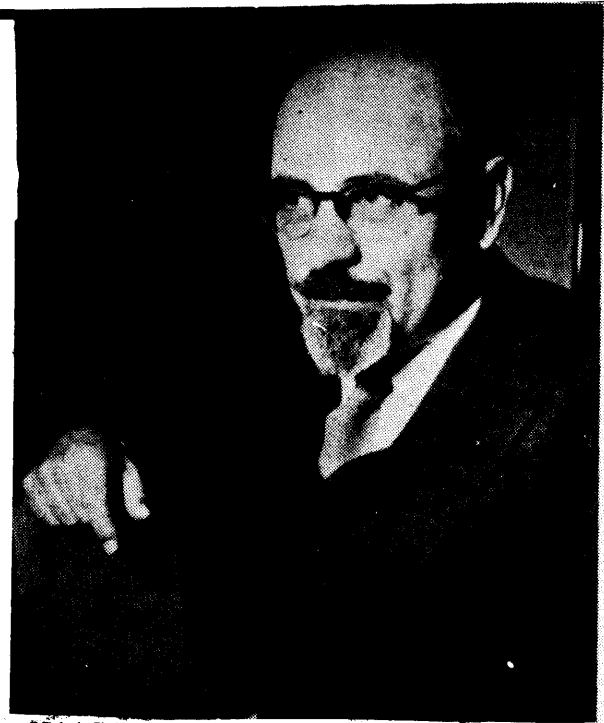
OCTOBER

Deutscher incorrectly poses the question when he states that what is at issue is the role of consciousness in proletarian revolution. Since Marxists have always made a clear distinction between the role of false consciousness in bourgeois and earlier revolutions and the absolute necessity for true consciousness in a proletarian revolution, references to Plekhanov's discussion of Robespierre or Napoleon are beside the point. Lenin's or Trotsky's role in the Russian Revolution must thus be seen as struggling to create a true consciousness of the proletariat within, primarily the Bolshevik party. Were these individuals necessary to the process of creating a conscious arm of the proletariat capable of seizing power? Precisely because of the theoretical errors of the Bolsheviks on the permanent revolution and their distorted development because of underground and exile existence it was Trotsky's view that only a person of Lenin's stature could turn the party in time to take advantage of the quickly ripening objective revolutionary situation. The lesson Trotsky thus drew from October was that the creation of a conscious arm of the class, far from being an automatic product of objective conditions, was a task which required the utmost struggle and will. Even the great Bolshevik party almost failed to succeed in this task. It was this deep conviction of the importance of this task which was to dominate every moment of his existence to his death in 1940. This critical point the author of a three volume biography does not understand about his central character.

Deutscher's view, as is especially clear from his references to Yugoslavia and China, is that proletarian leadership is the automatic by-product of great revolutionary developments. Consciousness thus flows automatically from objective historical circumstances--or perhaps even, false consciousness will serve as well as true consciousness. This is the clear meaning of his statement: "In each case the revolutionary trend found or created its organ in such human material as was available." A Tito or a Mao with their empirical Stalinist politics and their totally Stalinized parties are seen to be as "adequate" as a Lenin or a Trotsky with a Marxist line and with a party like the Bolsheviks!

SISYPHIAN

With this basic theoretical view as background it is easy to see why Deutscher viewed Trotsky's struggle to build an International a futile task. The Marxist had best renounce this "sisyphian labor" and remain in the comfort of his library writing books. To take this point back further, Lenin's whole struggle to create a conscious Marxist party was also a waste of effort for a less conscious party led by lesser men would have been sufficient to the task. Deutscher's own contradiction is that he cannot help but be fascinated by Trotsky and his life-long struggle for Marxism. Can he really justify to himself his three volumes simply on the grounds that it "proves" the "futility" of conscious



ISAAC DEUTSCHER--ALWAYS IN ARMCHAIR.

struggle, of man's efforts to determine his own destiny? His preoccupation with the intricacies of Trotsky's theories would seem a waste of time unless theory has a practical purpose in directing man's efforts to free himself from class bondage.

Deutscher's assessment of Stalinism is simply a concrete application of his general objectivist outlook. Our task, as he sees it, is not to intervene to seek to organize a force capable of overthrowing the bureaucracy but rather to sit back and watch the objective historical process unfold. Reform or revolution is not a critical question for Deutscher, the observer of the passing scene. He leaves the "final judgment" up to "a historian of the next generation." It is precisely this noninterventionist "observer" pose of Deutscher which is his most grievous error. Considering this Hansen's proposal for "practical collaboration" with Deutscher gives us a revealing picture of Hansen's own outlook. We can almost see them now, holding hands and sitting on their comfortable cloud, observing the passing parade in the Soviet glacial. "Does it look like reform to you, Joe," Deutscher calmly asks? "It's hard to tell from this distance," Hansen says, puffing on his cigar, "but it kind of looks to me like revolution." "Oh, well," they both chime in unison, "one thing is for sure, a thoroughgoing shakeup is taking place."

This objectivist view of Deutscher's is precisely the view which permeates all the resolutions and articles of the majority comrades on international questions. The party and its international collaborators have taken the "observer" role and are leaving to objective revolutionary developments the task of creating a new conscious Marxist vanguard for the class. But the majority comrades thank goodness, continue to insist on performing the "sisyphian labor" of building a movement in difficult times. This is to their credit but as long as the comrades also maintain this objectivist theory the movement will be faced with disintegration. Already comrades like Swabek and Weiss are seeing as senseless the difficult task of pushing that stone up the hill and are searching for substitutes for our movement.

NEW OCTOBERS

Now is a good time for comrades to re-read Trotsky's History. The turning point in modern history came with October--the triumph of working class consciousness. Whatever progress that has been made since 1917 is due primarily to the continued existence, even in distorted form, of the state created by the conscious revolutionary process. The future progress of mankind depends on other Octobers. Such Octobers can only be prepared by conscious proletarian parties. The whole struggle to build the Fourth International is a struggle to build such parties. The further building of our world movement depends in large part on a struggle against the objectivist views of Deutscher and the Hansens in our movement. Rather than "collaboration" or "cooperation" we must launch a full scale political and theoretical war against the ideas of Deutscher. Pabloism today is the inconsistent expression of Deutscherism within the ranks of our movement. Pabloism leads to disintegration, to liquidation. The future lies with those who continue the struggle against the new revisionism launched by the party in 1953.

I urge the Political Committee to reverse its present course before it is too late. A first step in this direction would be a repudiation of the Hansen article and a reaffirmation of Trotsky's concept of political revolution. Then a searching, honest look at the method which has led both Hansen and Deutscher to these revisionist views would be necessary.

THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION FIFTY YEARS LATER

speaker: tim wohlforth

SAN FRANCISCO

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ROCKIN' ROCK PARTY: Ladies free 'til 10:30. Party starts 10 P.M. Contribution 99¢ Students: 50¢ Unemployed: Free.

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Fri. Nov. 3, 8 P.M., Hotel Empire Bldg & 63 St. FILM-PARTY: "From Czar to Lenin" -- rarely shown actual documentary of Russian Revolution. 10:30 P.M. Followed by a ROCKIN' ROCK PARTY. Contribution \$1.50. High school students and unemployed: 75¢.

auspices:
workers league
& young workers league

THE POLITICS OF THE SWP '68 CAMPAIGN

black power and scabs

The events of the past summer have exposed all the revisionist tendencies in the working class movement. In its response to the growing capitalist crisis the Socialist Workers Party has reached a new stage in its flight from Marxism and from the working class.

The ghetto rebellions were a great chapter in the struggles of the working class. The task before Marxists was to support the rebellions, to view them within the framework of the class struggle nationally and internationally, and to win black and white workers to a revolutionary perspective as an answer to the crisis of decaying capitalism. A fighting program which unites workers in struggle is required.

Centrists and pacifists such as the Rev. King, the SWP's friend in the peace movement, showed their true colors by supporting the armed suppression of the ghetto uprisings. The SWP, on the other hand, betrayed these struggles in its own fashion. It took the opportunity, even as Detroit showed the reality and the enormous potential of unity between black and white workers, to prostitute itself completely before black nationalism.

NEW STAGE

The SWP's frenzied capitulation to petty-bourgeois nationalism reached a new stage with these events. It revealed itself as an enemy of the black as well as the white workers, by presenting not a single demand to unite workers in struggle, to raise the consciousness of the working class at this crucial time. In its opportunism the SWP hid the class character of the uprisings themselves, trying to pin a nationalist and even a separatist label on them. With tens of thousands of black youth and adult workers in struggle against the capitalist state, the SWP had nothing to offer but platonic sympathy. We are confident that the black workers will understand the meaning of the SWP's patronizing support and its complete refusal to put forward a program for these involved in the life and death struggle against capitalism. The SWP will be met with the contempt it so richly deserves.

In its response to the National Conference for New Politics, held in Chicago over the Labor Day weekend, the SWP made its position even clearer. The Stalinists sought to utilize this conference to build a reformist base to confine mass struggle to the framework of capitalist politics. While support for Johnson in 1968 was of course out of the question even for the Communist Party, which supported him in 1964, the CP and others sought to push a King-Spock peace ticket as a reformist capitalist ticket. This was to be combined with support to "dove" Democrats and Republicans wherever at all possible.

How did the SWP react to these events? Did it perhaps expose the black nationalists and Stalinists alike, and point out how they both reject a revolutionary perspective for the American working class? No, the SWP did not say this. It didn't even criticize the CP's open class collaboration, as it usually does for the record. It criticized the conference, not because it favors a fight to unite the American working class in genuine struggle against the bosses, but because it favored an all-black conference which took place at the same time



SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CANDIDATES DISCUSS CAMPAIGN WITH THE PRESS,

in Chicago. The problem with the New Politics conference was that the blacks there bothered to talk to whites at all, you see! It's not that the whites were primarily reformist, almost entirely oriented away from the working class. It's that they were whites, and nothing can come of Negroes and whites working together at this time! This is the essence of the SWP line. To the CP's phony claim of black-white unity the SWP answers that it is not interested in unity. Clearly the SWP and the CP, maneuvering amidst middle class pacifists and black nationalists, are twin enemies of the working class.

TEACHERS STRIKE

The New York teachers strike has provided the SWP with yet another fundamental political test. This strike has thus far continued for 2 weeks. It is an unprecedented struggle, reflecting the accelerating crisis of capitalism and the militancy of municipal and all government workers. At the same time the teachers strike raises other issues, the decay of the educational system under capitalism and the need for a united fight for teacher, parent and student control of the schools. The biggest weapon in the hands of the capitalists and their hand-picked Board of Education is the divisions in the working class. Divisions between teachers and parents, especially in the ghetto, is a great aid to the bosses. The capitalists seek to make the teachers pay for their own crisis, and then to turn the parents against the teachers, blaming them, as the most available scapegoat, for the rotting capitalist system and its inability to educate working class youth.

The teachers who refused in the past to support parent-sponsored school boycotts played into the hands of the Board of Education. New nationalists and so-called militants like McKissick and H. Rap Brown, along with a group of middle class Negro teachers, give the greatest aid to their erstwhile enemies, to the greatest enemies of the Negro masses. How does the SWP propose to fight this scabbing? How does it react to these outrageous anti-working class acts, to this venting of middle class frustration? Does it point out the danger, the use that has been made of scabs in the past? Does it take the scabbing as a warning sign and explain the need to fight for the unity of the working class around a program which unites their basic interests? Of course not! It ignores the

scabbing, it refuses to call it by its correct name, and simply refers vaguely to the divisions between parents and teachers, blaming it entirely on the teachers. So once again the SWP shows that it is not interested in working class unity. The SWP leadership follows the line expressed more openly by others -- working class unity is impossible.

THE LOGIC

If unity is impossible, if black teachers who scab must not be criticized, why shouldn't Negro UAW members cross the picket lines? Black auto workers have to contend with discrimination on the job and in their own union. That is undoubtedly true. Should they carry on the fight against discrimination within their own organizations while fighting together against the bosses, or should they try to improve their position by scabbing and joining hands with the bosses? The struggles are not identical, but what is the qualitative difference between this strike situation and the teachers strike? When the petty-bourgeois nationalists begin to advocate crossing the picket lines in auto or elsewhere, as is only logical considering their outlook and their fear of the working class, what will the SWP say?

This is not the same SWP which fought for unity of the class 15, 20 and 30 years ago, which upheld the Negro masses in their fight against racism and constantly sought to unite black and white workers in struggle. The new members of the SWP should reread their own history and search out the facts. They will then be able to trace the degeneration of the SWP from the time when it sought to lead workers with a revolutionary policy.

In the context of these wholesale betrayals the SWP has announced its candidates for President and Vice-President in 1968, Halstead and Boutelle are put forward as spokesmen for the anti-war and black power movements. They also happen to be socialists, we are informed! The SWP doesn't even pay lip service to uniting the working class. It barely mentions the idea of a labor party, without showing how to fight for it. At every point it serves to divide the class. Its election campaign, instead of focusing on the need for a labor party, becomes the vehicle for opportunist adaptation in the anti-war and Negro movements. It miseducates all whom it reaches, and it does not deserve the support of any militant black or white worker or socialist.

Debray's Revolution in Revolution: No Theory, Party, or Class

by Irv Hacker

Regis Debray in his book "Revolution in the Revolution", shows himself to be a pragmatist committed to the Cuban Revolution in the Americas, without the least bit of understanding as to

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what really did or didn't occur in Cuba.

Debray does not deal with Capitalism, neither the term nor the meaning. To him, revolution is the taking of state power by the guerilla movement within a country. Whether it is a capitalist state committed to a complex international system, or a minor semi-feudal republic whose value to the capitalist system is nil, means little to the author. All that he can see is the need for revolutionary action.

To Debray, "...the principal stress must be on the development of guerilla warfare and not on the strengthening of existing parties or the creation of new parties. That is why insurrectional activity is today the number

one political activity." Also, Debray states that "in guerilla warfare essentially the party is the army."

As far as the author is concerned this is a marvelous state of affairs in that there is one leader who all must follow. And one does not dissipate revolutionary energy with conferences, discussing theory, or printing papers. One can devote himself totally to the most important task of a revolutionary, actually taking power.

Debray deals with Trotskyism and Trotskyists as one would expect from an author who believes that theoretical development and the building of the party come after the seizure of state power. He criticizes the Trotskyists for calling for the joining of the

workers and peasants into a confederation which will sharpen the economic issues and which will eventually take power. To Debray, work within the trade unions and with the proletarian elements within the city is fool hearted. All this will do he feels, is to permit the governments to pick off the agitators.

No where in his analysis does Debray indicate any degree of recognition that what the Trotskyists call for is the uniting of the peasantry with the workers in a Bolshevik party committed to the seizure of state power and the seizure of the very means of production. And furthermore, that Trotskyists do not believe that the United States will permit the Cuban experience to be duplicated. It

is only through a world movement fighting for socialism that capitalism can be defeated. As long as the United States exists as the bastion for capitalism, and as long as any workers exist shackled by this oppressive system, no revolution can be secure.

What gives this book the importance that it has, is that the author is expressing a view apparently widely held in Latin America amongst various activists. A non-theoretical, anti-party viewpoint which unless combatted will amount to much needless loss of revolutionaries. Marxists must be able to learn from history, and not view it as Debray does, as something that clouds ones perspective of reality.

ENGLAND

Dockers, Auto Workers Battle Back Against Wilson's Anti-Labor Offensive

by Dan Fried

No one should be surprised that in a recent by-election, the British Labor Party lost a constituency to the Tories that had gone Labor for 38 years; that because of a massive abstention of working class voters, a previous Labor majority of 9000 votes disappeared.

Despite what the New York Times describes as a 'shock' to the Labor Party leaders and as having produced 'gloom' among 'Laborites', Wilson is as determined as ever to spit in the face of the working class and twist the workers arm until they cry 'uncle'. This man who unashamedly joins hands with Lyndon Johnson in the butchering of the Vietnamese people states he will continue policies which everyone predicts will boost the current unemployment figure of over 600,000 to from 800,000 to one million by next winter.

drastic reductions of employment in the railroads and in the shipbuilding industry. Through the implementation of the report of the Government's Devlin Report on the docks, it is estimated that in the port of London alone, some 5,000 dockers will lose their jobs within three years and it is the hope of the capitalists that by the early 1990's the labor force on the British docks can be reduced to one tenth of its current size.

Devlin means a sort of 'robbing Peter to pay Paul.' The trouble is that Paul may be out of a job entirely and Peter just plain gets robbed. All the so-called benefits like 'work sharing' will only be used against the dockers as long as the docks remain in private hands. As the Newsletter puts it: "Instead of freeing the docker from the casual system it aims to place him in a strait-jacket for the benefit of the private

government. The Socialist Labor League is struggling for leadership of the anti-Wilson movement by building a campaign on the docks and throughout the trade unions to make the 'left' M.P.'s fight against Wilson.

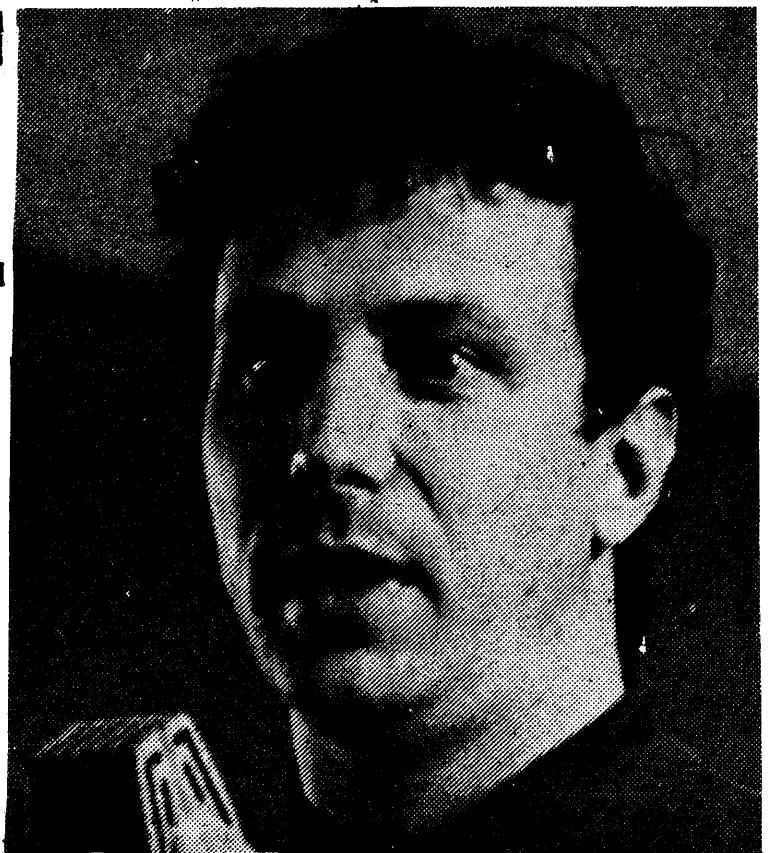
This is not only a struggle against Wilson and the right wing but also against the 'left' leadership of the Communist Party which is particularly strong on London docks. In the face of an all out struggle which the Wilson government realizes it has to go through not only to discipline the dockers but the entire working class, the Communist Party deliberately limits the dock strike to 'economic' issues. They do not want to see a struggle against Wilson exposing its reactionary role as long as Kosygin and Brezhnev are palsy-walsy with Wilson. That is the essence of Communist Party policy throughout the British trade unions.

Only the Socialist Labor League demands the immediate nationalization of the docks under workers control. This is the only way to open the books and accounts of the industry to the dockers so they can improve their working conditions as a result of the application of new techniques.

AUTO

The counterpart of the Devlin scheme in the British auto industry is the attempt by the auto monopolies to introduce the "Measured Day Work" system throughout the industry. Presently, this system exists only at Vauxhall Motors which is owned by General Motors. The essence of the Measured Day Work system is to maintain a high rate of speed-up. The piece work rates established by the auto workers under more favorable boom conditions of the past are to be tossed aside and replaced with arbitrary, non-negotiable standards of production. The standard is established by the man so well known to U.S. auto workers-- the time study man. This agent of the bosses is now to come into his own in the plants of BMC (British Motor Corporation) and others as well as Vauxhall.

The advantages to the bosses of the MDW system at Vauxhall are obvious: At Vauxhall, a skilled tradesman may earn no more than a



BMC STEWARD SPEAKS AT OXFORD CONFERENCE.

sweeper at a company such as BMC; in many cases a BMC worker may receive double the wage of a Vauxhall man for the same work! Conditions at Vauxhall which the employers and the Wilson government would like to impose throughout the industry are appalling. As the Newsletter interview with a young Vauxhall worker revealed, "Management had been able to tell men to accept timings on jobs, or leave. Men were shifted from job to job, grade to grade and shift to shift," with absolutely no say by shop stewards. The Newsletter report continues: "There is no control, either, over the track speeds. For the past six months in the paint shop, for example, the speed has run at 46 an hour, though the machinery was probably originally built for 25 to 35 an hour operation. Sprayers and welders are working in dangerous fumes...our reporter was told that it was estimated a man could last between 10 and 15 years consistently working in these conditions..."

The union and particularly the shop stewards are pitifully weak at Vauxhall. Job mobility is continually used to isolate militants and disrupt their organizing. It is estimated that at the Luton Vauxhall plant 25 to 30 percent of the workers are not even in the union.

These are the conditions which the industry is now trying to initiate in all auto shops with the encouragement and aid of the Wilson government. This is the type of 'modernization' that Wilson wants to create in order to increase automobile exports.

OXFORD

The resistance of the Vauxhall workers has grown increasingly against the entire MDW system and open shop conditions at Vauxhall. This militancy is expressed in the participation of Vauxhall workers at the recent Oxford trade union conference of militants in the auto industry. This conference was called by the Oxford Liason Committee for the Defense of Trade Unions. At the conference were 394 delegates and some 50 visitors representing a wide section of the labor movement from all over Britain with the emphasis on workers from the auto industry and related trades. A leading role in the conference was played by leaders of the most important shop steward committees throughout the British auto industry. Despite vicious opposition to the conference by Communist Party, anarchist, centrist and right wing pro-Wilson forces, the conference represented a great step forward in the trade union movement toward a new leadership of the working class to challenge Wilson and the capitalist attacks on the labor movement. Needless to say, the British working class is not taking Wilson's reactionary plans to make capitalism work at their expense lying down.

This is reflected not only in the rejection of Wilson's policies by the TUC (Trades Union Conference) and the setback for Labour in the bi-election, but in this Oxford conference as well.

The conference was not only a reflection of the crisis of British capitalism but a major step in the building of an organization and program of political action to struggle for socialist policies.

The present developments in Britain pose ever more sharply the question of the working class to take power and run society in its own interests. The Socialist Labor League of Britain, British section of the International Committee of the Fourth International, is the kingpin in this developing struggle to build the new leadership from out of the struggles of the dockers, auto workers and other sections of the working class.

oxford conference demands

In its overwhelming majority, the Oxford Conference demanded:

"that left-wing MPs put down a motion in the Parliamentary Labour Party for the resignation of Wilson and his Cabinet and their replacement by those who will:

- a. Repeal the Prices and Incomes Act,
- b. Restore full employment,
- c. Implement a policy of paying full wages whilst working short time.
- d. Nationalize the basic industries, including the motor industry."

He brazenly excuses himself by saying, "We decided popularity or no popularity that we were going to get the economy right." This is simply Wilson's version of the American aphorism, "What's good for General Motors is good for the country." Defending the value of the Pound Sterling in the interest of the London bankers and their international overlords on Wall Street is paramount. To hell with the working class--they need only to tighten their belts--this is what Mr. Wilson is saying. If, as a result the Tories come back to power on the basis of an unconcealed right wing onslaught against the workers, it will all be excused by Wilson and his cohorts as necessary to "get the economy right."

ROBBERS

The plans of the government will involve 160,000 fewer jobs in the coal industry by 1980;

employer." Decasualization can only benefit the dockers if the docks are first nationalized under control of the workers and without compensation.

September 15th was D-Day for the acceptance of the Devlin plan on the British docks. But on Monday, Sept. 18, the combined port of Liverpool and Birkenhead was completely shut down by the striking dockers. Many dockers were also out in London, Manchester and other ports. The Liverpool dockers appear to have the clearest understanding that it is not the minimum wage of 15, 16, or 17 pounds that is fundamental, and over which they can dicker with the employers--but rather that the over-riding issue is one of opposition to Devlin and for a struggle for nationalization under workers control. This struggle is clearly a political struggle which can only be fought for against the Wilson



LONDON DOCKERS MARCH ON THEIR TRADE UNION HEADQUARTERS TO PROTEST AGAINST THE DEVLIN PLAN.



Launch Workers League Branch in San Francisco

SAN FRANCISCO--A branch of the Workers League has just been chartered in this city and is engaged in a wide variety of struggles throughout the area. It has already attracted a sizable periphery which reflects the growing crisis in this country and the tremendous potential for building a serious revolutionary organization. The photos below shows Workers League members introducing the Bulletin and the Young Workers League to students at Mission High School.

