

# SPARTACIST



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## ANTI-WAR SELLOUT

The war in Viet Nam and the movement against it have proven critical tests of the program and principles of every ostensibly revolutionary organization. To the extent that any group has wavered in its revolutionary obligation to *state what is*, or has substituted maneuvering and petty organizational diplomacy for working-class politics, it bears responsibility for whatever defeats and betrayals occur here and in Viet Nam.

### Nominal Revolutionaries

The Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, as the largest organized, nominally revolutionary tendency in the anti-war movement, have played a singularly pernicious role, and bear unique responsibility for its present domination by right-wing forces. The recent history of the SWP-YSA has been one of unbridled opportunism, rotten compromises and organizational maneuvering, surpassed only by the reformist Communist Party with which they are presently in a bloc.

The SWP-YSA decision to become involved in anti-war activities was precipitated by the April 1965 March on Washington, which turned out an unexpected 15,000 protestors. The murder of Malcolm X in February of that year had left the SWP in a state of suspended animation, in need of a movement over which they could enthuse and in which they could submerge, to re-appear as a "revolutionary" party only during election season.

### "New" Popular Front

The political basis for the SWP's participation in the anti-war movement was soon evolved—the concept of a "single-issue" movement. This "new" theory strikingly parallels the "peoples front of all democratic forces" developed by Stalinism in 1935, and is predicated on the illusion that a large multi-class peace movement, with no specific program, can "pressure" the imperialist government of the U.S. into ending the Vietnamese war or, by logical extension, *any* war. Any attempt to place the war in a larger framework, to relate it to other aspects of capitalism, is considered "divisive" by the SWP.

The first obstacle to the SWP's Single Issue Society was the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). Although they lack a clear class analysis of the war, the

SDS'ers include the struggle against war as part of a perspective for general social change. Instead of educating these militants to a revolutionary class consciousness, the SWP abdicated its responsibility as an allegedly Trotskyist party in favor of destructive tactics designed to place themselves in the most influential positions in the movement. They invaded local committees, packing their meetings, voted down "multi-issue" projects and even destroyed a number of committees. Their peculiar brand of opportunism came to the surface during the New York City elections, when their members fought against and often defeated attempts by anti-war committees to support the SWP's and Progressive Labor's candidates—on the grounds that to abandon the "single-issue" was divisive!

### "In the Name of Unity"

The first major test of how far the SWP-YSA was willing to go to implement their "pop-front" strategy came during the NYC preparations for the October 1965 International Days of Protest. Almost forty anti-war and political organizations formed the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee, under the aegis of pacifists A. J. Muste and Dave Dellinger. SANE (Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy) demanded a single slogan—"Stop the War Now"—and a "respectable" speakers list, and threatened to leave the committee if not supported. The entire YSA-SWP fraction capitulated in the name of "unity," and refrained from introducing their own slogans. Only the Spartacist representatives walked out of the committee; remaining were Progressive Labor, Youth Against War and Fascism, and the American Committee for the Fourth International. [See SPARTACIST #5]

At the first (and last) National Conference of the National Coordinating Committee in Washington D.C. in November 1965, the SWP-YSA began its organizational drive for control of the national anti-war movement. The NCC was composed mostly of independents new to the movement, including many SDS'ers; the DuBois Clubs and other CP-oriented youth also participated. Since the YSA had already started maneuvering on local levels, the conference opened with *all* sides geared for a giant organizational fight. A vicious

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**SPECIAL EIGHT-PAGE SUPPLEMENT INSIDE —  
Class Struggle Road to Negro Freedom**

# HEALY AT LIÈGE AND PEKING

Capitulating to the Maoist version of Stalinism, the Healy-Banda leadership has taken the Socialist Labour League through a qualitative step in its degeneration. A recent headline in the SLL Newsletter (14 Jan. 1967) calls for: "Conditional support of 'Red Guards'—the duty of every revolutionist." The article, written by Banda, reveals exactly what the SLL supports: one section of the Chinese bureaucracy striving, against a less verbally "militant" section, to strengthen its own bureaucratic rule. Although Banda, like Mao, spouts the verbiage of "working class" and "proletarian revolution," he cannot help but reveal his betrayal of working-class aims.

Banda manages a gentle criticism of the SLL's newfound "revolutionary" hero: "There is little doubt that in this struggle the opposition has been aided, involuntarily, by some of the extravagant, improbable and Utopian ideas of Mao Tse Tung; by his refusal to repudiate Stalin, his support of the Soviet intervention in Hungary, his acceptance of 'socialism in a single country' and his hare-brained schemes of 'backyard furnaces' and 100 percent communism. No doubt excesses will be committed in the present campaign."

But he insists that "the choice is clear and unavoidable," a choice for Mao and the Red Guards.

For a Trotskyist to label these as "excesses" etc. is a gross betrayal of the very foundations of Trotskyism. In creating the Fourth International, Trotsky fought to prevent Stalinism from destroying the Marxist program—but Banda, a "reconstructor" of the FI, is ready to dump this program, if only Chairman Mao will let the SLL jump onto his Stalinist merry-go-round.

## Instant Stalinism

Needless to say, Healy's devotees, the American Workers League, formerly ACFI, junked their original correct interpretation of the events in China as soon as the SLL Newsletter printed Banda's pledge as a left Maoist. The Wohlforthites had originally analyzed the purpose of the "Red Guard Frenzy" as a bureaucratic attack on all opponents: "The mobilization of the Red Guard is thus aimed at both the right and the incipient left. . . . By appealing to nationalism, just as Stalin did, the CCP leadership hopes to divert the attention of the masses from their growing problems." They saw the end result of this "frenzy" as anti-proletarian: "The smashing of 'Western' art, the destruction of all evidence of

improvements in the living standards of the masses, all in the name of the 'great proletarian, cultural revolution,' are completely reactionary moves, and cannot fail to alienate advanced workers all over the world." (Bulletin, 26 Sept. 1966.)

Since the sneaky Wohlforth discreetly avoids any mention of this earlier position, we must attempt to discover, in his later, SLL-influenced analysis, reasons for this sudden shift: "But Mao's line has not been one of capitulation to imperialism either. It is essentially for this reason that we give him our support." (30 Jan. 1967.) However, this centrist sophistry cannot explain away ACFI's correct analysis of 26 September: "But the fact is that the Chinese have been long on words and very short on deeds. It is not that we advise responding to every imperialist provocation. But the Chinese have not drawn the line anywhere. . . . We can almost see the glee of the imperialists over the genuine appeasement with which their provocations have been met."

Wohlforth, is it possible that your vaunted "Marxist method" led you to reverse your position on 30 January because the SLL had, only two weeks earlier, printed its very first analysis of the events in China, an analysis diametrically opposed to the first Bulletin handling of those same events? Could it be that your vaunted "method" consists of the air mail post between London and New York and that it leads you into political falsification? Such "method" has nothing in common with Marxism—it is a disgusting embodiment of sheer opportunism and theoretical bankruptcy.

## SLL Capitulation Expected

The SLL's capitulation, unwelcome as it is to those attempting to rebuild the FI, comes as no surprise to those, like the Spartacist League, who have had to fight against Healy's bureaucratic Cominternist organizational maneuvers. If the politics of a group such as the SLL remain formally "correct" while the organizational practices of its leading clique increasingly degenerate into Stalinist gangsterism, this contradiction must inevitably set up a tension urgently in need of resolution: either the rotting leadership must be thrown out or the political life of the organization will be increasingly contaminated. The sectarian provocation committed at Liège in October 1966 by the Healy-Banda protégés, the British Young Socialists (YS), indicated

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EDITORS: James Robertson;  
Managing, Helen Janáček;  
West Coast, Geoffrey White;  
Southern, Joseph Vetter.

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that this second alternative was being realized.

## Liège Sectarrians

The Liège demonstration was called by the Jeunes Gardes Socialistes of Belgium (JGS), a youth group influenced by the Pabloist United Secretariat (USec). The demonstration of European socialist and communist youth groups had two objectives: for immediate and unconditional withdrawal of American troops from Viet Nam and against the imperialist NATO alliance. The YS appeared at the anti-imperialist demonstration carrying a banner in support of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution. When the Stalinist Belgian Communist Youth (BCY) were confronted by this banner the group withdrew, although the BCY ranks had originally overridden their leadership to force participation in the demonstration.

The reason for this provocation is clear. The YS discovered that the USec had taken the initiative in working with some young Stalinists who might be pulled away from their leadership. The Healyites' solution to such a challenge was to disrupt this working arrangement with a slogan designed not to educate the Stalinists but to drive them away. Thus the Healyites revealed their inability to politically confront an opponent, to prove through struggle and debate the correctness of their positions and to win over advanced elements from other groups. Instead they offered only a show of sectarian "revolutionary" activity.

However, the Healyites were not the only unprincipled participants at Liège. The USec advanced a defense of their Liège role which by its denial of the vital right to criticize others in a common action is reformist and anti-Trotskyist. Pierre Le Grève defended the USec forces, maintaining: "The principle should have been recalled that it is impermissible in a united front demonstration for certain participants to arrogate to themselves the right to impose slogans which a participating tendency considers inadmissible." (Quoted in *World Outlook*, 27 Jan. 1967.)

Trotsky might just as easily have been describing the rotten politics of Healy's sectarianism and the USec opportunism when, in 1932, he wrote: "The mistakes made in the policy of the united front fall into two categor-

Insistence on this type of "principle" helps only to maintain the divisions within the workers' movement. A united front is designed precisely because significant sections of the working class are still controlled by reformist leaderships—its aim is to help free them from that control. Trotsky called in the 1930s for the German CP (KPD) to form a united front with the Social Democrats against a fascist threat to the working class. The Stalinist KPD leadership refused, for reasons similar to Healy's, to work with the "unprincipled" SPD leadership.

#### More Falsification

His insistence on such "principle" is not Healy's only falsification of Trotskyist positions. In the manner of a Catholic priest, he also quotes Trotsky's descriptions of historically specific con-

ness to fight and the correctness of their programmatic positions.

#### Fear of Struggle

The Healyites' provocation at Liège destroyed the possibility of an educational struggle designed to set those wavering Stalinist youth against their reformist leadership. (Their criminality is similar to that of the German CP in the early '30s, when it raised abstractly correct slogans on the order of "Down with the Social Democratic Murderers of Luxemburg and Liebknecht," thus driving the SPD workers back into the arms of their leaders.) A sharp, educational and anti-Stalinist basis for struggle would have been the slogan which the Spartacist League raises when with Stalinist youth in anti-war actions: "No New 1954 Geneva Sellout of Viet Nam by USSR-China!" The BCY youth were prepared, by their participation in a united front in defense of the Vietnamese Revolution, to be brought, by the implications of such a slogan, into opposition to their own sell-out leaders. But the Hungarian Revolution slogan was a deliberate provocation, entirely outside the framework of the Liège issues.

The SLL at one time was able to wage a struggle against the revisionists through an entry into the British Labour Party youth organization, the SLL won a significant section of that youth to the Trotskyist program. But the leadership has now reduced the SLL and its International Committee to the position of maintaining itself in a bureaucratic fashion, attempting, through the use of ultra-left, pseudo-revolutionary intransigence or of opportunist *khvostism* toward Mao—a Stalinist with élan—to create the illusion of serious struggle. Their ultra-leftism ("an infantile disorder," Lenin called it) is the complementary face of their adaptation to Mao. Both the opportunism and the ultra-leftism give the SLL the impression of struggle and shield its members from feeling the necessity to *actually struggle* for hegemony of the working class.

#### SLL as Maoist

The severity of the SLL's political degeneration can best be seen in its opportunist handling of two theoretical questions concerning China: the source of bureaucracy in a workers state and the means for eliminating that bureaucracy. Their positions on these questions are best summed up in Banda's own words. The source of the bureaucracy, according to this ignoramus, is purely subjective: "Softened by an easy life, accustomed to their creature comforts, dazzled by the privileges of their cousins in the USSR and yearning for 'tranquility' and an end to struggle and sacrifice, these people

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CULTURAL REVOLUTION in China—an East European view.

ies. In most cases the leading organs of the Communist party approached the reformists with an offer of joining in a common struggle for radical slogans which were alien to the situation and which found no response in the masses. These proposals partook of the nature of blank shots. . . . The second type of perversion bore a much more fatal character. In the hands of the Stalinist bureaucracy, the policy of the united front became a hue and cry after allies at the cost of sacrificing the independence of the party." (What Next?)

#### Healy Wiggles

Several months after the demonstration Healy attempted a theoretical explanation of what had happened at Liège. This pseudo-Trotskyist claims that there could have been no united front because . . . the groups confronting the YS at Liège do not have the "principled positions" Trotsky had. As proof, he offers up the reformist sins of their leaders! (Newsletter, 7 Jan. 1967.)

ditions in Germany as though those were absolute, general definitions—in order to prove that there could have been no united front at Liège because a united front must in all cases be composed of "a mass communist party and a mass reformist organization representing millions of members."

Certainly, there were no "mass" organizations at Liège. But there were some 4000 militant socialist youth, who, through principled tactics, could be the path to a mass revolutionary party on the morrow. Only if the Trotskyist parties struggle along with sections of the working class—whether on issues such as industry attempts to freeze wages, government attempts to destroy independent unions or the imperialist attack on the Viet Nam revolution—can the class vanguard be pulled away from its reformist leaders and prepared for the development of soviets, the united front in its highest form. In such struggles, the real communists (Trotskyists) must prove their willing-

## ... HEALY

want an end to the Sino-Soviet conflict and the conclusion of a compromise with U.S. imperialism." (Newsletter, 14 Jan. 1967.) Equally subjective is the "cure" for bureaucracy: "The best elements led by Mao and Lin Piao have been forced to go outside the framework of the Party and call on the youth and the working class to intervene," (21 Jan. 1967) and "... it is the youth who constitute the main attack in the movement against bureaucracy. The youth instinctively hate bureaucracy, they detest this type of party which stifles criticism and creative thought, and it is against this that the youth react." (28 Jan. 1967.)

Because the SLL has emphasized subjective conditions as essential in the development of such a bureaucratic crisis, they have confused one section of that bureaucracy (i.e., "the best elements led by Mao and Lin Piao") with the workers state itself and thence drawn the conclusion that a criticism of Mao and his Red Guards is a counterrevolutionary attack on the Chinese Revolution.

### SLL as Stalinist

In other words, these "Trotskyists" have put themselves in the curious position of those Stalinists of the 1930s who responded to Trotsky's criticisms of Stalin by labelling Trotsky a "completely ruined fascist and counterrevolutionary." A striking comparison emerges between today and the Third Period, when those "friends of Soviet Russia" mistook Stalin's words for revolutionary deeds and therefore construed Trotsky's criticisms as proof of his counterrevolutionary intentions. So today the SLL and ACFI, friends of Mao's Peoples Republic, take as proof of Mao's "revolutionary sincerity," his phrasemongering and sectarian abhorrence of any "deals" with the Russian bureaucracy—even the demand for a common front in aid of the Vietnamese revolution.

These "Trotskyists" of the SLL might just as well listen to the words of Mao's forebear, an equally "sincere" man: "The second question concerns the task of combating bureaucracy, of organizing mass criticism of our shortcomings, of organizing mass control from below. One of the most bitter enemies of our progress is bureaucracy. ... The Communist bureaucrat is the most dangerous type of bureaucrat. Why? Because his bureaucracy is masked by the title of Party member. And unfortunately we have quite a number of such Communist bureaucrats. ... How is this evil to be combated? I think that there is not, nor can there be, any other way of combating this evil than by organizing control by the Party masses from be-

low, and implanting inner-Party democracy. What objections can there be to rousing the fury of the Party masses against the corrupt elements and allowing them to throw these elements out?" These words were delivered by Stalin to the Eighth All-Union Congress of the "Leninist" Young Communist League, 16 May 1928.

### Trotsky on Bureaucracy

In contrast to these empiricists who seek to locate the trouble essentially in the desire for "privileges" of corrupt bureaucrats, Trotsky analyzed the historical conditions for both the cause of and relief from bureaucracy: "In other words, the source of bureaucratism resides in the growing concentration of the attention and the forces of the party upon the governmental institutions and apparatuses, and in the slowness of the development of industry. ... It is unworthy of a Marxist to consider that bureaucratism is only the aggregate of the bad habits of office holders. Bureaucratism is a social phenomenon in that it is a definite system of administration of men and things. Its profound causes lie in the heterogeneity of society, the differences between the daily and the fundamental interests of various groups of the population. Bureaucratism is complicated by the fact of the lack of culture of the broad masses. ... The struggle against the bureaucratism of the state apparatus is an exceptionally important but prolonged task, one that runs more or less parallel to our other fundamental tasks: economic reconstruction and the elevation of the cultural level of the masses. ... In the last analysis, the question will be resolved by two great factors of international importance: the course of the revolution in Europe and the rapidity of our economic development." (The New Course, 1923.) Trotsky emphasized in addition the need for greater dependence on the Soviets and on the working-class cadres within the party in order to hold down the growth of bureaucracy.

### Chinese Bureaucracy

Today this basic historical analysis defines the situation in China, a situation intensified because there is not now, nor has there ever been, workers control in China. The roots of bureaucracy—low economic development and lack of aid from the international proletariat—now threaten the workers state and thereby the position of the bureaucracy itself. Forced by objective conditions, the leading section of the bureaucracy has reacted cynically to its own bureaucratic existence and dully, belatedly and imperically to its economic and social causes. The Mao-Lin Piao faction has labeled everyone else in sight a bureaucrat, assuming with the gall appropriate only to top bureaucrats that their own crimes

won't be noticed, hoping that such labels and the Thought of Mao Tse-tung will scare away the results of bureaucracy. To the economic and international factors which threaten the Chinese workers state (and cause bureaucracy), the Maoists have reacted in fits and starts, zigs, then zags. From the alliance with the national bourgeoisie in 1949, to the nationalization of private industry in 1953, to the Great Leap Forward of 1958-59, to the re-institution of private peasant holdings in 1961, to the present introduction of army units into the fields and factories, Mao has been attempting bureaucratically to "aid" the objective economic needs of the Chinese workers state. From their betrayal of the Vietnamese revolution in the 1954 Geneva Accords, to their decision to develop a nuclear striking force, to their alliance



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with "progressive" bourgeois governments like Pakistan and Indonesia, to their present verbal denunciation of imperialists and revisionists, the Maoists have reacted empirically to the problems confronting any revolution sealed off in one country.

For an imperialistically retarded and deformed country like China, industrialization necessarily requires sacrifice from the population. If the state is to avoid struggles such as the one falsely posed by the Maoists as "economism," the sacrifice must be decided upon by the workers through their own organs of power. Furthermore, such sacrifice, even when decided upon by the workers themselves, can only be a holding operation, awaiting aid from

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# BLACK AND RED — Class Struggle Road to Negro Freedom

## I. INTRODUCTION

The struggle of the Negro people for freedom and equality has been the most dynamic struggle going on in the United States in the past ten years. It has taken place in the context of, and has been conditioned by, the general passivity of the organized labor movement. The militancy of the Negro people and the tempo of their struggle increased enormously in the fifties and early sixties, but the achievements have been minimal — limited entirely to token advancement of democratic rights. In fact, the fundamental conditions of life for the vast majority of Black people, particularly in the key areas of employment, wages, housing and education, have *worsened*. The Civil Rights movement, geared to the aspirations of the small Negro middle class, though professing to speak for all Negroes, has been stopped dead in its tracks in dealing with these fundamental needs, and in fact has functioned partly as a brake on the unorganized and leaderless pressures from below. In the absence of an alternative, revolutionary leadership these pressures and frustrations explode from time to time in undirected, non-political outbursts that change nothing. Thus in the midst of dissipating militancy, disillusionment in struggle and seemingly vain aspirations among the black masses, the movement is at an impasse. A crisis of leadership is the essence of this impasse.

### Economic Prospects

At present U.S. capitalism is attempting to maintain and increase its profits by placing the cost of the Viet Nam war on the working class.

The prolonged and extensive expansion of the productive capacity of the U.S. following upon the Second World War was conditioned by the massive destruction engendered by the imperialist slaughter, and by the world-wide demand for goods which resulted. The period of rapid capitalist development since the war has been marked by periodic mild recessions and interspersed by long periods of boom. Recently the curve of world capitalist development has begun to point downward. The rise in inventories, the drop in investments in capital goods production, and in industrial production, indicate that a world-wide economic downturn is at hand.

While economic indicators pointed to a downturn in 1966, the boom was prolonged another year by the political decision to escalate the aggressive war against Viet Nam. A decision by the U.S. ruling class for another massive escalation could again serve to postpone the downturn.

The upsurge of militant strike action testifies to the growing refusal of workers to submit to further erosion

of their living standards by the inflationary pressures generated by the war on a booming economy, and to their readiness to fight for real gains. Black workers, bearing an even greater disproportionate share of the burden of the war, would be the most militant and ready for greater struggle.

On the other hand, if the war is ended or even continued at the present level of war spending, the economic downturn would prevail. While the black workers would be hit hardest by the ensuing unemployment, lay-offs would also rapidly accelerate among white workers. Again, this poses the perspective of a unity in struggle of black and white workers, and a leap in the level of consciousness of basic sectors of the working class.

### Black Workers and Imperialism

Thus the struggle for Negro freedom takes place not only within the national arena, but within an international context. U.S. capitalism, which doubly exploits black workers, is the cornerstone of world imperialism. The abandonment of a perspective which looks to the *working class* to lead the struggle for the liberation of mankind from oppression is the hallmark of all revisionism. The Pabloist concept that the epicenter of world revolution has shifted to the colonial countries, the Maoist concept that backward countries will encircle and conquer the industrial countries, and the black nationalist concept that the Negro people are essentially part of the movement of African nationalism and will be liberated by the industrially backward countries are all revisionist concepts.

The bankruptcy of revisionism has become apparent with the smashing of the so-called "Third World," "Socialist" regimes and the tragic massacres of the masses in Africa, Asia and Latin America. The definitive victory of the world revolution will only be secured by a victory of the workers in the advanced capitalist countries. The U.S. working class now has "the most revolutionary of all revolutionary tasks," the destruction of the bastion of world imperialism, the U.S. capitalist system. To the extent that the black workers, the most militant in the U.S. working class, become infused with a revolutionary socialist perspective, and thereby become able to provide leadership to the class as a whole, they play a vital role in the success of the world revolution.

## II. INTEGRATION OR SEPARATION?

From their arrival in this country, the Negro people have been *an integral part* of American class society while at the same time *forcibly segregated* at the bottom of this society. As chattel slaves they were the

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labor force on which the Southern planter aristocracy maintained its economic and political dominance until the Civil War. Various factors—the variety of African origins, the deliberate dispersal of slaves with common tribal backgrounds, the fact that most slaves brought from Africa were male—facilitated the total destruction of African languages, social institutions and cultural memories among the slaves and allowed the imposition of a new language and new habits to fit the needs of the economic system into which they were being integrated. In particular, an eclectic Christianity was early instilled to teach the slave to meekly accept his position.

Escape from slavery, not return to Africa, was the goal of Negro efforts toward freedom during the pre-Civil War period. In the Civil War itself, when the political needs of the vigorous and growing capitalist class in the North came into fundamental conflict with the continued political dominance of the Southern planters, freed slaves played an important part in the victory of the progressive forces and destruction of the slave system.

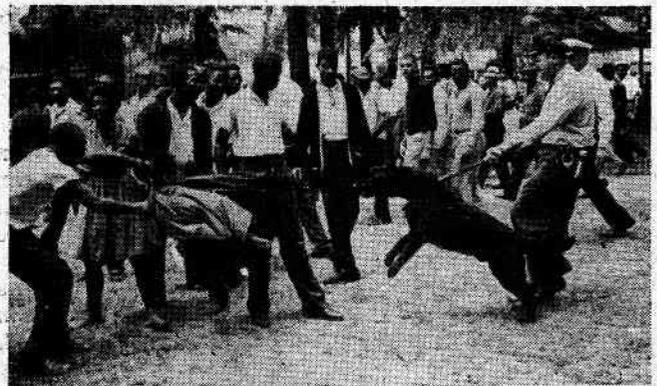
Capitalist and slave alike stood to gain from the suppression of the planter aristocracy but beyond that had no further common interests. In fact, it was the Negroes themselves who, within the protective framework provided by the Reconstruction Acts and the military dictatorship of the occupying Union army, carried through the social revolution and destruction of the old planter class. However, the Compromise of 1877 and the formation of a powerful new bloc of Northern industrial capital and subordinate Southern Bourbons allowed the majority of ex-slaves to be forced back onto the land as tenant farmers or share-croppers.

### Southern Populism

Nevertheless, nearly a quarter of the ex-slaves were able to acquire their own small farms. The white small farmers, who had also been “freed” by the destruction of the slave system, were driven in some cases to join hands with their black counterparts in the defense of their common interests against the new plantation masters. Yet this tentative union—the Southern Populist Movement—was doomed to failure. The small-farmer class itself could not be a real contender for political power in a capitalist society, while the dynamics of private farming inevitably brought about sharp competition among the farmers. This competition was exploited by the new political alliance of big planters, Southern capitalists and certain Northern financial interests, in particular, investors in Southern railroads, land, mining and timber. This bloc initiated a campaign of violent race hatred among their political opponents which succeeded in destroying the developing black-white unity. In the context of the new racism the Black people were disenfranchised, stripped of all legal rights, and permanently denied access to adequate education. Those setbacks were codified into a series of laws institutionalizing the rigid segregation which has been the dominant feature of the South ever since. It was the racism launched during this period which has since kept wages in the South at approximately half those of the rest of the country (and wages of Negroes at half those of whites in the country as a whole), prevented effective union organization and perpetuated

a crushing poverty on the land for black and white alike, though today the Southern economy has come entirely under the control of Northern capital.

By the First World War 90 per cent of all Negroes still lived in the South, though by this time nearly one million had made their way from the land into hundreds of Southern towns. Then, with the great expansion of demand for unskilled labor unleashed by the War, a vast migration of black workers into the North took place, and for the first time a sizeable portion of Black people became integrated into the mainstream of American capitalist society. This integration did not last. With the 1921 recession the new workers found themselves forced out of their jobs. This, along with the extremely harsh conditions of Northern ghetto life—instead of the “Promised Land” which many had expected—caused thousands in despair and frustration to turn to the “Garvey Movement” built on the thesis that the Negro



COPS harass 1963 Birmingham demonstrators.

would never receive justice in the white man's land and calling for a separatist solution. This first important mass movement with nationalist aims folded later in the '20s due to internal contradictions, the imprisonment of its leader and the recovery in Negro employment in the boom years following the post-war depression. Far more significant during this decade in terms of American social reality was the successful organization of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

During the '30s once again black workers were forced out of the economy in large numbers—but this time not alone. Radical ideologies and the gains of mass struggle made a deep impact among workers of both races. The organization of the CIO—the culmination of the upsurge in labor struggle—was a joint venture and bound large numbers of the less skilled and unprotected black workers to the most advanced section of the proletariat. Yet the betrayals of the Communist Party during the war years helped wipe out Negro gains and served to discredit *all* radical movements, even though a significant number of Negro workers came into the Socialist Workers Party at this time. The subordination of the CIO to the bourgeois Democratic Party and Cold War ideology, its affiliation with the conservative AFL and its failure in the context of unexampled prosperity and labor passivity to come to the defense of the Negro freedom struggle have caused black militants to lose confidence in the organized labor movement or in the perspective of common struggle in the future. The SWP's failure to take a clear position on integration *vs.* separation contributed to its loss of hundreds of

black workers and of the opportunity to forge a significant black Trotskyist cadre.

But the objective basis for future common struggle of black and white *workers* not only exists but, unlike the Populist Movement of black and white farmers, holds the promise of success, while struggle along nationalist lines is a delusion and an impossibility. The vast majority of Black people—both North and South—are today workers who, along with the rest of the American working class, must sell their labor power in order to secure the necessities of life to those who buy labor power in order to make profit. The buyers of labor power, the capitalists, are a small minority whose rule is maintained only by keeping the majority who labor for them divided and misled. The fundamental division created deliberately along racial lines has kept the Negro workers who entered American capitalism at the bottom, still at the bottom. Ultimately their road to freedom lies only through struggle with the rest of the working class to abolish capitalism and establish in its place an egalitarian, socialist society.

Yet the struggle of the Black people of this country for freedom, while part of the struggle of the working class as a whole, is more than that struggle. The Negro people are an oppressed race-color caste, in the main comprising the most exploited layer of the American working class. Because of the generations of exceptional oppression, degradation and humiliation, Black people as a group have special needs and problems necessitating additional and special forms of struggle. It is this part of the struggle which has begun today, and from which the most active and militant sections of Black people will gain a deep education and experience in the lessons of struggle. Because of their position as both the most oppressed and also the most conscious and experienced section, revolutionary black workers are slated to play an exceptional role in the coming American revolution.

### "Pseudo-Nationalism"

Black nationalism accepts present American class society and working-class divisions as unchanging and unchangeable, and from this static vantage point separation is seen as the only solution. Yet this solution is unrealizable in terms of the realities of American class society. True nationalism is, in essence, the struggle to establish an independent area for the development of a *separate political economy*. Historically it has come at those times and in those places, usually within a common geographical area among those with a common language and cultural heritage, when an emerging cap-

italist class must free itself from the shackles of a decayed feudal economy or from external imperialism in order to develop freely, i.e., in order to exploit its "own" working class. But there is practically no black capitalist class in America. Instead, the so-called "Black Bourgeoisie" consists in reality of a small, weak, petty-bourgeoisie catering to service needs arising out of segregation, and of white collar workers—which latter are rapidly achieving a remarkable degree of integration into the white middle class, and thus have an identity of interests and outlook far removed from those of the majority of working-class Negroes.

The present mood among black ghetto youth, "nationalism," could more correctly be termed "pseudo-nationalism" since the conditions fostering genuine nationalist sentiment do not exist. This mood arises from growing racial self-confidence and pride—a positive development as it is a precondition for real combativeness—coupled with bitterness at the failure of the struggle to gain significant results without support from the rest of the working class. It develops in the context of a generally correct criticism of the middle-class oriented Civil Rights leadership while an alternate, proletarian leadership has not yet been created. The dominant feature of this pseudo-nationalism, like all variants of black nationalism, is its inability to generate a program of struggle—a further proof of its spurious nature. Such "nationalism" is divisive and interferes with the development of class consciousness and a program to sharpen class struggle.

Thus the Negro struggle in America is more directly related to the class struggle than any essentially national question could be. The falling rate of profit makes it impossible for the ruling class, even during a spurt of unequalled prosperity, to meet the demands of this super-exploited layer for improvements in the basic conditions of their lives. Hence *any* steps forward in this struggle immediately pose the class question and the need for class struggle in its sharpest form.

## III. BROAD TASKS

### Transitional Organization

The necessity for mass organizations of strata of working people with special needs and problems was recognized by the Leninist Comintern, which worked out the tactics of the relationship of such transitional organizations to the revolutionary party and to the class struggle as a whole. These organizations are a *part* of the revolutionary movement, and their struggles advance the overall class struggle. They are neither *substitutes* for nor *opponents* of the vanguard party of the entire class, but are *linked* to the vanguard party through their most conscious cadres. Examples of transitional organizations are militant women's organizations, revolutionary youth leagues, and radical trade-union caucuses. Such a transitional organization is necessary for Negro workers at a time when large sections of the working class are saturated with race hatred.

With its program of transitional struggle around the felt needs of a section of the class, the organization mobilizes serious struggle by the largest possible number. Such an organization, while not itself "socialist," leads those participating in its struggles to the realization that a fundamental overturn of the existing society is necessary.

(Continued Next Page)

### DEFEND JOHN HARRIS!

John Harris, a black militant and Progressive Labor Party member from Watts, is being prosecuted in California under the reactionary "Criminal Syndicalist" law. Despite our serious political differences with PLP and its adamant refusal to accept Trotskyist support, we urge in the name of elementary solidarity that our readers contribute to the Harris defense.

Statements of support and financial aid should be sent to:

**PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY**  
P.O. Box 19724  
Los Angeles 19, Calif.

## ... BLACK & RED

In the Northern ghettos a great organizational vacuum exists. The objective basis of the traditional middle-class organizations such as CORE and the NAACP is growing ever narrower as more and more of the Negro middle class is able to flee the ghetto. (For example, over the past decade, 40,000 employed Negroes moved from Harlem into other, more "desirable" parts of the city or suburbs, where their incomes were sufficient to break some of the barriers of segregation. The Harlem CORE chapter recently has had only a few active members who actually reside in Harlem!) As the objective basis of these groups narrows, they grow subjectively ever less related to the needs and interests of the black masses. This is reflected in the move towards an increasingly consistent position by the middle-class groups that since the basic prob-



**RACISTS in Chicago attack civil rights march.**

lems are economic, government intervention—secured by pressures on or within the Democratic Party—must be the primary aim of the Civil Rights movement. In 1964-65 this took the guise of "Liberal Coalition" politics as expounded most articulately by Bayard Rustin, and the delivery of the black vote to Johnson. This year's guise are the more militant-sounding slogans of "Black Power" and "independent political action" as interpreted by certain Northern Civil Rights leaders to mean black judges, black cops and black Democrats or, as regards "independent" political action, to mean a black voting bloc which will supposedly "swing" its vote to whichever capitalist party promises the most to Negroes. The ultimate meaning of the latter is to build support for Bobby Kennedy's projected presidential candidacy. As the old Civil Rights movement becomes more and more subordinated to the political arm of the very forces responsible for the oppression of the Negro people, it will serve increasingly to function *solely* as a brake on real struggle and a diversion from revolutionary alternatives.

### Oppose Federal Infiltration

Furthermore, these reformist organizations have already become so exposed in their ineffectiveness, even in gaining token reforms, that the government has found it necessary to create its own reformist organi-

zations in order that *some* alternative to proletarian organization and program will exist. The millions of dollars poured into HARYOU-ACT have succeeded in confusing or buying off a large number of potential youth leaders in Harlem through a combination of money and pseudo-radical nationalistic rhetoric. The so-called "anti-poverty" projects have also served to foster a certain amount of illusions among the ghetto masses. The witch hunt in Mobilization for Youth when some idealistic young people tried to use it as a vehicle for support to rent strikes, school boycotts and community actions against police brutality shows clearly the outcome of attempting to use government fronts as instruments of real struggle.

The vast black ghettos of New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit and numerous other cities are wide open for the formation of a proletarian mass organization of struggle. Only the smallness of the black revolutionary cadre, together with the temporary aftermath of police terror during the "riots," and in some cases sectarianism, have kept such organizations small. The Spartacist League will do all in its power to encourage and aid such organizations, and favors the unity in action of all working-class oriented organizations in the ghetto.

### Ghetto Defense

For the last three summers ghettos across the country have been rocked by elemental, spontaneous, non-political upheavals against the prevailing property relations and against the forces of the state which protect these relations. In no case have they been genuine race riots. The risings have usually been provoked by the police, in the course of "normal" brutalities (Watts 1965) or in an effort to crush a movement which is exceeding the bounds set for it by bourgeois society (Harlem 1964). As the struggle against the police expands, the black street-fighters turn on the merchants and shopkeepers, the visible representatives of the oppressive class society, and smash whatever cannot be carried off. Yet despite the vast energies expended and the casualties suffered, these outbreaks have changed nothing. This is a reflection of the urgent need for organizations of real struggle, which can organize and direct these energies toward conscious political objectives. It is the duty of a revolutionary organization to intervene where possible to give these outbursts political direction.

The Northern ghettos will be organized only by revolutionary ghetto organizations. The beginning of such organization is possible now, while the form remains open. One form is the building of block and neighborhood councils based on tenants councils. Experience has shown that tenants councils must be introduced to the *whole* transitional program and tied to as broad an organizational base as possible if they are to achieve stability. Block and neighborhood councils of this sort would be able to speak for a whole area, put forward their demands, and call out the people in militant actions to back up those demands.

One of the most important functions of such representative popular organs would be the organization and direction of effective self-defense against police and racist violence. The potential for rapid growth by the American fascist movement adds to the seriousness of this task, given the sharp contradictions confronting U.S. capitalism in the next period. Ghetto action might

take the form of block patrols of neighborhood men, preferably union members with past military training. The need for the immediate formation of such patrols is shown by the indiscriminate beatings and killings by police during the suppression of ghetto "riots."

Such terror will be unleashed whenever the black people approach a breakthrough in changing the fundamental condition of their lives. Block patrols would also help prevent the day-to-day acts of terror against individual ghetto residents by racist cops and would serve to control the crime victimizing ghetto residents which the capitalist cops ignore or participate in. Such neighborhood patrols will become a part of that workers militia which will defend the future American proletarian revolution.

### Independent Political Action

The struggle for black freedom demands the total break of the Negro people from the Democratic Party, the preferred political weapon of the forces which profit from the suppression and super-exploitation of the Negro people. The only alternative is a new party based on the needs of the poor and working people. The formation of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party in the South, initially with a mass base, indicated the potential and feeling which exist for independent political action. However, the MFDP, as its name indicated, was not independent but was simply a means whereby certain Southern and Northern civil rights leaders hoped to pursue their ambitions within the national Democratic Party at the expense of the interests of the Negro people. This situation has since been recognized by the most militant sections of the Southern movement, and the party has now lost its mass support.

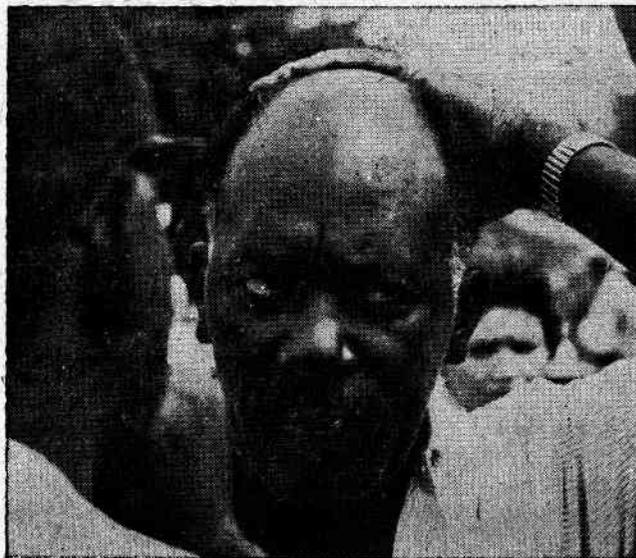
The formation of the Black Panther Party in Lowndes County, Alabama, was a step forward inasmuch as it was consciously organized *in opposition* to the Democratic Party. Based on the sharecroppers and farmers of a single rural blackbelt county, its program is by these very factors limited to reforms realizable within the system such as improved schools and roads, development of farmer cooperatives, and purchase of land for dispossessed sharecroppers. In order to go beyond these albeit needed reforms and pose a real challenge to the Southern system and the basic structure of society, the idea of independent political action must be extended to the cities and developed among workers. The perspective of the Black Panther Party for a federation of county-wide parties must be replaced by a perspective for a South-wide Freedom Labor Party.

Only by the development of a working-class program and by explicitly opening the door to support by white workers can real political independence be maintained, real gains won and the basis laid for eventual working-class political unity. This unity will come about when the exploited section of the white South is driven into opposition and is compelled to forego color prejudice in order to struggle along class lines against its real enemies—the owners of land and industry.

The creation of a South-wide Freedom Labor Party would serve as a tremendous impetus for similar action by Northern workers. The struggle for such a party would necessitate a rank-and-file revolt within the organized labor movement to overthrow the present labor bureaucracy. In the absence of a labor party, the Spartacist League supports all independent candidates whose programs are based on the needs of the ghettos.

### Negroes as Workers

In this period when primary attention has been focused on the ghetto, the importance of Negro militants within the organized labor movement must not be overlooked; black unionists form an immediate, existing, organizational link with the white section of the working class. Militant Negro and other super-exploited minority workers together with their labor partisans must organize within and without the existing unions in order to fight for their urgent needs. Union bureaucrats, with their public lip service to the Civil Rights movement, will be hard put to suppress "Civil Rights" caucuses within their unions or condemn Labor Civil



CHARLES SIMS of the Deacons for Defense.

Rights Committees as "dual unions." Yet under conditions in which struggle reaches revolutionary heights, such committees would be precursors to factory committees. Should dual power be posed, these in turn would be vital elements in workers councils and, in victory, of workers' power.

In addition to anti-discrimination demands, the "CR" caucuses should raise the following demands:

(1) *Organization of the Unorganized.* At the same time this demand is raised, the black worker militants should themselves begin this organization.

(2) *Organization by the Unions of the Unemployed.* Again, this demand should be accompanied by the actual organization of unemployed workers by the black worker militants. The aim is to create links between the ghetto and the labor movement and to counteract the lumpenization process proceeding apace in the ghettos among the unemployed. Welfare recipients should be organized around a program calling for full employment and their organizations should be associated with welfare worker unions.

(3) *For a Sliding Scale of Wages Controlled by Labor.* All workers are being hit hard by inflation caused by the war in Viet Nam. The bourgeoisie's attempts to freeze wages to save profits must be countered by the demand that wages be scaled according to the purchasing power of the dollar, with the power of the sliding scale in the hands of workers' committees, not bourgeois agencies.

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## ... BLACK & RED

(4) *Fight for the Shorter Work Week.* The rate of Negro unemployment is twice that of white workers, and the gap is increasing. Yet white workers also face the threat of unemployment due to automation. The struggle for *more* jobs for *all*, rather than competition between black and white workers for a few jobs here or there, can unite workers. At the same time, the demand for a shorter work week poses racial equality in union hiring without making the white worker fear for his job.

(5) *Oppose Government Intervention.* At all times we oppose using the Government to "integrate" unions, and rely solely on the working class for this task. Such ruling class tactics as decertification of discriminatory unions are intended to destroy union independence, foster division among union members and worsen the position of all workers.

For Negroes the fight for full employment at decent wages is not just the key to better housing, schools, etc., but a fundamental and necessary defense. If Black people are forced out of any economic role and become lumpenized as a group they will be in a position to be used as a scapegoat and could be totally wiped out during a future social crisis—just as the Jews in Germany were—without affecting the economy. The fight must be fought *now* to maintain Negroes as part of the working class.

The struggle for this program within the labor unions will entail a simultaneous fight for full union democracy and ultimately a struggle for leadership against the present labor lieutenants of capital. The most essential feature of this struggle will be the break of the labor movement from all its present ties to the capitalist state.

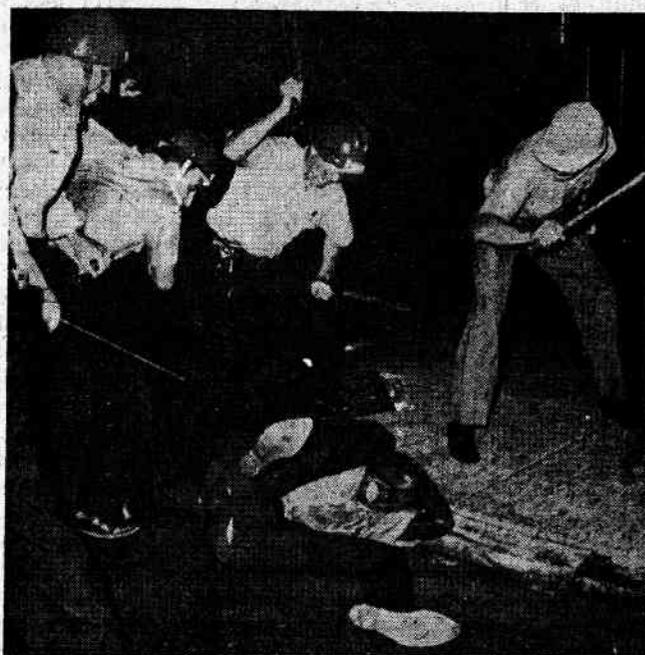
### IV. THE SOUTH

The Southern economy is today controlled entirely by Northern capital and is an *integral* and *essential* part of American capitalism. The contradictions of capitalism culminating in the tendency of the rate of profit to fall necessitate the maintenance of this vast area of low wage, non-unionized labor as a source of super-profits, and prohibit either any fundamental improvement in living standards for Southern workers whatever their color or any real change in the Southern political system of terror against Negroes. The problem of the South is more than merely one problem among many in the capitalist system. U.S. capitalism can oftentimes remove some problems through reforms in the system, always of course, at the expense of exacerbating problems elsewhere. *But the Southern system lies at the very heart of American capitalism; its essentials cannot be removed without destroying capitalism itself.* Yet capitalism in the course of its own development has now created in the South a Negro proletariat larger than the rural Negro population and brought together black and white workers in the social process of production. Thereby the objective basis is laid by capitalism itself for a future revolutionary struggle against the inhuman Southern system.

Because only a direct anti-capitalist struggle can eradicate the Southern system, any struggle short of that must soon either turn against capitalism or else fall into a swamp of hopeless reformism and soul

searching. Perhaps the most critical problem of the Southern Negro struggle has been its lack of revolutionary theory. Much energy and much blood have been sacrificed, but the gains have been few. The struggle has gone slowly as the movement has painstakingly groped its way along, hammering out by trial-and-error a program and method of struggle which is still in flux.

Without any theoretical weapons, the movement first struck out blindly but boldly at the most immediate signs of oppression—segregation in public transportation, eating places, educational institutions, etc. The basic demand was equality *within the system*, while the method of struggle was dominated by non-violence. This struggle reached its height in the early 1960's with the sit-ins, Freedom rides, Old Miss confrontation, etc. A good deal of publicity was achieved, but the system was basically untouched. As if to indicate the reformist nature of the demands, the bourgeoisie adopted the entire Civil Rights program and called it the 1964 Civil Rights Act.



COPS RIOT in Philadelphia ghetto, Aug. 1964.

But the civil rights movement was beginning to learn several important lessons. It was learning that one cannot merely make demands—one must have *political* power. *What kind* of political power was still to be learned. The emphasis was on registration of Negroes for the vote. Once again, though, the bourgeoisie adopted this basically reformist demand, this time calling it the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

But the bourgeoisie in the era of imperialism is so decadent, so dependent upon reactionaries, that it can no longer extend even simple bourgeois democratic rights. At this point, then, the Southern civil rights movement was pushed outside the traditional two party system by the bourgeoisie itself. At the 1964 Democratic Party Convention where the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party tried to enter the regular Democratic Party, the bourgeoisie rejected this chance to absorb the Southern leadership and so pushed the leadership into its more militant phase.

### Rise of the Black Power Movement

The Negro movement in the South has been confronted with two roads: reform vs. revolution, liberalism vs. communism. In recent years, through trial-and-error, the movement has seen the bankruptcy of traditional liberalism. The well-hated "white liberal" who dominated the earlier movement insisted on confining the movement within the system, for a real social overturn would threaten his class position. This attitude was held not only by the white liberals, but also by the petty-bourgeois Negro leaders like Roy Wilkins and Martin Luther King.

The most militant section of the civil rights movement has sensed the inadequacy of traditional reformism, and its suspicions were empirically confirmed by the experience of the MFDP. This healthy though empirical reaction has its center in SNCC and the "black power" movement.

The adherents of "black power" are usually the most militant elements who have adopted the term partly because of its militant sound and partly because of its repugnance to white liberals. Thus the "black power" movement contains a number of radical points and methods which have caused the bourgeois press to shower vicious abuse on it. Some "black power" advocates profess to reject middle-class values and desire to serve "human" values; they generally favor independent political action such as the Black Panther Party in Lowndes County; they see the connection between the Negro struggle at home and anti-imperialist struggles abroad, as in SNCC's recent statement on Viet Nam; and they discuss the use of armed self-defense against racist terror. In short, the "black power" movement is raising questions whose answers lie *outside* the framework set up by the capitalist class.

However, as yet the movement has not become consciously anti-capitalist. It has rejected what it knows as liberalism but is unsure of how to go further. Lacking a conscious orientation towards the working class, and constantly surrounded by bourgeois propaganda, the movement may yet fall prey to bourgeois politicians with radical phrases or else become hopelessly isolated and demoralized.

Another facet of the "black power" movement is the proposition that black militants should organize Black people and forget about whites for now, since most whites are racist, and that it's a white man's job to organize whites. But the achievement of Negro liberation *depends* on the radicalization of white workers, and every class-conscious white worker means a new ally for the Negro struggle. The lessons that black militants have gained through bitter struggle can best be transmitted to white workers by these militants making clear that their aim is to build an integrated anti-capitalist movement, North and South. This means that the slogan "black power" must be clearly defined in class, not racial terms, for otherwise the "black power" movement may become the black wing of the Democratic Party in the South. The possibility of this is indicated by Stokely Carmichael's endorsement of the so-called "National Conference for New Politics," a Social-Democratic front group which is leaning towards Robert Kennedy for "peace" candidate for President in 1968.

At this stage of the Southern struggle where the most militant elements are groping for new solutions to the problems reformism is demonstrably not able to

overcome, the Spartacist League, as the only professed revolutionary organization with any sort of base in the South, is in a unique position to intervene in the movement to advance the development of consciously anti-capitalist struggle.

### Advancing the Southern Struggle

In addition to the programmatic points discussed earlier under "Broad Tasks," additional demands are pertinent to the Southern struggle.

(1) *For a Southern Organizing Drive Backed by Organized Labor.* Organized labor is being hurt as many companies move South to tap the vast source of cheap, unorganized Southern labor. Black workers meanwhile



Muhammad Speaks

suffer from low wages and little job security due to lack of unions. A labor-backed Southern organizing drive would thus help both black and white workers. The demand for a Southern drive is complementary to the demand for a Freedom Labor Party, and, if achieved, would lay the material basis for such a party by creating an organized Southern base.

(2) *Armed Self-Defense.* While this slogan is also applicable in the North, the demand has a more immediate urgency in the South and is already being acted upon. The Deacons for Defense and Justice is a tremendous step forward for the Negro struggle, not only because it saves lives, but because it raises the level of consciousness of the civil rights movement by discouraging reliance upon the institutions of the bourgeois state. However, the Deacons exhibit a curious duality: highly militant, paramilitary tactics are used to protect the struggle; however, their political perspectives are characterized by comparatively mild, anti-discrimination politics. This contradictory character will eventually result in a crisis which will reveal the urgent need for revolutionary theory and program along with self-defense if the social liberation of the Black people is to be achieved. The demand for organized self-defense

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## ... BLACK & RED

must be counterposed to Federal intervention which preserves Southern "law and order" and the racial status quo.

(3) *For a Workers United Front Against Federal Intervention.* As the bourgeoisie loses political control of the working class, it must rely more and more on direct Government controls, sometimes thinly disguised as "arbitration panels," "wage guideposts," etc. In the recent Machinists' strike a naked anti-strike bill was almost passed. In 1963 Federal troops were deployed to prevent a threatened uprising by black workers in Birmingham during a campaign of racist bombings. All workers have a vital interest in opposing Federal intervention.

### V. BLACK WORKERS AND THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

There is one state power in this country, and its destruction will be accomplished only by a united working class under the leadership of a single revolutionary vanguard party. The SWP's concept of the continued division of the working class along color lines with two separate vanguards which would coordinate their activities in a revolutionary period would be like having two command centers during a war, issuing separate orders and disorganization and confusion in the face of the wealthiest and most powerful ruling class in history. The struggle against this concept of a federated vanguard is similar to the struggle carried on by Lenin at the second congress of the Russian Social Democratic Party against the Jewish Bund's demand for autonomy within the party and for their sole right to work among Jewish workers. Trotsky argued that to grant such autonomy to one group would in effect be granting autonomy to any particular section of the working class, i.e., would be the institution of a federated party and the destruction of a centralized organization, in addition to an explicit challenge to an internationalist outlook. As it is the goal of socialism to sweep away national and racial barriers, a socialist organization struggles to overcome such barriers. Furthermore, the perpetuation of a "dual vanguard" concept within the United States would actually prevent the struggle from reaching a revolutionary level. Only common struggle for common aims can unite the working class and overcome the lifelong racial prejudices of American workers.

Our immediate goal is to develop a black Trotskyist cadre. We aim not only to recruit Negro members—a short-cut to the working class in this period—but to develop these black workers into Trotskyist cadres who will carry a leadership role in organizing the black

masses, within the League itself, and elsewhere. As Trotsky said:

"We must say to the conscious elements of the Negroes that they are convoked by the historic development to become a vanguard of the working class. . . . If it happens that we . . . are not able to find the road to this stratum, then we are not worthy at all. The permanent revolution and all the rest would be only a lie."

In recruiting and holding a Negro cadre there are several problems:

(1) *Color hostility.* Only the demonstrated determination of the Spartacist League to carry through its revolutionary tasks will convince black militants to join and remain in our ranks. To avoid disappointment and demoralization, we must make clear to our black recruits that only the patient construction and theoretical preparation of a revolutionary vanguard party will produce significant results.

(2) *Class and educational differences.* At present a predominant number of recruits to any radical organization are from the middle class. In addition whites in the U.S. as a whole have access to more and better formal education than Negroes. These factors, to the extent that they are reflected in our organization, may create a certain social gulf between black and white members. This gulf will only be overcome through conscious, common struggle, and the education of all our members in Marxist theory and practice.

(3) *Daily oppression and the problems of life.* The struggle for livelihood and the immediate problems of daily life create additional pressures on our black members which draw them away from full participation in the revolutionary movement. Our black comrades should be aided in gaining job skills that will make the immediate day-to-day problems of living less pressing and free them for revolutionary activity and concentration.

(4) *Over-Activism.* Because the Negro struggle has been the most active struggle in the country, our Negro members have been intensely active party members. The demands of the mass organizations in which they participate tend to occupy so much time that little is left for the study of Marxist theory and the lessons of past class struggle. Unless there is a balance between these two forms of activity our goal of creating a black Trotskyist cadre to intervene in the mass struggle and lift it to a higher consciousness of its anti-capitalist goals will not be realized. The Spartacist League is confident that it will be able to overcome these problems and create an integrated revolutionary vanguard capable of reaching and eventually uniting in struggle the entire class.

### Final Victory

The victory of the socialist revolution in this country will be achieved through the united struggle of black and white workers under the leadership of the revolutionary vanguard party. In the course of this struggle unbreakable bonds will be forged between the two sections of the working class. The success of the struggle will place the Negro people in a position to insure at last the end of slavery, racism and super-exploitation.

—General line unanimously adopted and Editorial Commission appointed by Founding Conference, 4 September 1966.

—Report of Negro Commission on revisions accepted by Political Bureau, 27 March 1967.

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## ... ANTI-WAR

(Continued from page 1)

three-day fight over the structure of the NCC ensued and dominated the conference. The YSA's ploy was the creation of an Independent Caucus, based on "independent" committees built around the slogan "Bring the Troops Home," and the fabrication that radicals were fighting for "withdrawal" against the moderates for "negotiations"; however these positions were never counterposed and never put to a vote. The "Independent Caucus" in its motion to the final session completely *dropped* the "Bring the Troops Home" slogan to *conciliate the CP'ers and others who would not accept it!* The SWP, having chosen to fight organizationally, was thoroughly smashed by its opponents.

### No Fight for Program

Part of the problem for a centrist organization like the SWP in maintaining a "Popular Front" coalition is that it must openly sacrifice for "unity" the one weapon with which it can combat political opponents—its principled *program*. The political struggle is reduced to the small change of maneuvers, deals, compromises and intrigues. The game becomes one of *avoiding* the expression of political differences. And each compromise must be taken back to the membership as a "victory," with an endless pathetic cascade of rationalizations and dishonesty.

To further strengthen its "pop front," the SWP began wooing the Stalinists in debates across the country, emphasizing in *The Militant* that the only *real* difference between "Trotskyists" and Stalinists was the question of Democratic Party coalition politics. At the SWP's NYC Memorial meeting for their young comrades shot in Detroit in May 1966, the *Worker* was prominently featured for sale at the rear of the SWP Hall! The turning point came, however, when the DuBois Clubs' membership began to dwindle in the summer of 1966. With an eye toward picking up some of these youth, the SWP in October announced its support for the campaign of Herbert Aptheker, running as an "Independent Peace Candidate" for Congress in Brooklyn. Aptheker's program contained not a word on the withdrawal of troops from Viet Nam and said nothing about breaking with capitalist-Democratic Party politics. This maneuver was palmed off on the SWP-YSA membership as "principled support to a working-class candidate," despite the *admitted* disagreement with *every single plank* of Aptheker's program. In addition, the SWP refused to support the independent candidates who *did* run on socialist and/or labor party platforms and who called for withdrawal of troops from Viet Nam—e.g.,

Leslie Silberman, James Weinstein and Progressive Labor's Wendy Nakashima.

### Organizational Judo

However, the reformist CP has a great deal more experience than the erstwhile Trotskyist SWP at the game of organizational judo. In San Francisco, the Stalinist forces in the Spring Mobilization Committee have voted down any reference to withdrawal of troops in the Mobilization call, in favor of a negotiations position. In New York, YSA'ers are being excluded from committee posts, and the SWP has resorted to sending in "secret" YSA'ers—to avoid an open fight with the Stalinists!

The SWP went to still greater lengths to please its "allies" in the coalition. When SANE called an anti-war rally for 8 December to ask "Mr. President" to scale down the war because it was "making a mockery of the Great Society," the SWP's only reaction was to publicize the meeting and refrain from any criticism of its line, thereby implicitly endorsing it. When the NYC Spartacist Local Committee called a picket line of the SANE rally, Jack Barnes, SWP city organizer stated, "We think you are in error."

### Excerpts from Spartacist Call to PICKET NYC SANE RALLY

SANE, the government's loyal opposition in the anti-war movement, has called for a rally, Thursday, December 8, to "End the Vietnam War." Their transit ad asks, "Are our sons' lives being wasted in Vietnam?" And further, "The war still goes on. And by now, the mass of South Vietnamese people couldn't care less."

This rally completely and deliberately obscures the fundamental character of the Viet Nam war—a naked, ruthless intervention by U.S. imperialism, to interrupt and drive back a social revolution in Viet Nam, a revolution that is the *only* road to freedom for the Vietnamese working masses. There can be no neutrality in this fight. We are not simply for stopping the war, but rather are for the *victory* of that revolution. To call only for a disengagement of forces acts against the interest of the revolution and implies confidence in the integrity of U.S. imperialism to keep such a bargain.

Any position less than the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Viet Nam lends objective aid to the U.S. doctrine of armed intervention against social revolutions throughout the world!

The reaction of *The Militant* was somewhat more explicit: "ANTI-SANE—A manifesto was issued by the Spartacist League, an ultra-left grouplet, calling on people to picket the SANE Madison Square Garden rally to End the War in Vietnam Now because of

defects in SANE's program. Maybe the name bugs them too." (12 Dec. 1966) Then, on 19 December, to again attack Spartacist, *The Militant's* managing editor, Barry Sheppard, set up the straw man of the ossified, irrelevant Socialist Party as the internal menace on the right. Thus he sought to hide the SWP's accommodation to the powerful liberal-establishment organization, SANE, the real right wing of the movement. Sheppard continued, "At the other extreme, another sad thing occurred outside the rally. The Spartacist League, a sectarian, ultra-left grouplet, staged a picket line of 15 people on the other side of the street, denouncing the rally as a 'left cover for imperialism.'"

### Militant United Front

The right-wing domination of the anti-war movement has had the effect of driving away large numbers of more radical activists, including national SDS and several revolutionary socialist organizations. The radicals have become increasingly disgusted with the demonstrated ineffectiveness and simple pacifist-liberal approach of the movement. In New York this reaction has resulted in an anti-imperialist united front formed to intervene as a Revolutionary Contingent in the actions on 15 April. Its principal political thrust is for the defeat of imperialism in Viet Nam and around the world, for the victory of the NLF and the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Viet Nam. Among the fifteen to twenty groups which participated in the first meetings of this united front were the Committee for Independent Political Action, Free School of New York, U.S. Committee to Aid the NLF-SV, Spartacist League, ACFI, Communist Party USA-Marxist-Leninist, Black Mask, Resurgence Youth Movement and IWW, as well as many independents and individual members of DuBois clubs, SDS and anti-war and veterans' committees.

The first action of the group was to attend the New York Peace Parade Committee meeting to demand that time be allotted for radical anti-imperialist speakers for the 15 April rally. At one point, James Bevel, the Spring Mobilization's national director, was shouted down as he attempted to race-bait the group with the remark, "You can't be very radical if you're not black." The time question was finally forced to the floor, amidst cries from the aging Stalinists of "CIA," "provocateur," "police agents" and even "beatniks." The vote was 65 for the united front's demands and 84 opposed, with a sizeable number of abstentions. Every SWP and YSA member in the room voted with the Stalinists, SANE, Reform Democrats against the anti-

(Continued Next Page)

## ... ANTI-WAR

imperialists! Fred Halstead, SWP and Parade Committee spokesman, when asked his position on victory for the NLF, coolly replied, "I'm personally for bringing the troops home. But as for victory for the NLF, I don't know; I'm not Vietnamese."! The SWP and their class-collaborationist allies see as a provocation the vital demand that the Soviet Union and China *increase* their military aid to North Viet Nam and the NLF. We ask: would the U.S. continue to bomb North and South Viet Nam with impunity if Hanoi and Haiphong were protected by SA-3 missiles and MIG-21 jet fighters instead of the 10-year-old equipment they presently receive? (At present, the Iranian dictatorship receives more MIG-21's from the USSR than does North Vietnam!) Progressive Labor's ridiculous Maoist contribution to this question is to call on North Viet Nam to *reject* even token Soviet aid since acceptance lends a "respectable cover" to Kosygin-Brezhnev. (*Progressive Labor*, February-March 1967). We as revolutionaries call on the Soviet working people to throw out their "leaders" and the counterrevolutionary bureaucracy they represent, and replace them with workers' democracy, so that the industrial and military might of Russia's non-capitalist planned economy can be placed at the disposal of the Vietnamese revolution, instead of being used as a lever to betray it.

Halstead and the SWP, as ex-Trotskyists, are familiar with this position. But in order to preserve the spurious "unity" of the coalition, they make themselves indistinguishable from the pacifists—who deplore *all* wars, revolutionary and imperialist alike—and the liberals, whose real concern over the war is to "save face" for U.S. imperialism. For the SWP as a "Marxist" organization to oppose polarization and political clarification, in the name of "unity" with the friends of imperialism, is a gross betrayal. In this struggle the coalitionist, single-issue line of the SWP-YSA has served simply as an *obstacle*.

### ACFI Rewrites Its Past

In an article entitled, "The Peace Peddlers: SWP-CP-Pacifist Cabal Join Imperialist Camp," in the *Bulletin of International Socialism*, (13 Feb. 1967) organ of the "Workers League" (formerly ACFI) Tim Wohlforth discusses the origins of this coalition. The article covers up ACFI's own dirt in several important areas. He claims that "the first product of this new coalition was the Nov. 5-8th [1966] demonstrations" and that the old "umbrella" slogan was the SWP's "Bring the Troops Home Now." He also claims that the *Bulletin* has fought "since the beginning" for

"the victory of the National Liberation Front"; he neglects to mention that in the October 1965 demonstration his organization not only marched under the discipline of the Parade Committee, but refused to carry even *unsigned* Spartacist placards, demanding "Immediate Unconditional Withdrawal of All U.S. Troops" and "Victory for the Vietnamese Revolution—No Negotiations." Wohlforth himself signed the Parade call that claimed the war in Viet Nam "is not necessary for [U.S.] national security" and demanded the removal of "all foreign troops"—i.e., North Vietnamese, as well as imperialist.

Wohlforth has done still more rewriting of ACFI's past. In August 1965 the *Bulletin* anticipated the SWP's social-patriotic approach by several

months, with a front page declaration, "Bring the Boys Home!" (Vol. 2, No. 13) That issue and its Special Supplement reek with pacifist and social-patriotic formulations. The war should be stopped, they declare, in order to "launch a real war on poverty here." The article concludes with the demand of "Not one more American life in defense of reaction abroad." *Nowhere* in that *Bulletin* or supplement does the ACFI express any sense of partisanship with the forces fighting against the U.S. in Viet Nam. Nor was this article simply a "mistake." Representatives of this conciliatory little group hit an all-time low in December '65 when they signed the statement asking "Where is the Voice of the President for Peace on Christmas?"

To Wohlforth and his supporters we in turn ask, where was *your* voice in December 1966 when the NYC Spartacist League and other militants picketed the SANE rally? Your organizer stated, "We have other commitments for that night." Could not one person be spared to picket the enemies of the Vietnamese revolution?

Thus the ACFI has sought to conceal its zig-zag course, thus clearly revealing its unprincipled *centrist* character.

### Anti-Capitalist Struggle

The principal effect of the predominantly reformist-pacifist ideology of the anti-war movement is the obscuring of the class nature of the Viet Nam war—an imperialist intervention to crush a social revolution—and the concomitant fostering of political concepts that operate entirely within the system and act to prevent the drawing of anti-war militants and sections of the working class into active political criticism of and confrontation with the U.S. bourgeois state.

What then is the purpose of the anti-war movement? As a movement it has been predicated on the notion that sufficient "pressure" can persuade the bourgeois government to act against its own class interests. The completely unrestrained escalation of the last two years is testament enough to its utter ineffectiveness. As Clausewitz observed, "War is a continuation of politics by other means." The war in Viet Nam is inseparably connected with the social system that gave rise to it.

Militants must realize that the anti-war movement inherently lacks the political cohesion found *only* through programmatic agreement at once revolutionary, proletarian and internationalist that is required to wage a struggle against the capitalist system. While continuing to work in the anti-war movement, radicals should orient toward and join the revolutionary organization whose program *does* provide the basis for such a general struggle, the Spartacist League. ■

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## ... HEALY

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victorious revolutions in more advanced countries—revolutions which themselves will be vastly accelerated by the experience, example and aid of a Chinese proletariat ruling in its own right.

### Workers Control

The Maoists, of course, have tried every maneuver they could envision: student youth, red prayer books and military enforcement of production allotments. But they have fearfully avoided workers control, the only alternative which could promise to extend the revolution. The reason for their fear is understandable: workers control would have as one of its immediate outcomes—the ousting of the whole bureaucracy, including Mao himself.

Thus, Mao represents another extension of the criminal usurpation of Stalinism. The actions of the Maoists ultimately constitute the main internal danger to the Chinese Revolution. Because they disrupt the economy through bureaucratic mismanagement and waste, disrupt other revolutions and

attack the Chinese proletariat, the Maoists objectively aid the attacks of U.S. imperialism on the Chinese revolution.

Thus aid to the Chinese revolution signifies in addition to military defense against imperialist attack, ruthless criticism of this Bonapartist clique at the head of the Chinese workers state and the call for its removal through a political revolution of the workers, given direction by a Marxist-Leninist vanguard party. The Russian leadership now threatens to betray the other workers states in exchange for a "friendly" deal with the imperialists. Aid to China thus signifies a similar call for removal of the Russian bureaucracy. Only in these ways can the Chinese workers state be strengthened and its industrialization safeguarded against the constant aggression posed by world imperialism.

This is the program the FI called for in Russia and it is the program all Trotskyists should call for today for China. But clearly it is not the program of the SLL. To this day the Healy group has never been able to explain how the class forces involved in the Chinese revolution led to a deformed workers state—a characteriza-

tion which they simply borrowed from others. Never having understood the historical developments, they now see the bureaucrats as able to wage a fight against themselves. This pseudo-Trotskyist SLL excuses Mao's overall bureaucratic character and applauds his "progressive" line or his "best element" quality, both necessary aspects of Stalinist rule.

### Liquidationism Next

In other words these applauding ex-Trotskyists have abandoned any proletarian perspective in the Chinese workers state for the "privilege" of supporting a section of the leading bureaucracy which has helped deform the state. At the same time they have not yet degenerated to Pablo's position which dismisses the need for a Leninist party. The SLL still calls for the formation of a section of the FI in China. But on what base?—on the Red Guards, "the force upon which the Fourth International will surely be built" (Newsletter, 4 Feb. 1967.) In other words, they wish to be "revolutionary advisers" to Mao, to do what this "hero" is doing, only to do it a "little bit better." They resemble the SWP in its fatherly advice to "Fidel" and Juan Posadas in his hysterical empathizing with the complete menagerie of such heroes.

This kind of centrist verbal cover was not sufficient to prevent Pablo from following the logic of capitulation through to the eventual destruction of his party. Unless Healy is ousted by those elements in the SLL and IC which want a perspective of international struggle, the SLL and IC will follow a course similar to that of the USec and Posadist groups and will end up liquidating the party as did Pablo.

### Open Political Struggle

Healy generalized his sectarian wrecking tactics at Liège to a denial of the Leninist struggle for the united front in action; i.e., the Healyites have lost the possibility of building a revolutionary party in the face of mass Stalinist or reformist parties. Healy's prior theoretically rudderless response to the Chinese revolution has led to his pathetic inability to distinguish a political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy from the massive purge the Maoists are now unfolding. From theoretical weakness it proved a short step for opportunist elements like Banda to push the SLL into giving essential political support to this purge under the slogan, "Defend the Red Guards." These departures by the Healy group from revolutionary politics signal the transformation of the unclarified civil war between Healy-Banda-Wohlforth and ourselves into a clear-cut political struggle between counterposed tendencies. ■

## ... WELFARE

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could not win and decided to support the Kailin slate as a "realistic alternative."

To complete this tragi-comic sequence, the initiators of the original split with the Militant Caucus provoked another split by refusing to accept the R&F Committee discipline when it did not fully adopt their position for the Committee's election program. Thus the original R&F slate split into two separate slates, presenting the union's membership with the spectacle of three left slates running on overwhelmingly parallel programs. The result of this fantastic sectarianism will undoubtedly be that all three groupings will garner only a fraction of the votes that a united slate would have and that many militants will be repelled from joining any group. Unfortunately, the Militant Caucus, the one group which played a principled role throughout, will also suffer in the general disenchantment.

### Militant Caucus

Despite these setbacks to the entire militant wing of the union, the Militant Caucus intends to continue its fight to win the membership of the SSEU to a program that can win real gains for staff and increase the union's fighting strength. Their program, as extracted from recent leaflets, is briefly as follows:

—A repudiation of the Mage contract, particularly the provisions ac-

cepted before fact-finding which so cripple the union that any contract incorporating them is unacceptable. These include the No-Strike, "Management Prerogatives," and compulsory arbitration clauses.

—Rejection of so-called "professionalism" in favor of "ONE MILITANT UNION IN WELFARE," including clerks; elimination of the college degree requirement for caseworkers; orientation toward the labor movement, particularly towards a powerful fighting alliance of all unions of City workers.

—A cost-of-living escalator for both workers and clients, reduction of case-loads and job security through sufficient hiring, with a 30-hour work week to enforce this.

—Alliance with client organizations for a united struggle against the City; not just "a more humane welfare system," but JOBS for clients.

—A Labor party to represent the interests of workers in the fight against political issues such as "Tri-Partite" (See SPARTACIST #6).

—The SSEU to take a stand against the war in Viet Nam and for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops.

—The principled unity of all left-wing forces within the SSEU, and the formation of a democratic disciplined organization of militants.

The Spartacist League fully supports the struggle of the SSEU Members for a Militant Caucus to educate and win the membership to this program. ■

**CRISIS OF LEADERSHIP:****SSEU ELECTIONS**

New York City: On the eve of elections in the Social Service Employees Union (SSEU) the Mage leadership—only a year ago mistakenly believed to be idealistic, militant and progressive—stands widely discredited and divided. The gap between leadership and membership, developing for some time, has in recent sharp struggles between the City and union become apparent and explicit. In these struggles, which include a brief January strike and a projected February city-wide work stoppage, the leadership was tested and found wanting by a majority of the membership.

The three-day January strike, which the City had hoped would result in destruction of the SSEU as an effective instrument of struggle, ended instead in a stalemate. While the union came out intact, the strike resulted in not a single gain for the membership, nor a contract; moreover, the union accepted provisions severely impairing its ability to struggle and was badly shaken and demoralized.

Because they had been hoping to avoid a strike, the leadership refrained from exposing the City's intentions and defining essential bargaining demands. Nevertheless, when a last-minute strike was called, the membership responded enthusiastically, with the strike 85-90% solid among caseworkers.

**Panicked Leadership**

A strike is not won by a fighting membership alone. The leadership, as organizer of the struggle and the membership's representative in bargaining, plays a key role. From the beginning Mage, not the City, was panicked by the strike. While making major concessions to the City in the vain hope of securing equal concessions from it, Mage promised each day of the strike would be the last. The City had each day only to wait another day while withholding an offer. After the third day Mage called for a return to work and the referral of all "unsettled issues" to "fact finding"—though the "unsettled issues" included wages, workload, job content, contract enforcement, hours, leave, and demands to benefit clients!

That the strike ended prematurely was made plain three weeks later at the Non-Residence Welfare Center. Workers there, whose caseloads averaged 50% higher than the old contract limitations, refused new cases; seventeen were immediately suspended. All work stopped at the center. The City proceeded to lock out the workers and

announced they would not be paid. The issue was plain to every welfare worker in the City: the right to enforce contract provisions. But to the City, planning to solve its financial crisis on the backs of its employees, the penalties are crucial. They are needed to discourage workers from struggle against the City's job freeze and Departmental reorganization designed to squeeze out the union.

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Though the leadership barely managed to obtain majority votes—65 per cent on the strike and 55 per cent on the work-stoppage settlements—the actual alienation of membership from leadership was far greater, and was subsequently revealed in what were essentially two no-confidence votes. The leadership's attempt to place the autonomous million-dollar Welfare Fund, a potential source of enormous patronage, under direct control of the President was rejected overwhelmingly. The next meeting eliminated special speaking privileges for officers at meetings.

**Divided Leadership**

The leadership entered the pre-election period divided and in a state of crisis. In addition to the "official" incumbent leadership slate, a second slate headed by John Kailin is projecting its candidates as "untarnished" and more militant than Mage. The candidates of the Kailin slate are not "untarnished" but have been a prominent part of the leadership for several years, in particular supporting and defending the strike and work-stoppage sellouts.

The forthcoming April elections would seem to provide the SSEU's membership with an extremely timely opportunity not only to analyze recent struggles and assess the leadership's role in them, but also to select a *different kind* of leadership. Given the widespread discredit of the present leadership and its own division, the opportunity would appear ripe for a genuinely militant opposition slate to

win a significant section of the vote and perhaps even an office or two.

**Divided Left**

Unfortunately it appears that this opportunity will not be realized. Shortly after Mage's election last year a grouping, the "SSEU Members for a Militant Caucus," was formed to oppose the new leadership's reformist policies. It based itself on a broad militant program and opened its ranks to all tendencies and individuals on a democratic disciplined basis. However, before the strike a section of this group with no programmatic differences broke away to form a second group, the "Rank and File Committee," ardently supported by the then American Committee for the Fourth International (ACFI). From the beginning, the Militant Caucus sought to heal the unprincipled split and initiated a campaign for the unification of the two groups. This campaign embarrassed and eventually evoked an evasive but tentative response from the R&F group. The Militant Caucus then suggested that the two groups at least run a joint election slate with each grouping retaining the right to express its own program while supporting the common slate. Such a joint campaign had an excellent opportunity of using the leadership's collapse to emerge from the elections with a sizeable unified organization of militants—a *genuine caucus*—able to continue the struggle and win in the future.

**"On the Other Side"**

At this point the following statement appeared in ACFI's *Bulletin of International Socialism*: "We warn Spartacist: there is presently a war going on between the revolutionary Trotskyists represented by the International Committee and the revisionist agents of capital represented by the SWP-German-Frank Pabloite formation. You are on the other side in this war. Henceforth we will have no relations with you." Subsequently the R&F Committee, despite internal opposition, put forward its own slate and refused united action with the Militant Caucus during the election. With the failure of a unified campaign, the large CIPA (Committee for Independent Political Action) grouping decided to abstain in the elections, instead conducting an "educational campaign" of "Tax the Landlords." Other militants, not yet fully conscious of the decisive nature of program, felt that a divided left

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