

Workers League 2nd National Conference

SUPPLEMENT: STRUGGLE FOR AMERICAN LABOR PARTY

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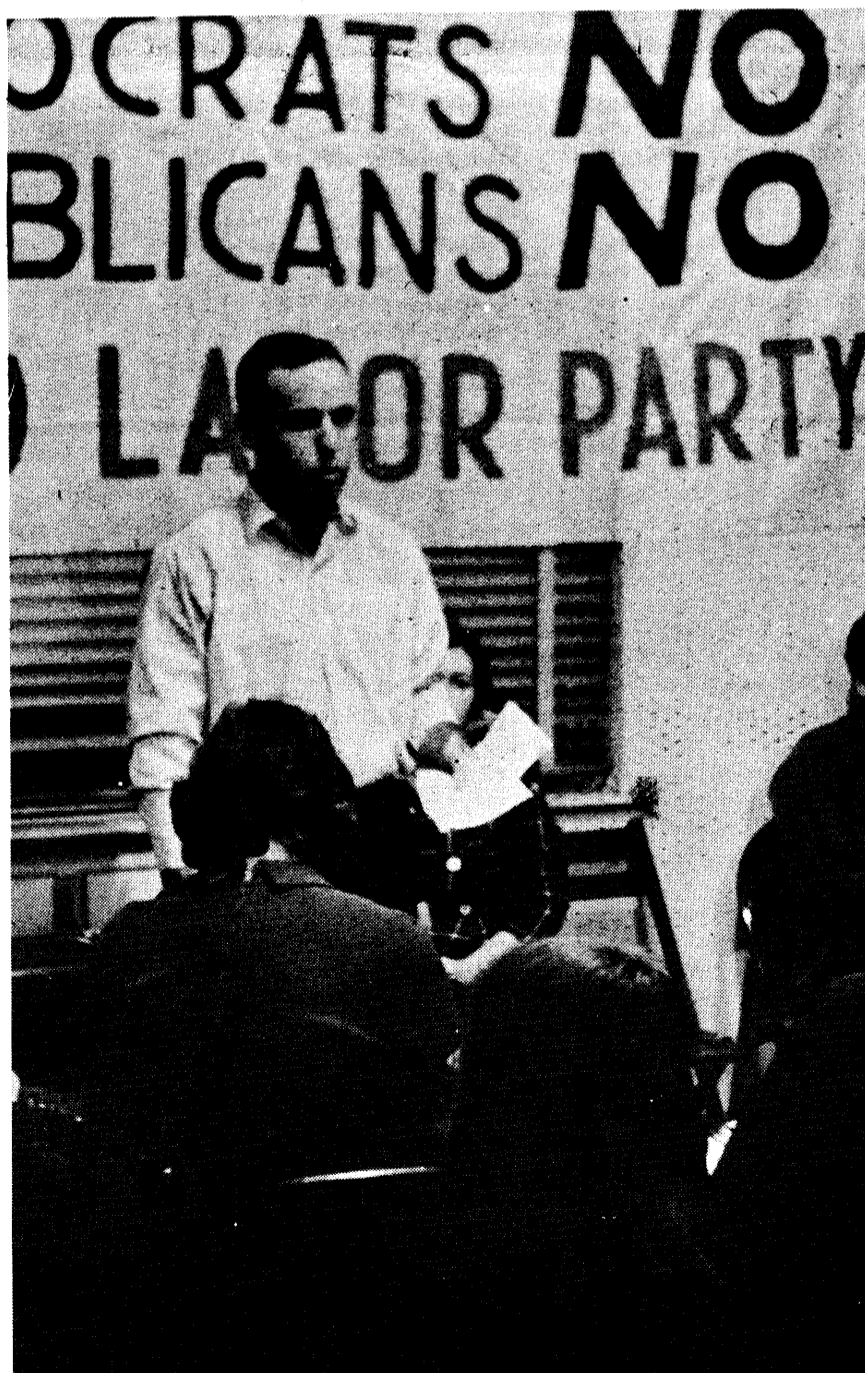
TRADE UNIONISTS FIGHT BACK!

MOTION

We fight in the unions for the American trade union movement to take the lead in establishing a labor party which will:

- 1- REPEAL ALL ANTI-STRIKE LEGISLATION
- 2- PROVIDE JOBS FOR ALL
- 3- WIPE OUT INFLATION
- 4- ESTABLISH TRADE UNION CONTROL OF WORKING CONDITIONS IN THE SHOPS
- 5- NATIONALIZE ALL COMPANIES WHICH CLAIM THEY CANNOT PROVIDE DECENT WAGES OR WORKING CONDITIONS

carried unanimously—trade unionists for a labor party
december 3rd new york city



FRED MAZELIS, DELEGATE LOCAL 1199, PUTS MOTION TO VOTE

cincinnati bus strike -- why pound fell

NYC TRADE UNIONISTS FIGHT BACK!

by Lucy St. John
NEW YORK--On December 3rd the Trade Unionists for a Labor Party held the most significant meeting of the first important in a long time. The first important step was made in the struggle to construct a political alternative of the working class - a labor party. Over 50 people attended this meeting, the overwhelming majority were workers representing over 8

which claim they cannot provide decent wages or working conditions.

The speaker addressed himself to the crisis in the trade unions, the need for a political alternative and its program and how to fight for it.

CRISIS

'The trade unions face a crisis today because of the crisis of the bosses and their system. The recent devaluation of the British pound

to unify the working class in political struggle. This means the fight for a labor party around the

DEMAND

The speaker then read the motion and spoke of the five demands.

'The only way to fight for jobs for all, 30 for 40, public works projects to provide jobs at decent wages for youth and unemployed is by fighting for the labor party.

'The fight against inflation, for trade union control over working conditions are also linked to the fight for a labor party by fighting in the unions for this program.'

'The program of nationalization is required to deal with bosses who use the threat of their own bankruptcy to weaken the unions and beat back the workers.

'The bosses fight to keep workers divided, to keep struggles isolated and separate. The union bureaucrats play a key role in this. They are the bosses' agents in the unions. Not only will they not build a labor party, they will fight it tooth and nail, and they must be fought and removed in the course of the fight.'

REVISIONISTS

'Not only the bureaucrats who aid the bosses but also the revisionists, those who pose as socialists and leaders of the working class, play the bosses game by refusing to fight the bureaucrats.

'The Communist Party supports dove democrats and so-called liberal bureaucrats. They fight to keep workers enslaved by the bosses' parties.

'The Socialist Workers Party talks of the need to break from the Democrats and Republicans, but they refuse to fight for an alternative. They look to the bureaucrats for progress, not to the rank and file, and they substitute middle

class black nationalism and pacifism for the working class fight.

DISCUSSION

'The Progressive Labor Party tries to pay more attention to workers and to the trade union struggle, but it has absolutely no program to lead the struggle, and thus can only demoralize workers.

'How do we move from understanding the issues facing American workers to a successful fight for a labor party? First, we must understand what the struggle is all about; that means understanding this five point motion. Then we must fight for it within our unions. We must take this program to all workers. We must prepare to intervene with this program in the upcoming transit strike, to mobilize support for this strike and to show why we must fight for a labor party.'

A discussion of the motion followed. The motion was opposed by a few, some Spartacists and other petty bourgeois propagandists and leafleteers. These people proposed amendments to the motion. They contended that the main problem facing the trade unionists today is the Vietnam war and proposed an amendment calling for U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam. Two other amendments were proposed, one demanding the end to social and economic oppression of the black people and the other demanding the organization of the unorganized. It was contended that these questions are the real and important issues facing trade unionists.

The majority of those present strongly opposed these amendments. A shop steward from DC 65 pointed out that the bureaucrats in DC 65 and many others such as 1199 and the SSEU take militant stands against the war, against racial oppression, and for organizing the unorganized but when it comes to leading their

unions in a struggle against the boss, the 'liberal' bureaucrats refuse to fight, collaborate with the boss and lead the workers to defeat. The bankruptcy of this kind of approach was blatantly exposed in the case of the SSEU (most of those proposing the amendments were from the SSEU; they had not learned the lessons) whose leadership takes militant stands war and other socio-economic issues but cannot fight the boss, Lindsay, and leading its members to almost total destruction.

In opposition to the proposed amendments, it was stressed that the issues included in the amendments, the war, racial discrimination, and the problem of the unorganized are included in the motion. What is posed in the five demands in the motion, however, is that it placed these issues within the context of the class struggle and poses not just the problems but the very solution to these problems.

The Spartacists and their friends in this fight are a reflection of the kind of 'radicalism' that reacts to surface crisis rather than the deep crisis in the trade unions, in the working class. They refuse to recognize the power of the trade unions and look elsewhere for the solution to the black nationalists and the peace movement.

BEGINNING

The bankruptcy of the Spartacists and their supporters was made clear when the meeting defeated the amendments and voted unanimously with only 3 abstentions for the motion.

The struggle begun on December 3rd is only the beginning. This meeting was the product of a long struggle to intervene in the trade unions and pose the absolutely necessary struggle for a labor party. JOIN US! JOIN THE FIGHT FOR A LABOR PARTY!



LUCY FLINN, SSEU ALTERNATE DELEGATE, CHAIRS unions - DC 65, ILGWU, maritime, restaurant workers, Local 1199, SSEU, Local 3036 taxi-drivers, and office workers, AFL-CIO, and UFT. Also present were high school and college students, and unemployed.

At the meeting a program for political action was launched. The main speaker, Fred Mazelis, delegate, 1199, presented the program in the form of a motion:

'We fight in the unions for the American trade union movement to take the lead in establishing a labor party which will:

- 1) Repeal all anti-strike legislation;
- 2) Provide jobs for all;
- 3) Wipe out inflation;
- 4) Establish trade union control of working conditions in the shops;
- 5) Nationalize all companies

shows this crisis. This crisis is centered in the U.S. and today U.S. workers face measures, wage freezes, anti-strike legislation, speed-up, similar to those British workers faced just a few years ago. The bosses are trying to make the workers pay for their crisis. We say make the bosses pay.

'Workers are fighting back now against the attempts of the bosses to attack their living standards and their gains won through struggle. This is the meaning of the big increase in strikes and militancy. Increasing struggles can be predicted for the future and will make past struggles look mild in comparison. We can also predict that workers will not win without political struggle; the old weapons are not adequate to meet the new program. What is required is a program

Workers League Holds 2nd Conference

A perspective for really beginning the struggle within the American working class for a political alternative to the two boss parties was hammered out at the Second National Conference of the Workers League. Held in New York City over Thanksgiving weekend, the conference was attended by 33 delegates and visitors representing branches in San Francisco, Twin Cities, Toronto, and New York City.

The major resolution before the conference was "The Fight for an American Labor Party", reprinted in this issue. It was supplemented by a resolution entitled "The Building of the Young Workers League."

REPORT

The main report at the conference was given by Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League. The following is a summary of that report.

We must begin with the crisis of capitalism. The recent devaluation of the Pound was not simply a reflection of the weakness of British capitalism but rather of the whole system. The center of this system is here in America and the center of the crisis is here, too. This crisis will have a profound impact on the United States heightening the clash between classes. Already we see the bank rates are rising because of fear by American capitalists of further flight of capital abroad deepening the balance of payments

crisis and threatening the dollar, the key to the world capitalist system. This only aggravates the two horns of the dilemma facing the American capitalists: how to keep inflation in bounds while at the same time checking unemployment. All this takes place under conditions of crisis in which there is a squeeze on profits forcing the capitalists to fight all the harder to drag every last bit of profit out of the workers.

LEADERSHIP

This deepening crisis places new demands on our own movement. We have got to struggle to overcome the crisis of leadership of the American working class. We have got to see these economic questions as essentially a battle between classes--not some abstract question. It has been the combativity of the working class in England and in the United States which has deepened this crisis. Just look at last year's seamen's strike and the dock strikes of this fall and we can see the immediate impact of the working class fighting back on the economic crisis of the British capitalists which forced devaluation. Here, in this country, while it is true that the working class is being pushed back with deteriorating working conditions and with wage raises falling way behind galloping inflation, it is also true that the workers would have been pushed much further back were it not for the strength of the American trade union movement and its combativity as expressed in strike after strike this last year culminating

in the Ford strike.

But this crisis of the capitalists is not an absolute crisis, that is, it has not brought down the system itself, only because of the absence of a revolutionary leadership of the class. If the British seamen's and dock strike had been conducted as political strikes by a Marxist leadership which rallied all of British labor behind these strikes the very system of capitalism in England would have been brought into question. The same is just as true here with the strikes of the last year. This is the nature of the period we are in. This is the nature of the tasks facing the Workers League.

APRIL

Since 1964 our organization has been engaged in a struggle to rise to the requirements of leadership of the American working class. The Third Congress of the International Committee of the Fourth International in April 1966 was the real turning point for our organization. At that conference we made clear our program and for all that we stood on a common program with the International Committee--that is we were part of Trotsky's party, Lenin's party, Marx's party. We broke definitively with the Spartacist League because the Spartacist League broke with the 125 year continuity of Marxism. Since then our movement has seen 'growth, development, battle, struggle.' Since then Spartacist has seen



TIM WOHLFORTH

THE STRUGGLE FOR AN AMERICAN LABOR PARTY

world crisis

1. The world capitalist system is in crisis. The period of expansion and boom of the 50's is over. In every country of the world the contradictions of the capitalist system are catching up with the ruling class. The ruling class is forced to go over to an offensive against the working class. Only by an onslaught on the working and living standards of the masses can the capitalists maintain themselves and their system.

2. In each country of the world this poses before the working class one central question - the question of POWER. The capitalists must use their state power in their war against the workers. The workers, as long as they fight back on the economic front, fight only a losing defensive battle. The workers can only go over to the offensive by struggling to wrest power from the capitalist class with the aim of destroying the capitalist state and replacing the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie with the dictatorship of the proletariat. This struggle for power must be brought to the center of the struggles of the working class in each country of the world.

3. The working class can neither consciously struggle for power nor attain power without leadership, revolutionary Marxist leadership. The crisis of our times is precisely the CRISIS OF LEADERSHIP. The traditional leaderships of the working class - such as the social democratic and Stalinist parties - are once again being put to the test and the test today is their ability to lead the working class in this struggle for power. Only parties belonging to the International Committee of the Fourth International seek to lead the working class in this struggle for power. All other political tendencies consciously fight this policy.

4. While the objective crisis of capitalism poses before the working class of each country the necessity to go over to the struggle for power, the consciousness of the class lags behind the objective development of the class struggle. Thus the great challenge before revolutionaries in each country is this gap between the consciousness of the class and the objective needs of the class.

5. The central task before the parties of the Fourth International is the conquest of the masses in order to prepare for the conquest of power. We must pose the question of power within the context of the defensive struggles of the class and in such a way as to remove every last impediment to the class going over to a new revolutionary leadership - to the leadership of the Fourth International. In England the traditional reformist leadership of the Labour Party around Wilson already stands completely exposed before the working class as agents of capital. This, however, does not mean that the working class in large numbers is prepared to accept the Socialist Labour League as an alternative leadership. Rather the working class must learn that it must fight politically and in the course of this political struggle every last illusion about every section of the Labour Party must be stripped away. Thus the SLL fights in the trade unions and among youth around the slogan 'Make the Lefts Fight'. This brings the trade unions into a political struggle and exposes the incapacity for struggle of the fake lefts. It is through this struggle that the British working class will learn the necessity to go over to the revolutionary leadership of the Fourth International.

united states

6. This crisis of world capitalism is essentially, a crisis of American capitalism. While

the crisis may be expressed at present more sharply in a country like England with its shrinking empire and antiquated industrial complex, the crisis is in actuality centered in the United States the very heart of the world capitalist system. Precisely because of the immensity of the capitalist complex in the United States the crisis now building up within the United States will be that much more immense, that much more profound.



AUTO STRIKE IS SIGN OF GROWING CLASS STRUGGLE IN THE UNITED STATES

7. This past year has seen renewed struggles by the trade union movement, large scale uprisings by the Negro masses in key industrial cities, and growing unrest among working class youth. Despite the scale and power of these struggles - for example, the virtual siege and destruction of whole sections of Detroit and strikes involving millions of workers - none of these struggles have led to any real gains for the class. The Negro uprisings were crushed by the armed might of the capitalist state. The oppression of the Negro masses has changed not one whit. The best of contracts to come out of strikes result in stalemate while inflation continues to erode the workers' living standards and working conditions deteriorate.

8. The recent New York City teachers strike is an excellent example of this. As a strike action it was a magnificent success. Some 45,000 out of 50,000 teachers went out on strike. The school system in the country's largest city was brought to a complete halt. But despite the solidarity and militancy of the teachers no serious contract gains were made. The school system remains in the shambles it was before the strike. Teachers' salaries were raised only the amount necessary in any event to recruit new teachers to the school system and some \$1,000 below those in Detroit. Working conditions remain unaltered. The major contract goals of the union were not achieved.

labor party

9. The crisis of capitalism presents the American working class with an ultimatum: THE AMERICAN WORKING CLASS CANNOT TAKE ONE STEP FORWARD WITHOUT A STRUGGLE FOR POLITICAL POWER. The American working class can and will continue to struggle. The struggles of today will be miniscule when compared with the

struggles of tomorrow. But all these struggles will lead to defeat unless the working class takes up the POLITICAL struggle.

10. It is the task of the Workers League, American supporters of the International Committee of the Fourth International, to bring the struggle for political power into the struggles of the American working class, into the struggles of all sections of the American working class, the trade unions, the Negro masses, the youth. No one

else can carry out this task. There is no more important task before the Workers League. Every task we undertake must be related to, integrated with, the struggle to turn the American working class towards the struggle for political power.

11. The contradiction between the objective necessity for a political struggle for power and the consciousness within the class of this necessity is most profound in the United States. At the same time the American working class is the most powerful, and potentially the most revolutionary, working class in the world and the crisis of American capitalism is the central crisis of all mankind. The American working class cannot be expected to recognize that the Workers League represents the real alternative leadership of the class. It will come to understand this only if the Workers League poses the question of power to the class relating it to the present level of development of the class. This is the meaning of the labor party demand.

12. The American working class has created tremendously powerful organs for struggle on the economic front - the American trade union movement. We pose the question of political power by fighting for the trade union movement to create its own political expression, to create a labor party. We fight among working class youth and among the Negro masses for the youth and the Negroes to unite with the trade union movement in this struggle to create a political alternative to the two capitalist parties.

13. We begin from this standpoint: THE AMERICAN WORKING CLASS CANNOT TAKE ONE STEP FORWARD WITHOUT A STRUGGLE FOR THE LABOR PARTY. This must be the central theme of all our work within the trade union movement, within the Negro movement, among the working class youth. This must be the core of the program around which we struggle against all other

political tendencies. This is the essence of our politics today.

14. While the labor party poses the question of political power, it is only our party, the Leninist party, which can resolve the question through the establishment of a workers state. The struggle for the labor party is absolutely essential to bring the American working class to an understanding of the necessity of having its own political instrument to wrest power from the capitalists. Without such an understanding the working class cannot understand the necessity to go over to our revolutionary leadership. Our party will be built precisely through the agitation for a labor party.

15. We are not struggling for a labor party as an abstraction. We must always link the call for this party with the program around which this party is to be built and for which this party is to struggle--our transitional program. The party we seek to build has nothing in common with the British Labour Party which has been exposed as a tool of the capitalists. In fact the creation of a reformist labor party of this type is a result of an entirely different stage of world historical development than that which faces the American working class today. Once the American working class starts on the road to power

its development will be extremely rapid and the crisis of capitalism will be aggravated so sharply that the necessity to go over to our revolutionary leadership will be posed almost immediately. In fact it is only this lack of political consciousness of the American working class which allows the capitalists to prevent the general crisis of capitalism from becoming an immediate conjunctural crisis. Just think of what would happen in the United States today if the working class in auto, in the teachers union, in the teamsters, the Negro masses in Detroit, Newark, New York, the millions of working class youth combined their forces and expressed their determination to replace the two capitalist parties with a party of their own in order to have the government fight for them rather than against them in the struggle for gains at the expense of the capitalists. Then the United States of today would very definitely be like the Russia of February 1917. So quickly can even this limited consciousness transform the crisis.

16. It is the task of the Workers League to agitate for the labor party among every section of the working class. The working class will not come to an understanding of the necessity to build such a party on its own. The conscious revolutionaries must take this concept into the

class. We must participate in each struggle of the class and in the course of these struggles fight and battle to transform such struggles into a struggle for the labor party. And then again and again in the next struggle and the struggle after that we deepen the battle for the labor party. The working class learns only through this process--through struggle and the conscious intervention of the party. There is no other way, no short-cuts. It will be defeated again and again and again, but it will fight on and on and on for it has no other alternative but to fight for if it does not fight it will be destroyed. It will not take up the struggle for a labor party until every last illusion of gaining concessions through the old way--through economic struggle combined with maneuvering with the capitalist parties--is destroyed and then destroyed again. But when the American working class takes to the road of political struggle the very world we live in will be shaken to its very core.

17. The task of the labor party is to establish a workers government and to nationalize the basic means of production under the control of the workers. Only by gaining control of the key industrial plants and the banking system will the working class be able to reorganize the economy on a socialist basis. This is an absolute necessity if the capitalist crisis is to be ended progressively and the basic needs of the working class filled. Only in this manner can the great wealth of this country be utilized to free the working class from drudgery, wipe out poverty and raise the standard of living of all people, allow for the peaceful development of the whole world, wipe out the slums, rebuild our cities and begin to create a new life for mankind. Related to the nationalization of basic industry must be a massive public works program to end unemployment, build new housing, provide free medical care for all, revamp the schools providing a free and meaningful education for all through college.

trade unions

18. The central demands posed by the struggles of the trade union movement are: (1) the shorter work week as an answer to the threat of automation and unemployment; (2) full escalator clauses to counter the impact of inflation; (3) workers control of production and working conditions to counter the increasing intensification of exploitation by means of the speed-up. The shorter work week is the key to uniting the struggles of the trade unionists who fear layoffs with the youth and Negro people who are excluded in large numbers from employment. Escalator clauses place the burden of inflation on the capitalists rather than on the working class. Workers control is the only answer to speed-up and deteriorating working conditions in the shops. In struggling for these goals we must also fight for trade union unity in common struggle against the bosses.



TEACHERS STRIKE ENDED IN DEFEAT IN HEAD-ON CONFLICT WITH GOVERNMENT

Working Class Cannot Take One Step Fo



WORKERS LEAGUE IS ONLY ORGANIZATION TO RAISE LABOR PARTY IN PEACE MARCHES

19. Faced with the rising militancy of the working class, the capitalists are relying more and more on state intervention in their behalf. Already a precedent for compulsory arbitration and anti-strike legislation has been laid with the special act of Congress dealing with the railroad strike and state laws such as the Taylor Law in New York State. The more determined the working class becomes to beat back the capitalist offensive on the economic front, the more determined the capitalists will be to counterattack on the political front. We must battle for the complete independence of trade unions from the state with no compulsory arbitration and no laws against trade unions. Such a battle requires that the workers not the capitalists control the state. Thus the struggle against state intervention must be seen as the struggle for the labor party. It is this struggle which unites the economic struggle with the political needs of the class.

20. The labor bureaucracy acts as the agent of capital within the trade union movement. Its role is to limit the struggles of the workers to goals acceptable to the capitalists. Any serious struggle for economic demands of the working class requires a struggle against the labor bureaucracy. Any serious struggle for the political power of the class - for a labor party - requires an even fiercer struggle against the labor bureaucracy. We must fight at all times for democracy within the unions. We base our struggle for a labor party on the rank and file militants not on the bureaucratic agents of capital.

21. Our role in the unions is to be part of every struggle of the class pushing forward these transitional demands and linking them at every moment to the struggle for a labor party. We repeat: **OUR TRADE UNION POLICY IS BASED ON THE PROPOSITION THAT THE WORKING CLASS CANNOT TAKE ONE STEP FORWARD WITHOUT A STRUGGLE FOR THE LABOR PARTY.** Everything else must be subordinated to this central struggle. At the same time we support every single struggle of our class no matter how small in nature or confused in leadership. We abstain from nothing. We fight for the labor party always.

negro

22. The Negro masses represent the most oppressed section of the working class. For 300 years race has been used as an excuse for special exploitation first in the form of slavery and later in the form of lower wages and inferior jobs. Race prejudice has been fostered by the capitalists to keep black and white workers apart and to justify lower wages to black workers. Today the masses of Negro workers live in the huge ghettos of our cities separated from their white brothers, living in the worst housing, holding inferior or no jobs, sending their children to the worst schools.

23. This is why there is a growing militancy of the Negro masses who seek to break through this double exploitation. The Black Nationalist leaders and their 'black power' allies seek to sidetrack the militancy of the black workers with a program of racial rather than class struggle. This deepens the separation of black workers from white and aids the capitalists in the suppression of both black and white workers.

24. Racial discrimination in the United States is the product of capitalism and it will last as long as capitalism lasts. There can be no liberation for the black masses separate from the liberation of the working class as a whole through the socialist revolution. To say anything else is to spread utopian and reactionary views and to act as the ideological agents of capital.

25. The labor party becomes the central demand for the American Negro - not only the Negro trade unionist but also his black unemployed brothers in the ghetto. Only by fighting for a party organized on class can we unite the black revolutionary movement with the class as a whole.

26. The trade union movement has the central role in breaking through the race barriers and bringing about the unity in struggle of the black masses with the rest of the American working class. We must fight in the trade unions for the unions to defend the ghettos against the armed attacks of the capitalist state. We must battle within the unions against every barrier no matter how subtle, and no matter how much racial prejudice exists among militant white workers in the unions, which discriminates against Negroes either in hiring or in job classification. We must put



DEBORAH O'CONNELL, SAN FRANCISCO, ADDRESSES WORKERS LEAGUE NATIONAL CONFERENCE WITHOUT A STRUGGLE FOR THE LABOR PARTY. This is the real lesson of Newark, of Detroit.

youth

28. The position of youth in American society is determined primarily by their class position. The working class youth is an inseparable part of the working class and bound up with it in its fate, in all its sufferings and hopes. Working class youth represent the most vulnerable section of the class and at the same time the most potentially revolutionary. Unemployment among youth is triple that of adult workers and it is the youth who must fight the wars of the capitalists. It is the youth who get the lowest paying jobs in industry when they work. It is also the youth who are most volatile, least integrated into capitalist society, the easiest to change, to learn, to take up the struggle.

29. Our task is to reach working class youth, not with a special youth program, but with our program for the emancipation of their class. That is we begin our youth work and center it around the struggle for a labor party. The working class youth can be shocktroops for bringing the fight for a labor party to the working class as a whole.

30. At the same time we must fight within the trade union movement and as part of our program for a labor party for the interests of the youth. These include improvement of the schools and a voice in

a struggle to wrest power from the hands of the war makers, from the capitalist class. This requires the creation of a labor party committed to nationalizing the armaments industry and utilizing the great wealth of the United States to aid the peaceful development of the underdeveloped countries rather than their predatory rape.

34. The capitalists fight their filthy wars with the bodies of the workers and pay the bill with the sweat of the workers. The struggle against imperialist war must begin with the impact of war upon the workers and requires a struggle to lay bare the class reality of war. We must fight against the drafting of working class youth to fight a war which benefits only their enemies. We must urge a fight against inflation which robs the workers to pay for the war. We must demand that the billions spent on war be used to rebuild America and provide jobs for all.

35. Whenever a colonial peoples rise up against American imperialism, they weaken our enemy and strengthen the American working class. Just as we must fight for unity within the trade unions and to unite the trade unions with the Negroes and the youth, so we must fight for the unity of the American workers with their class brothers in other lands. No more wars against the world's working class and colonial peoples: Victory for the Vietcong! A class war of the workers of all lands against the capitalists of all lands is the only road to peace. **WE CANNOT TAKE ONE STEP FORWARD IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR WITHOUT A STRUGGLE FOR THE LABOR PARTY.**

Forward Without Building a Labor Party

forward a combined program for the Negro living in the ghetto centering around (1) a shorter work week; (2) a special program to overcome absolutely rotten education provided in ghetto schools with emphasis on job training at union wages; (3) a massive public works program to eradicate slums and provide employment for Negroes as well as whites; (4) complete abolition of discrimination in all forms everywhere, enforceable with heavy penalties. Only in this way can we show to both Negro and white workers that it is not a matter of fighting each other for scarce jobs or for scarcer housing but of uniting to fight for control of the means of production in order to provide jobs and decent housing for all. This can come only through the creation of a party of the class - a labor party. This party must guarantee to Negroes representation on all levels, thus making clear that the working class has no intention of continuing the white supremacy policy of the capitalists.

27. We must support and participate in every struggle of the Negro masses for emancipation which takes place outside as well as within the trade union movement seeking at all times to link these struggles with the trade union movement and with the struggle for a labor party. We do not ask the Negroes to wait but to press on and on.

We must deepen the battle against oppression, broaden the struggle for liberation. We must unite this struggle with that of the working class as a whole around the slogan for a labor party and fight our real enemy - the capitalist class. **THE NEGRO MASSES CANNOT TAKE ONE STEP FORWARD**

control of the schools for youth; job training at union wages; equal wages for apprentices; jobs for all; no discrimination against youth in employment or union membership; a vote for youth at 18 or when employed full time; an end to the draft. **WORKING CLASS YOUTH CANNOT TAKE ONE STEP FORWARD WITHOUT A STRUGGLE FOR THE LABOR PARTY.**

31. The whole program of the capitalists is clear. They seek to break the class up into fragments and pit one fragment against the other hoping at all times to obscure the real enemy. We fight to bring about the unity of the class as a whole - the Negro with the white worker; the older with the younger worker. But unity can only come through a common political struggle - with the class as a whole posing itself as a political alternative to the capitalists. This is why the struggle for the unity of the class is the struggle for the labor party.

war

32. The American capitalist system stands at the center of world imperialism. It can only exist through ruthless exploitation of the rest of the world. In order to maintain this international exploitation it has built up an immense armaments industry and conducts wars against insurrectionary peoples across the earth. It also prepares for the reconquest of the workers states by military means. This is the meaning of the war in Vietnam.

33. There can be no world peace without the eradication of the profit system from the face of the earth. The struggle against imperialist war is

revisionists

36. The struggle for a labor party requires a deepening of the struggle against all other working class tendencies. These tendencies fight the creation of the labor party. They represent a serious danger to the development of the class towards political power.

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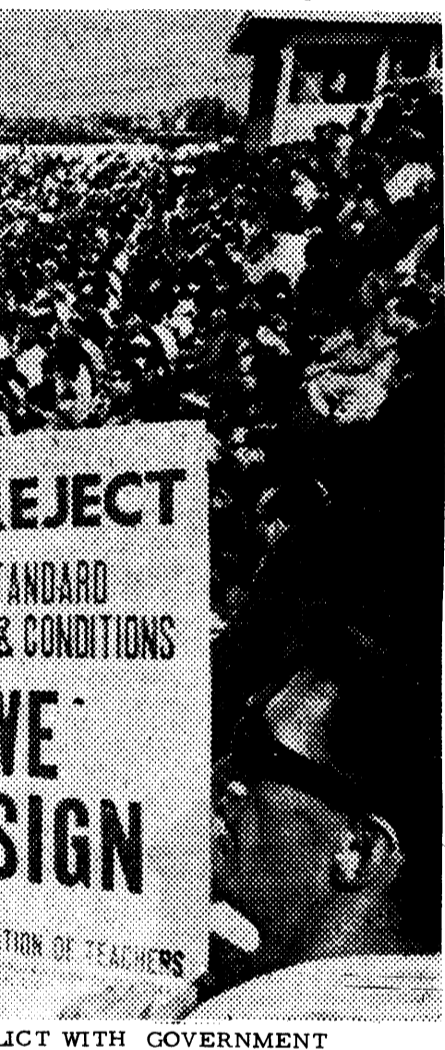
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 Just think of what would happen
 States today if the working class
 e teachers union, in the teamsters,
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 of working class youth combined
 and expressed their determination
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s the task of the Workers League to
 e labor party among every section
 ng class. The working class will
 an understanding of the necessity
 a party on its own. The conscious
 s must take this concept into the



class. We must participate in each struggle of the class and in the course of these struggles fight and battle to transform such struggles into a struggle for the labor party. And then again and again in the next struggle and the struggle after that we deepen the battle for the labor party. The working class learns only through this process--through struggle and the conscious intervention of the party. There is no other way, no short cuts. It will be defeated again and again and again, but it will fight on and on and on for it has no other alternative but to fight for if it does not fight it will be destroyed. It will not take up the struggle for a labor party until every last illusion of gaining concessions through the old way--through economic struggle combined with maneuvering with the capitalist parties--is destroyed and then destroyed again. But when the American working class takes to the road of political struggle the very world we live in will be shaken to its very core.

17. The task of the labor party is to establish a workers government and to nationalize the basic means of production under the control of the workers. Only by gaining control of the key industrial plants and the banking system will the working class be able to reorganize the economy on a socialist basis. This is an absolute necessity if the capitalist crisis is to be ended progressively and the basic needs of the working class filled. Only in this manner can the great wealth of this country be utilized to free the working class from drudgery, wipe out poverty and raise the standard of living of all people, allow for the peaceful development of the whole world, wipe out the slums, rebuild our cities and begin to create a new life for mankind. Related to the nationalization of basic industry must be a massive public works program to end unemployment, build new housing, provide free medical care for all, revamp the schools providing a free and meaningful education for all through college.

trade unions

18. The central demands posed by the struggles of the trade union movement are: (1) the shorter work week as an answer to the threat of automation and unemployment; (2) full escalator clauses to counter the impact of inflation; (3) workers control of production and working conditions to counter the increasing intensification of exploitation by means of the speed-up. The shorter work week is the key to uniting the struggles of the trade unionists who fear layoffs with the youth and Negro people who are excluded in large numbers from employment. Escalator clauses place the burden of inflation on the capitalists rather than on the working class. Workers control is the only answer to speed-up and deteriorating working conditions in the shops. In struggling for these goals we must also fight for trade union unity in common struggle against the bosses.

19. Faced with the rising militancy of the working class, the capitalists are relying more and more on state intervention in their behalf. Already a precedent for compulsory arbitration and anti-strike legislation has been laid with the special act of Congress dealing with the railroad strike and state laws such as the Taylor Law in New York State. the more determined the working class becomes to beat back the capitalist offensive on the economic front, the more determined the capitalists will be to counterattack on the political front. We must battle for the complete independence of trade unions from the state with no compulsory arbitration and no laws against trade unions. Such a battle requires that the workers not the capitalists control the state. Thus the struggle against state intervention must be seen as the struggle for the labor party. It is this struggle which unites the economic struggle with the political needs of the class.

20. The labor bureaucracy acts as the agent of capital within the trade union movement. Its role is to limit the struggles of the workers to goals acceptable to the capitalists. Any serious struggle for economic demands of the working class requires a struggle against the labor bureaucracy. Any serious struggle for the political power of the class - for a labor party - requires an even fiercer struggle against the labor bureaucracy. We must fight at all times for democracy within the unions. We base our struggle for a labor party on the rank and file militants not on the bureaucratic agents of capital.

21. Our role in the unions is to be part of every struggle of the class pushing forward these transitional demands and linking them at every moment to the struggle for a labor party. We repeat: **OUR TRADE UNION POLICY IS BASED ON THE PROPOSITION THAT THE WORKING CLASS CANNOT TAKE ONE STEP FORWARD WITHOUT A STRUGGLE FOR THE LABOR PARTY.** Everything else must be subordinated to this central struggle. At the same time we support every single struggle of our class no matter how small in nature or confused in leadership. We abstain from nothing. **We fight for the labor party always.**

negro

22. The Negro masses represent the most oppressed section of the working class. For 300 years race has been used as an excuse for special exploitation first in the form of slavery and later in the form of lower wages and inferior jobs. Race prejudice has been fostered by the capitalists to keep black and white workers apart and to justify lower wages to black workers. Today the masses of Negro workers live in the huge ghettos of our cities separated from their white brothers, living in the worst housing, holding inferior or no jobs, sending their children to the worst schools.

23. This is why there is a growing militancy of the Negro masses who seek to break through this double exploitation. The Black Nationalist leaders and their 'black power' allies seek to sidetrack the militancy of the black workers with a program of racial rather than class struggle. This deepens the separation of black workers from white and aids the capitalists in the suppression of both black and white workers.

24. Racial discrimination in the United States is the product of capitalism and it will last as long as capitalism lasts. There can be no liberation for the black masses separate from the liberation of the working class as a whole through the socialist revolution. To say anything else is to spread utopian and reactionary views and to act as the ideological agents of capital.

25. The labor party becomes the central demand for the American Negro - not only the Negro trade unionist but also his black unemployed brothers in the ghetto. Only by fighting for a party organized on class can we unite the black revolutionary movement with the class as a whole.

26. The trade union movement has the central role in breaking through the race barriers and bringing about the unity in struggle of the black masses with the rest of the American working class. We must fight in the trade unions for the unions to defend the ghettos against the armed attacks of the capitalist state. We must battle within the unions against every barrier no matter how subtle, and no matter how much racial prejudice exists among militant white workers in the unions, which discriminates against Negroes either in hiring or in job classification. We must put

DEBORAH O'CONNOR
 WITHOUT A STRUGGLE
 This is the real les

28. The position is determined primarily by the working class and in all its sufferings youth represent the class and at the time revolutionarily. is triple that of adults who must fight the youth who get the when they work. It volatile, least integration easiest to change, to

29. Our task is to with a special youth party for the emancipation begin our youth work gle for a labor party be shocktroops for party to the working c

30. At the same trade union movement a labor party for the include improvement

cannot Take One Step Forward Without Bu



PARTY IN PEACE MARCHES

forward a combined program for the Negro living in the ghetto centering around (1) a shorter work week; (2) a special program to overcome absolutely rotten education provided in ghetto schools with emphasis on job training at union wages; (3) a massive public works program to eradicate slums and provide employment for Negroes as well as whites; (4) complete abolition of discrimination in all forms everywhere, enforceable with heavy penalties. Only in this way can we show to both Negro and white workers that it is not a matter of fighting each other for scarce jobs or for scarcer housing but of uniting to fight for control of the means of production in order to provide jobs and decent housing for all. This can come only through the creation of a party of the class - a labor party. This party must guarantee to Negroes representation on all levels, thus making clear that the working class has no intention of continuing the white supremacy policy of the capitalists.

27. We must support and participate in every struggle of the Negro masses for emancipation which takes place outside as well as within the trade union movement seeking at all times to link these struggles with the trade union movement and with the struggle for a labor party. We do not ask the Negroes to wait but to press on and on.

We must deepen the battle against oppression, broaden the struggle for liberation. We must unite this struggle with that of the working class as a whole around the slogan for a labor party and fight our real enemy - the capitalist class. **THE NEGRO MASSES CANNOT TAKE ONE STEP FORWARD**

control of the schools union wages; equal for all; no discrimination or when employed for WORKING CLASS Y STEP FORWARD W THE LABOR PARTY.

31. The whole clear. They seek to ments and pit one fra at all times to obscu bring about the unity Negro with the whit younger worker. Bu a common political s whole posing itself a capitalists. This is of the class is the

32. The American the center of world through ruthless ex world. In order to exploitation it has bu industry and conduct peoples across the the reconquest of th means. This is the n

33. There can eradication of the p the earth. The stru

Bring Future into Present



U.S. ARMY PATROLS THE GHETTOS

37. The Communist Party sees the need for a political solution to the struggles of the American masses. However, it fights with all its might against a class political solution. Rather than call for the building of a political party based on the working class, it now calls for a 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 'liberal' spokesman for big business. At all times it opposes class politics for American workers. At all times we oppose it.

38. The Socialist Workers Party has long since deserted the struggle for power in the United States. Trotsky's Transitional Program

and the labor party demand have been transformed into empty rituals in much the same manner as the Stalinists transformed Lenin's writings. Its policies today are diametrically opposed to the Transitional Program. Nothing shows this more clearly than its real policy on the struggle for the labor party.

39. Rather than fighting for the unity of the working class, the SWP seeks to deepen the divisions within the class. It has become the uncritical supporter of black power and black nationalism within the Negro movement. Rather than fighting to link the struggles of the working class with the struggle against the Vietnam war, it battles with all its might to keep these struggles separated insisting that the peace movement be based on the single demand of withdrawal and blocking in the peace movement with the pacifists, the liberals, and the Stalinists. Rather than battling to reach working class youth, it confines its youth work solely to the college campus and keeps its middle class student membership separate from the struggles of the working class.

40. The SWP opposes the struggle for a labor party now. Rather it relegates the labor party to an obscure propagandistic plank in its electoral work. Its 1968 electoral campaign is aimed not at the working class but rather at the middle class pacifist movement and the black power movement. The power of the capitalist class is real. The alternative must be just as real and impediment rather than an aid to creating this real alternative - a political party of the American working class.

41. The Progressive Labor Party recognizes empirically the importance of the trade union struggle and of the Negro struggle. It, too, has no program to unite these struggles. Rather it develops a separate struggle for each, empirically adapting to rank and file militancy within the union movement and to black powerism within the Negro movement. It opposes the struggle for a labor party in either movement.

workers league

42. The central internal task before the Workers League today is to gear itself for the struggle for a labor party. We must battle against every last vestige of propagandism and routinism. We must strip away every soft cushion of petty bourgeois radicalism which surrounds our organization and expose the organization to itself in

absolute stark nakedness and isolation. Only in this way will comrades understand the absolute necessity to penetrate the class and battle within the class for leadership around the labor party demand.

43. In order to be able to transform the class we must battle to transform the Workers League. This can only be done through a combination of penetration of the working class with a constant battle for dialectical materialism. Routinist methods, formal organizational and political thinking, impressionistic reactions to objective developments, idealist impatience with the development of the class and of our party, propagandistic activities, removed commentary analyses of world events - all these have methodological roots. These are methods of thinking of our masters and these masters cannot be overthrown without overthrowing their methods within our own movement. Marxists must be able to see the future - the American October - within the present struggles of the class. Formal logic leaves an unbridgeable chasm between future and present. This method prevents us from bridging the chasm and thus we remain enchained by capitalism. It is the transitional program which bridges this gap. Thus this program is the expression of the dialectic in the life of the working class itself. The struggle for this program is the struggle for the dialectic and the study of the dialectic enriches the struggle for this program.

44. The Workers League is on the threshold of a truly great period of struggle and development. After a generation of degeneration, new forces have come to the fore to pick up the banner of the world proletarian revolution in every land, to build the Fourth International. There is no more important task in the building of the revolutionary party in the United States. This party can only be built by addressing ourselves to the question of workers power as it is raised in the United States. This party can only be built by the struggle for the labor party. This struggle will dominate the work of our party for some time to come. We shall begin it now.

**LONG LIVE THE
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!
FORWARD TO THE WORLD
SOCIALIST REVOLUTION!**



WORKERS LEAGUE PRESS FIGHTS FOR LABOR PARTY AMONG WORKING CLASS YOUTH. STUDENTS FROM MISSION HIGH IN SAN FRANCISCO.

Meaning of Devaluation

by Jeff Sebastian

On November 18 British capitalism announced its bankruptcy by devaluating the pound. In effect what Britain did was to inform its all too numerous creditors that it was no longer capable of paying its debts and was therefore cutting them by 14.3%. It accomplished this remarkable feat by simply paying off these debts in cheaper money. Those who awoke Saturday morning thinking their pounds were as good as gold retired that night poorer by 1/7.

Devaluation is a smashing blow to all the rosy illusions about the stability of capitalism. It brings the entire capitalist system into sharp relief as a system in international crisis poised on the brink of international bankruptcy. To the working class devaluation is a warning that the capitalists now have no choice but, to seek to avoid that bankruptcy by smashing the trade unions and rolling back the gains of decades of struggle.

Devaluation comes after a long struggle on the part of international capitalism to save the pound as an international currency and a vital buffer to pressure on the dollar. British capitalism has been plagued for years by the backwardness of its industries and an increasing inability to compete with its exports in a sharpening competitive world market. A constant balance of payments problem has left the pound in periodic danger of runs by speculators who feared devaluation.

PROFITS

At the same time over 20% of world trade is carried on with the pound. Huge hidden profits flowed into England because of the role of the pound as an international currency. Billions of dollars in loans were pumped into Britain in an effort to shore up the pound by the U.S. and the world bankers. Fully aware that devaluation would leave the dollar exposed as the only currency propping up world liquidity these capitalists desparately fought to avoid this exposure.

There was nothing charitable about their aid to British capitalism. The conditions for this aid were that Britain correct its balance of payments problem by launching a vicious attack on the British working class. It was precisely this task that was entrusted to the labor government under Harold Wilson.

This has been Wilson's policy. Completely the servant of the banks he launched a program of wage freezes, unemployment, anti-strike legis-

lation, price rises, tax hikes and government strike-breaking. A consciously designed policy to break the combativity of the British working class by destroying the unions was launched. It is testimony to the depth of the crisis facing world capitalism that such a policy was unable to stave off devaluation.

The hopelessness of trying to save British capitalism with a policy designed simply for Britain soon became apparent. First the Rhodesian crisis dealt a heavy blow to British exports and payments. More recently the Middle East crisis completely destroyed any illusions that the payments problem could be solved within Britain. At the same time British capitalism was trying to solve its exports problem precisely at a time when world capitalism was moving into recession and slowdown thus strengthening the determination of its competitors to fight for vital markets.

FOUGHT

The working class has fought back tooth and nail. First there was the historic British seamen's strike. More recently there have been a series of strikes by the dockers determined not to allow the government to reorganize their industry and thus make them pay for the crisis of the employers. Section after section of the British working class, strong and undefeated, is moving into struggle. A combination of all these factors brought Wilson to the end of his rope and left no choice but to devalue.

Devaluation does not even begin to solve the British problems. In the first place the devaluation is not even sufficient to reflect the true weakness of the pound. Britain is still to be propped up by international loans. What was recognized was that a deeper devaluation would inevitably have brought on a panic and a run on the dollar which could have brought the entire international capitalist system down in financial ruins. This devaluation is part of a preparation for renewed attacks on the working class that will make Wilson's old policies look like concessions.

There can no longer be any compromise. The employers are now completely determined to get more work for less pay. Wages will be frozen while prices for all imported goods rise. Unemployment and anti-union legislation will be used as a constant threat. De Gaulle gave the whole game away with his advice that what is needed in Britain is a dictatorship. The next period will see a major offensive by the employers against the working class. This offensive will contain within it preparations for the kind of dictatorship De Gaulle has in mind. Either the working class prepares to take power by nationalizing industry under workers' control or it will be destroyed by a fascist dictatorship. There is no longer any middle ground.

CRISIS

Even this mild devaluation completely exposes the crisis of capitalism as an international system. As soon as the British devaluation was made known seven countries immediately devalued so dependent were they on the shaky equilibrium that had existed up to then. Most notable among these were Spain and Israel. It must be understood that devaluation is a direct attack on the working class because it will immediately raise the prices of all imported goods and thus lower the standard of living. For the Israeli working class now subject to militarization by a state determined to hold on to its imperialist conquests devaluation comes as a devastating blow. In Spain where inflation and deteriorating living conditions have forced the Spanish working class to a combativity not seen in decades this further erosion of living standards can bring on a revolutionary crisis.

In the undeveloped countries devaluation and their competitive positions can only mean further erosion in their own already deteriorating competitive positions. The moves by the Indian government to dissolve the united front government are a preview of what is to come. There is no longer any room for concessions to the underdeveloped world. The small trickle of 'aid' will be reduced further. The only answer that capitalism has to their problems is military dictatorship and starvation.

SMASH

All the illusions of capitalism are being smashed. The 'Keynesian revolution' is dead. The attempts to prop up capitalism with conferences on liquidity and talk of alternatives to gold are smashed before they even complete their discussions. All the years of work and negotiations in the 'Kennedy Round' to open up world trade are going up in smoke before they can even be started. Already there are moves to start up an interest war to keep capital within each capitalist country and the desperate need of each country to maintain and improve its exports position over its competitors raises the spectre of the kind of tariff war that led to the economic nationalism of the 1930's.

The British devaluation is only the beginning. No currency is safe and the devaluation of any major currency such as that of France or Japan can bring the whole system down in ruins.

Right now, the dollar stands in the front line of attack for the entire capitalist system. The U.S. balance of payments continues to deteriorate. The dollar is now exposed as an inflationary currency and unless this is corrected it stands in danger of going the way of the pound. The American capitalists find themselves in a position very much like that of Britain with the key difference that the maintenance of the dollar is absolutely vital to the survival of world liquidity and world capitalism.

CINCINNATI TRANSIT STRIKE

by Mark Pillings

CINCINNATI--Attempts by the Cincinnati Transit Co. to hold down wages, reduce fringe benefits and gradually eliminate jobs have been answered by a strike. The workers, both the mechanics and bus drivers, organized in Division 627 of the Amalgamated Transit Workers Union, are now experiencing their first strike since 1913. The strike has been in effect since November 1.

The major issue concerns an attempt by the Transit Company to create a group of second class union members. The

ally phase out the higher paid full-time workers, increasing their profits substantially.

QUANDARY

Local capitalist politicians are in a quandary. They want to help the Transit Co. bosses but are stymied as to how to go about this. A temporary injunction against the strike was dissolved by the Federal District court. A motion on City Council to temporarily seize the busses and operate them with scabs failed by a tie vote. Proposals to revoke the franchise and to expropriate the company have gotten nowhere. The transit bosses now call for arbitration, no sense to fight the boss on the shop level but allow him when the union agreed before the strike, the union will have nothing of it.

The capitalist press is making every possible attempt to use this strike to raise a phony 'public interest' question. The morning daily runs a long sob-column in which various area residents tell how they have suffered as a result of the strike. This is an obvious attempt to trick the workers into fighting each other instead of the bosses.

So far, there has been one meeting of the workers to vote on a proposed contract. They turned it down.

A new City Council will take office in the second week of December. The local Committee on Political Education part of the AFL-CIO has been praising five of its nine members as 'friends of labor,' all of whom, however, are themselves capitalists. Their actions in this matter should be an interesting education for the transit workers.

They will find out that there are no 'friends of labor' except labor itself. Therefore, the first step is to break with the parties of the bosses and form a labor party, based on the trade unions. It makes no sense to fight the boss on the shop level but allow him complete control over all political life.

What steps can the transit workers take to win this strike?

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There are several, which will not only help win the strike itself, but will win them support from other sectors of the population and raise the level of their political consciousness. The bosses are spreading the lie that if they give in to the workers' demands, they will have to raise the fares. What should be demanded is that a workers committee be allowed to open the books of the Transit Company to prove this.

Second, the workers should demand a 30 hour week with 40 hours pay. This will open up new jobs which the unemployed in the black ghettos and white slums of Cincinnati can fill. Thus the transit workers struggle will be linked with those of black workers and the unemployed.

At this moment, the Transit Company is feverishly trying to unload the busses on the city government by getting expropriated. But they only intend to unload the busses; their real estate interests and other investments they will transfer to another corporation they control, and, at the same time they will clean up by receiving high compensation payments for the Transit Company's stock. At the same time, such a move would reclassify the transit workers as municipal workers,

and as such under Ohio law, would be ineligible to participate in collective bargaining. To such an attempt the transit workers must demand that the Transit Co. be placed under workers control.

BATTLE

Once again, this points up the need for the workers to battle on the political field to take the government on all levels away from the bosses. The fight to build a labor party in America must not be put off any longer. But the union bureaucrats, the George Meanys and Walter Reuthers are not going to build it. Only when the transit workers, steel workers, teamsters, mine workers and all other workers team up will a labor party be built. And the only organization which fights for the building of a labor party is the Workers League.

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**CINCINNATI
WORKERS LEAGUE
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bosses have demanded the right to hire retired workers to work part-time school routes. But these part-time workers, although allowed to join the union, would not be permitted any wage increase above the base rate, and would not have such benefits as hospitalization, insurance, vacations or health and welfare.

To top it all off, the bosses are demanding the right to define what constitutes a school route. By this device, they can gradu-

Workers League Conference

(Continued from page 3)

split, disintegration, political degeneration, until finally it acts as the political agents for every swinish revisionist tendency on the face of this earth including the Socialist Workers Party.

The stand we took in April 1966 was prepared for in the long struggle begun in 1961 inside the Socialist Workers Party. For three and a half years we battled it out for principled Marxist politics, stumbling, muddling, learning, developing, but always, always struggling as best we could for the program of Marxism embodied in the International Committee. And we fought for two years after that with only a mimeographed paper as a weapon. It has always been in these struggles against those who seek to revise the program of Marxism that our movement has prepared itself for the next forward for the real struggle for leadership of the American

TAKE ONE STEP FORWARD WITHOUT THE STRUGGLE FOR A LABOR PARTY.

TRANSFORMATION

This is turn requires the transformation of the Workers League. In order to become leaders of the class tomorrow we must struggle to lead workers and youth today. This means we must break from propagandism which is still dominant in our organization.

Propagandism is based on formal logic. It separates ideas, program, from activity, party functioning. Even the concept of leadership itself can be turned into nothing more than an "idea" filed in the minds of members rather than embodied in the actions of the party members.

Our formal propagandist starts subjectively from our smallness, our weakness, our class

leadership in the class you are forced to adapt to alien class views; if you do not fight for a working class program, you are forced to adopt the program of the class enemy.

Owens now tells us that we must "proletarianize" ourselves. As if the working class can revolutionize us, but we, heaven forbid, cannot revolutionize the working class. This is counterposed to a resolution which states: "It is the task of the Workers League, American supporters of the International Committee of the Fourth International, to bring the struggle for political power into the struggles of the American working class, the trade unions, the Negro masses, the youth." This is of course the key. Yes we must penetrate the class but this can only be done politically with a real struggle for leadership within the trade unions.

We propose in the coming period to take this labor party resolution and really battle for it. We have already begun this with the projected meeting of Trade Unionists for a Labor Party in New York City. Such meetings must be held throughout the country to pull together unionists from separate unions into a common political struggle with the struggles of working class youth and the Negro masses.

At the same time we must battle to build the Young Workers League as an organization of working class youth fighting for a class line and bringing youth together with the trade unionists in a common struggle.

REVISIONISTS

We must deepen the battle against the revisors of the program of the workers right within our struggles to penetrate the trade unions and build the YWL. We must smash those who wish to destroy the unity of the class through black powerism, to leave the class impotent by separating the political struggle from the economic struggles of the class. Despite the weakness of the American Communist Party we must understand that Stalinism is still central to all revisionism. It is the international Stalinist bureaucracy and the American labor bureaucracy which are the twin bases for all revisionist politics within the working class. We have not done enough in exposing the real character of Stalinism to American workers.

We must step up our struggle for an understanding of Marxist theory and method. As part of this struggle, and by no means all of this struggle, we plan to hold a class on Lenin on a national basis which we will use not only to educate our membership but the trade unionists and working class youth who are beginning to come to us. We plan to build May Day meetings but based on the higher level of our work to return May Day to its rightful heirs--those who today struggle for leadership of the working class.

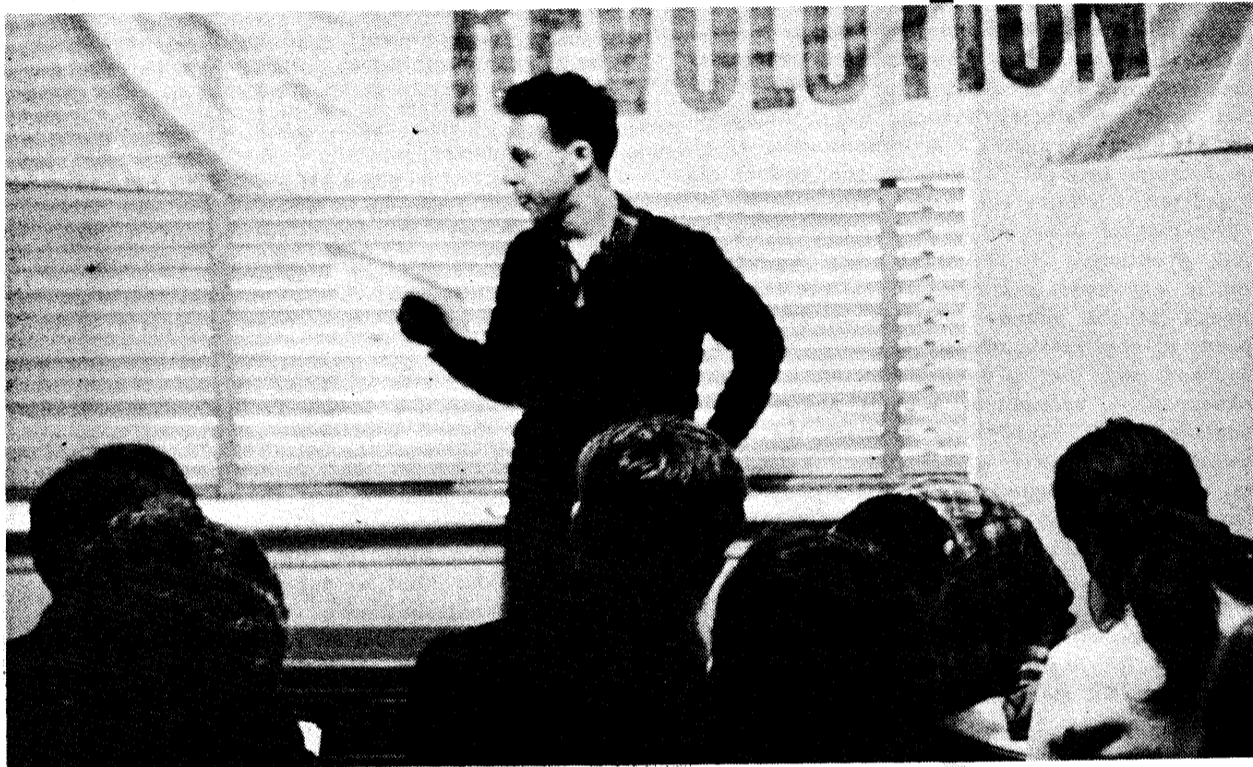
PROBLEMS

We have great problems. Propagandism can be seen in our paper and in our leaflets. We are constantly sinking into routinism. Our comrades get lost in their particular sector of work, losing an understanding of our whole of our whole perspective, our whole struggle. The work is erratic, not consistent, not guided by a long term perspective drawn from an understanding of the way in which the crisis of capitalism is unfolding, the way in which the two great classes meet each other on the battlefield.

We must see each gain, each internal crisis, each failure as a challenge to the development of Marxist theory. This means that we must constantly review our work week in and week out. We must see all our work as national work and this national work as but part of a common international struggle for leadership of the world working class.

There was a thorough discussion of this report and the two resolutions all day Thursday. On Friday Comrade Owens showed up and the discussion also centered on his political differences with the orientation of the report and resolutions. This discussion continued until Saturday noon. At this point Owens walked out of the conference without explanation and was expelled from the Workers League by unanimous vote.

His action showed that those who cling to the old method of propagandism are forced in time to declare war on the party itself. What begins as reticence to struggle for leadership ends in a struggle against the very organ without which there can be no leadership--the party. So Owens follows in the political footsteps of Spartacist a year and a half later and will no doubt meet the same political fate.



DAN FRIED DISCUSSES LABOR PARTY RESOLUTION AT SECOND NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF WORKERS LEAGUE

working class. And so it will continue to be.

CAMPAIGN

After April 1966 we drafted a perspective document which pointed us in the direction we now take one step further at this conference. We launched a printed four page paper in the Fall of 1966 and fought for a year to develop a circulation for the paper among trade unionists, working class youth, Negroes. We launched the struggle for a working class youth organization the only socialist organization in the United States in the last 30 years to attempt that. We held our founding conference, a year ago last Thanksgiving with half the attendance we have here today. We campaigned to hold meetings throughout the country in revolutionary solidarity with the Red Guards. We were the only ones to march in demonstration after demonstration behind the revolutionary banner: VICTORY FOR THE VIET-CONG! We brought a delegation of 16 to England at a cost of around \$5,000 to participate in the International Youth Assembly.

This fall we launched the Bulletin as an eight page paper quadrupling our sales. We have formed a new branch in San Francisco and have begun to build a national movement in Canada. In both San Francisco and New York we held highly important rallies in honor of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution as part of the international celebration organized by the International Committee.

However, this very growth, these very successes now demand of us much greater, much deeper changes in the very nature of the Workers League, in the very functioning of each party member. It has been precisely this growth during a period of deepening capitalist crisis which brings us up so sharply against the tasks before us and what we have got to do to tackle those tasks.

The Labor Party resolution before us poses that the Workers League take up the struggle to solve the crisis of leadership through bringing the struggle for power into the current struggles of the class through the labor party demand.

The crisis of capitalism leaves us no other alternative than to take up this struggle. This is the meaning of the statement repeated throughout the document that the WORKING CLASS CANNOT

composition. He then contrasts this with an idealists concept of the class. The workers are seen as revolutionary but we are not. This leads to scepticism about the party and in time to attacks on the very party itself, its discipline, its structure. We must remember that a leading trade union bureaucrat in this city, responsible for the virtual destruction of her union, began as a member of our tendency inside the SWP. She broke with us by contrasting the "healthy" working class to the "sick" factional struggle. All those who idealize the workers in order to fight the party end up in the service of the trade union bureaucracy which strangles the working class. This is the meaning of the small faction which has arisen in our organization around Earl Owens. The Political Committee was forced to send comrades to San Francisco because of the inability of Owens to build a branch out there with his propagandistic methods. The very creation of a branch there posed a threat to his propagandistic life--posed the necessity of going beyond the peddling of papers and the pleasant discussions with other radicals to the real fight for leadership of the workers.

Now political differences have emerged within this faction. They have come in with a series of amendments to our youth resolution which propose that the youth organization be "organizationally independent" but politically subordinate to the Workers League. How typical of the method of the propagandist. Political program is separated from the implementation of this program in the organizational work of the youth. As if one can have one political line in one's head while one's feet act differently in the concrete work of building the movement. Yes, that is the way Owen's feet act but Owens is not a Bolshevik, not a Marxist. In reality these amendments are a means of fighting the struggle for leadership of working class youth.

And then we have a statement issued by members of the Owens group in collaboration with various sundry centrists within a union on the West Coast. This statement doesn't have an ounce of class struggle in it. It sees the Vietnam War in the same way as the liberals, as a matter of "democracy" not as the clash of classes. This statement proves that if you do not struggle for