

# THE ROAD TO VICTORY AT NYU

## Bulletin

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# VOTE SOCIALIST!

## no humphrey-nixon-wallace raw deal

### EDITORIAL



FRED HALSTEAD

You've heard of the New Deal. Well, from LBJ we've gotten the Raw Deal:

**WAR** - Thousands of our sons have died in Vietnam and we've been made to pay for this slaughter against Vietnamese workers and peasants.

**INFLATION** - The cost of living is now eating up our paychecks at a rate of 6% and we've just been hit with a 10% tax hike.

**UNEMPLOYMENT** - The bosses are making us work twice as hard through speed-up and automation while they plan whole-sale layoffs.

**RACISM** - The politicians use racism disguised as "law and order" to divide workers so they fight each other and not the boss.

**A VOTE FOR NIXON OR HUMPHREY IS A VOTE FOR MORE RAW DEAL! A VOTE FOR WALLACE IS A VOTE FOR THE DESTRUCTION OF THE UNIONS!** There is only one answer to this raw deal -- we need our own party, a labor party that will: **END INFLATION! END THE WAR! OUTLAW RACISM! PROVIDE JOBS FOR ALL! NATIONALIZE BIG BUSINESS SO IT SERVES THE PEOPLE NOT THE PROFITEERS!**

**START THE FIGHT NOW!** Vote for the only candidates who call for a labor party. Vote for Halstead-Boutelle for President and Vice President on the Socialist Workers Party ticket.



PAUL BOUTELLE



## ON THE SPOT REPORT OF MASSACRE IN MEXICO

# UNIONS FAIL TO FIGHT WALLACE



GEORGE WALLACE SPEAKS FROM BEHIND BULLETPROOF LECTERN

By Fred Mueller

October 14 -- With only three weeks to Election Day, Wallace's percentage of the vote remains close to 20%. There is no longer any question at all about the support he is finding among millions of workers who have previously voted Democratic. Wallace is continuing to cleverly exploit the tremendous dissatisfaction with the Johnson-Humphrey Administration and its record, and to appeal to the racism which

has been energetically fostered among white workers.

In a recent vote among auto workers in Flint, Wallace picked up 49% to 39% for Humphrey and 12% for Nixon. It would be a big mistake to view the Wallace supporters as simply diehard ultra-rightists who have only been waiting for the opportunity to back a national candidate. The Wallace campaign is much much more, it is proof of the desperate crisis of the bosses and their system.

The only answer to Wallace is a fighting program to unite workers and undercut his effort to pose as the champion of the working man. Such a program requires showing how Wallace is no answer to the Nixon-Humphrey crisis, that instead a common fight of black and white workers for jobs and against unemployment and inflation is needed.

## PRETEND

Now some of the old-line union bureaucrats are trying to pretend that Wallace does not exist, that he is a figment of someone's imagination. New York Central Labor Council President Harry Van Arsdale insists that Wallace's strength is greatly exaggerated, that all but a handful of trade unionists will loyally vote for their friend Hubert when the hour of decision arrives. Van Arsdale and his fellow officials are so thoroughly bankrupt that they are reduced to wishful thinking in public.

## O'DWYER

Democratic 'peace' candidate Paul O'Dwyer, running for the Senate from New York, is paying more attention to Wallace and his support among workers. O'Dwyer has made some very strong statements on the Wallace danger, on how many workers are simply cutting their own throats by supporting him, and on the need

for workers to fight together.

There is only one problem. O'Dwyer has refused to support Humphrey for President, nor has he endorsed Nixon, of course. He is very strongly opposed to any break with the Democrats and the formation of a labor party, instead urging that the fight to reform the Democratic Party continue from within the party in preparation for 1972! Thus O'Dwyer has absolutely no alternative, nothing to propose to workers as even a first step in the fight against Wallace.

So O'Dwyer plans to hold a Garment Center rally on Oct. 24th-the day Wallace is to speak at Madison Square Garden. He announces that he will urge workers not to vote for Wallace but at the same time he cannot advocate a vote for Humphrey or Nixon as a real alternative to Wallace. What bankruptcy! The situation screams for a call for labor to throw up its own alternative-a labor party-and that as a first step workers should cast a class vote for Halstead-Boutelle on the SWP ticket. The situation may scream but in effect O'Dwyer is whispering: 'go ahead and vote for Humphrey or don't vote. The main thing is vote for me and in this way keep labor tied to the Democrats -to the party of Humphrey, Maddox and Daley.'

Equally bankrupt are the black nationalists. In a period when the Negro people are directly threatened with a new outburst of race hatred, the preparation of virtual programs against them, all these people can do is compliment Wallace for his honesty! Just as the Communist Party in Germany in the 1930s could see no difference between Hitler and the Social Democrats so these nationalists see no difference between Wallace and not only Humphrey or Nixon but even a class conscious white working class militant. But the mass of the Negro people see it differently. They want to fight Wallace before Wallace pushes them back further. But the black nationalists give them no leadership whatsoever.

WL

The Workers League and only the Workers League has been fighting to mobilize trade unionists against Wallace, to mount a class fight against the growing fascist menace which is encouraged by him. The October 24 demonstration against Wallace is a crucial part of this struggle, but just the beginning. We must fight Wallace and SMASH Wallaceism by taking the fight for a labor party to every section of the working class in the coming period.

## communist party & elections

By Dan Fried

From the days of the 'popular front' of the 1930s, under whose banner the Communist Party, U.S.A. went down the line for Franklin D. Roosevelt, right up until these days of 'coalition' politics, the C.P. has consistently fought against a course of independent political action for labor. Except for the period from Sept. 1939 to Dec. 1941-the period of Stalin's alliance with Hitler against the 'democratic imperialist powers'-the C.P. has sought instead to cement a coalition of labor with 'progressive' capitalist elements. Whether these elements dominated the Democratic Party constituted a so-called reforming of the Democratic Party

or were to be found in the Wallace 'peace' candidacy of the Progressive Party in 1948, the policy of the C.P. has been essentially the same.

The Daily World, expressing the views of the C.P. leaves no doubt that under their slogan 'coalition is the key' the man par excellence who they hoped would lead and dominate the 1968 version of the 1935 'popular front' was none other than Robert F. Kennedy. Kennedy was considered the man who could best unite the 'progressive' millionaires in the Democratic Party with the labor bureaucracy and the middle class leaders of the black community around a program of peace and friendship with the Soviet Union.

The fact that large sections of the industrial and financial bourgeoisie saw Kennedy as their man who would help U.S. industry beat back foreign competition by disciplining the labor movement and further pitting the trade unions and 'community' against each other, did not disturb the C.P. in the least.

## BLOW

The assassination of Kennedy was certainly a blow for this section of the capitalist class. It was also a blow for the C.P.'s 'coalition'. The C.P.'s search for a leader of the 'coalition' received another setback when McCarthy, who they saw as Kennedy's heir, was so rudely stomped by the Democratic Convention.

Unlike 1964, when the C.P. plugged for Johnson against Goldwater, they are now unable to openly support any major party presidential candidate. They are running their own candidates, Mitchell and Zagarell for whom they have made only the most minimal and token effort to get on the ballot. There is absolutely no independence at all to these 'Communist' candidates whose only role is to assist the C.P. campaign for third party 'peace' candidate, Dick Gregory, running for President along with liberal lawyer Mark Lane for V.P. on the Freedom and Peace Party ticket.

The C.P. hails Gregory and his support by pacifists like Dr. Spock. But they see this campaign simply as a step toward rebuilding the 'coali-

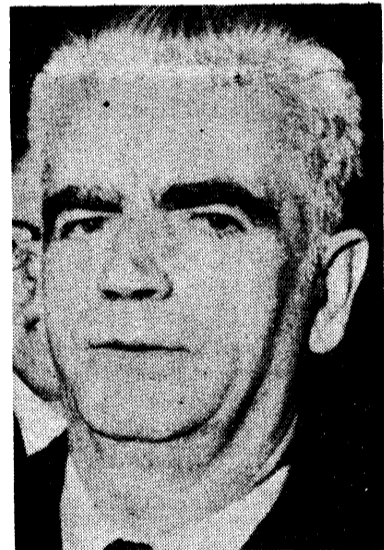
tion' and in no way as a step toward a break with capitalist politics and an independent labor party. They open the door to support of pro-Humphrey candidates if not Humphrey himself by solidizing with Spock's statement that 'the single most important thing is to build a strong Congress and Senate to check Nixon'.

## O'DWYER

For the C.P. the man who most nearly inherits the mantle of R.F.K., is New York Democratic Party candidate for Senate, Paul O'Dwyer. The Daily World sees O'Dwyer, who is supported against Meany's man Javits by a broad array of labor bureaucrats and politicians in the 'reform' wing of the Democratic Party led by Arthur Goldberg and Stephen H. Smith, the late Senator's brother-in-law and a leading member of the Kennedy circle, as the answer to the rising tide of Wallace sentiment among trade union members.

Much of Wallace's support is based on a 'fed up to here with the Democrats' attitude among workers whose leaders have fed them Stevenson Johnson and Humphrey, war and inflation. Neither O'Dwyer or McCarthy or the various third 'peace' parties offer a program to fight for labor and the entire working class, black and white.

O'Dwyer carefully avoids even a hint of a call for an independent labor party which alone could mobilize the power of labor against the Democrats



PAUL O'DWYER

and Republicans and take the wind out of Wallace's sails. But no! O'Dwyer and the C.P. are determined to maintain as long as possible the pernicious myth that working people and those who want a real anti-war struggle can in any way use the Democratic Party for their own ends. O'Dwyer sees Humphrey's victory at the convention as a 'temporary' setback while his supporters campaign in the ghettos for the necessity of registering Democratic.

The C.P. sees the O'Dwyer candidacy as a way of pressuring the Democrats and Republicans. As Daily World staff writer Mike Davidow puts it, under O'Dwyer's leadership, 'a massive anti-Wallace campaign can also pressure Richard Nixon and Humphrey.'

## HUMPHREY

Also of great significance in the effort to build the 'coalition', according to Mr. Davidow was a recent conference of The New Democratic Coalition, an organization of

(Continued on page seven)

### PROGRESSIVE LABOR AND INFANTILE LEFTISM

The complete bankruptcy of the Progressive Labor Party is revealed in their electoral statement in the current issue of Challenge: "Don't Vote! Organize!" After six months of struggle within the Peace and Freedom Party, a non-socialist, non-working class party which therefore offers no class political alternative to Nixon-Humphrey-Wallace, these people now tell us not to vote at all. If this is their position what in the world were they doing in P & F to begin with?

The truth of the matter is that PLP fails to give workers any political lead in any of their work. They adamantly refuse to raise any politics inside the unions sticking to bread and butter issues thus leaving the workers under the political direction of the union

leadership and through this leadership of the bosses.

Now they come out openly for what is in effect a boycott of the elections. Trotsky dealt with such childish ultra-leftism when he wrote: "As a general principle a revolutionary party has the right to boycott parliament only when it has the capacity to overthrow it, that is, when it can replace parliamentary action by general strike and insurrection, by direct struggle for power." Trotsky here is saying nothing original. He is only repeating what Lenin said over and over in particular in relation to the Czarist Duma in the period between 1905 and 1917. Since PL members are loathe to read Trotsky we suggest they take a look through Lenin's collected works of that period.

# nyc teachers strike again

NEW YORK-As we go to press the teachers are out on strike again. After six days of school nothing has been solved-all the issues which provoked the original strike remain.

This time Lindsay is moving to jail Shanker, head of the UFT. But the new strike was called precisely because the agreement which ended the last strike was never implemented by the Board of Education. The union teachers were unable to teach free of harassment at JHS 271. If one is to jail the person who has obstructed the settlement perhaps it would be best to start with Mayor Lindsay!

### DISSIPATE

Never has so much militancy on both sides been dissipated with such little results. These two teacher's strikes have without a doubt been the most effective strikes in the history of unionized teachers in New York. Tens of thousands of working class Negroes have been mobilized in meetings and demonstrations-against the teachers. As the strike proceeds the positions freeze, the division between the unionized teachers

## SSEU Rank & File Move on Merger

NEW YORK-- The Affiliations Now Caucus in the SSEU has submitted 1500 signatures to the union on a petition calling for a special membership meeting to reconsider the question of affiliation with DC 37. This petition has received wide support from the rank and file members who understand the vital need of the SSEU to affiliate particularly now when the SSEU is entering collective bargaining.

This rank and file support for affiliation is in contrast to the do nothing policy of the Morgestern leadership on this question and the obstructive policies of the Staff for Merger which is uncritically supported by Progressive Labor.

At a recent Staff for Merger meeting, the leadership of this group while giving lip service to the need for merger have thrown up every possible gimmick as an impediment to affiliation.

While long on wind on the question of rank and file unity on the local level they are very short on the question of real unity through merger. These opportunists supported by Progressive Labor have no concern for the interests of the union as a whole. Rather they seek to push actions which advance their own personal following. They will seek to dig up every sort of bureaucratic maneuver to postpone a vote on affiliation.

The Affiliations Now Caucus will step up its fight for merger by demanding a new referendum in November. This must be done by demanding a new referendum in November. This must be done now while the SSEU is in bargaining. The SSEU cannot wait until it has been defeated by the City

and the Negro people deepens. However the issues are finally resolved neither the job security of the teachers nor real control over and through this improvement of education in the ghettos will be the result. Instead the bosses sit back and watch the teachers and Negro community dissipate their strength in a struggle against each other.

There is only one way out and that is the way of a united struggle of the community and teachers against the Board of Education and the wealthy capitalists who stand behind the Board. We say the union must seek the initiative in bringing about this unity by striking not only for their absolutely legitimate demands of job security but also for billions for a real improvement in the educational system in the ghettos in particular. McCoy says nothing about this. With his \$19,000 a year post all he can do is attack the unionized teachers. Not once does he raise a single demand of the Board of Education in the interests of the community. We say he is a complete fraud, a demagogic enemy of the working people black and white.

Shanker helps build the power of the McCoys by insisting on running the struggle on the narrow job security issue alone. This helps the McCoys perpetrate the absolute lie that the job security of the teachers somehow is the cause of the decay of our schools and the hopelessness of the lot of millions of black workers.

### SUPPORT

We will not stand by and let the union be smashed. We give our full support to the union. We oppose strike-busting Lindsay's action in jailing Shanker. At the same time we demand that the UFT take up the struggle for the Negro people as well. In the long run only this will prevent the UFT from being smashed.

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# THE ROAD TO VICTORY AT NYU

By Karen Funkiel

NEW YORK-The firing of John Hatchett cannot be seen merely as an isolated attack against an individual who was making it uncomfortable for the New York University Administration. No matter how much the press may play up the issue of anti-Semitism to further the divisions among the black and white students, the fact remains that NYU was not enraged enough at his alleged anti-Semitism not to hire Hatchett in the first place.

NYU deliberately hired him after the controversial article referring to white Jewish teachers appeared. It seems that now, however, Hatchett

students are dependent on some form of grants or financial aid the Federal Government is moving to cut back on this aid. Thus in the coming period the student will face a combined economic and police attack at the same time as the capitalists seek to isolate the student from the working class pitting the one against the other as well as black and white students against each other.

### CLARITY

What is required in this situation is the fight for political clarity among students. Many students have already learned the limits of activism

revisionist tendencies whose policies lead to disunity not unity. In the current NYU strike this can be most effectively posed by linking the student struggle with a broader working class fight against Wallace - the very center of the racist poison of which the Hatchett dismissal is but a minor manifestation.

The students are absolutely correct when they take this act seriously enough to strike for the reinstatement of John Hatchett. If they did not act in defence of Hatchett, they would be opening the door to the kind of real suppression under the guise of 'law and



STUDENTS SCRAWL SLOGANS ON NYU WASHINGTON SQUARE COLLEGE BUILDING DURING STRIKE

has overstepped his bounds when he walked into the realm of politics stating the simple truism that Humphrey and Nixon were racist bastards.

### TRAP

It is clear that Hestor, head of the Administration at NYU, fell into his own very cleverly laid trap. By putting Hatchett in charge of the Afro-American Culture Center at the University, Hestor thought he could head off the fast growing radicalism on the campus. His aim was to avoid Kirk's mistakes at Columbia by financing and fostering racial divisions among radical students, buying off the blacks with a "pacification program", and spicing the whole thing with the hint of anti-Semitism. Fortunately, the whole little plan backfired when Hatchett proved that the realities outside NYU were too pressing to be ignored.

The implications of this incident are far-reaching. Students have been repressed and beaten for saying things offensive to University administrations and the capitalist power that lies behind them. But when an administrator is so openly suppressed the real panic of the ruling class is bared. This panic could turn into the worst wave of oppression this country has seen not only on the campus but in every sector of society where dissidence is voiced.

The fostering of divisions among black and white students and the attempts to sabotage any sort of radical movement on the campus are only the groundwork work for the economic attacks on the students to come. Already the NYU Administration is planning a \$100 hike in tuition. In a period when a majority of American university

from the Columbia struggle and NYU students have proceeded very cautiously on this seizing of buildings business. But there is tremendous confusion on exactly what alternative policy there is for student struggle.

Progressive Labor speaks of a "worker-student alliance" and this conception in one or another vague form is receiving support among radical students. But Progressive Labor refuses to pose this question politically. Clearly a political program is needed to unite the students to overcome racial divisions among students, and link the student struggle with that of the working class. If we understand that the divisions among students and between students and workers are fostered in order to prepare the way for economic and police blows against students and the very same time such blows are being prepared against workers and Negroes we can see that unity requires the fight for a political alternative to the capitalist system. This means students taking up seriously the fight for the labor party.

### KEY

The key therefore is a fight for working class politics among students against all

order" that the capitalists have in mind.

Just as the students must take this incident completely seriously, they must take the fascist threat of Wallace seriously. Wallace is coming to New York right on the heels of what NYU is trying to make a racial issue on the campus. The firing of Hatchett was a political act and a racial diversion just as Wallace is trying to divert attention from the real problems by throwing up the racist bogeyman. The students and faculty must fight him just as they fight the NYU Administration by demonstrating against his speaking at Madison Square Garden on the 24th and raising the Fight for a Labor Party around a vote for Halstead Boutelle as the political alternative.

### VICTORY

Victory for the NYU struggle requires a combination of a battle to bring out the whole University, connect up with the maintenance and cafeteria workers on the campus, and fighting for the workers of the city as a whole to understand their stake in this struggle by linking Hestor's action to the Wallace poison and turning out thousands of students to join with workers at the Garden.

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# ADVENTURISM LEADS GERMAN R

By V. Barat

Each new day following the establishment of the German Republic on November 9, 1918, confirmed afresh the treachery and cowardice of the SPD government and its mortal fear of socialism. On December 6th a contingent of government soldiers appeared suddenly before the executive body of the Berlin Workers' and Soldiers' Council and declared them all under arrest. That such a counter-revolutionary act could occur less than a month after the Kaiser had been deposed by the workers showed indeed how shaky was the republic's base. When word of this abomination spread throughout the city, thousands of workers led by the Spartacists quickly gathered in the industrial suburb of Wedding and began marching towards the center of Berlin in protest. Government troops were given orders to shoot at the marching columns. The withering machine gun fire wounded many and killed a score of unarmed workers.

Anger in the city rose so high that the SPD governmental ministers became alarmed enough to promise an immediate investigation. It was revealed that the orders which led to the blood-letting had originated in the foreign office to which that unctuous democrat, the right-wing USPD member, Karl Kautsky himself, was attached. The guilty parties were warned in plenty of time and escaped. Furthermore they carried away with them the information as to the secret sources whence came the money to bribe the soldiers from private payrolls.

## CLASH

The next major incident involved a clash between revolutionary sailors guarding the Chancellery (the main governmental building in Berlin) and government troops under the command of Junker General, von Lequis. He had suddenly appeared in Berlin on December 23rd under what he claimed to be governmental orders. Early the next morning the horrified population of Berlin was awakened by sounds of powerful cannon fire in the heart of the city. Lequis's forces were using artillery against the sailors guarding the Chancellery. Workers in large numbers came hurrying on the scene to defend their friends, the revolutionary sailors. They prevailed on the soldiers at last to hold their fire. But already more than a score of sailors had been killed. The SPD government was obviously compromised by its criminal responsibility in the wanton killing of genuine defenders of the conquest of the November Revolution. More seriously, from their point of view, the governmental socialists were compelled to confront a situation in which they held office by a single thread: the suffrage of the Berlin workers alone. The regular army garrison was no longer to be a reliable prop for them.

After this incident it became impossible for the centrist Independents of the USPD to be connected any longer with the policies of the SPD. The three Independents resigned their cabinet posts, leaving the Social-Democrats in complete charge. The three replacements to the cabinet came from the SPD, one of them being the infamous Noske, who accepted a portfolio as Defense Minister.

## FUNERAL

The funeral for the victims of the brutal shootings was scheduled for December 29. As the workers were preparing to mourn publicly the death of the sailors, the official newspaper of the SPD, Vorwaerts, in its December 27th issue, carried an article signed by three of its govern-

mental leaders -- Ebert, Scheidemann, and Landsberg -- acknowledging they had issued the command which resulted in the murder of the revolutionary seamen. Yet this admission had no effect on their launching of an incredibly brazen, provocative, lynch campaign against the Spartacist leaders. Here is a paragraph from their paper, Vorwaerts, appealing for assassins to do their filthy work with impunity: "The despicable actions of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg soil the revolution and endanger all of its achievements. The masses must not sit quietly for one minute while these brutal beasts and their followers paralyze the

Berlin there were hardly more than fifty members in the KPD, though they exercised influence far out of proportion to their actual number. But infinitely more crucial than arithmetic was the composition of the new KPD. Except for the top leadership, most of whom had worked together for years in the left-wing of the pre-war SPD and during the war as Spartacists in Berlin or in the important Bremen group of Left Radicals led during the war by Karl Radek, many untested people had been won over. Some of them were splendid young workers. Others, though probably sincere enough, were unstable, romantic

In this article V. Barat describes the critical December-January period of the German revolution when the fledgling Communist Party caved into an adventurist policy which paved the way for the murder of Luxemburg and Liebknecht and the decisive defeat of the Revolution. The lessons of this experience are of the greatest importance today when this kind of adventurist reacting to spontaneity rather than leadership is so prevalent in students struggles and the Negro rebellions. It also gives some indication of the difficulties involved in the development of a conscious revolutionary

party through its mastery of the Marxist method. Such a party is created for the revolutionary moment. Everything else is preparation. But in the course of a revolution even the slightest error in understanding tempo, in strategy can lead to bloody defeat. Thus the necessity to develop a seasoned movement through a conscious day to day struggle in non-revolutionary and pre-revolutionary times. Those who talk of "blunted instruments" like the Socialist Workers Party show only how far removed they are from the politics of Lenin and of Luxemburg.

activities of the republican governmental offices, incite the people more and more to a civil war, and strangle with their dirty fists the right of free expression..."

The following is an excerpt from a leaflet, typical of those that were widely distributed in Berlin (and other cities throughout Germany) by bourgeois circles: "The Christmas blows of the Spartacist group lead directly into the abyss. None of us wished to spill blood. However, it is easier to cure a mad dog with biblical phrases than to change the Spartacists with gentle persuasion....The hypocritical outcry of the Spartacists about the 'blood bath' (that is the sailors who were massacred) does not divert us from their intention to pit workers against workers and soldiers against soldiers...Every man must see to it that the Spartacists' rule of violence comes to an end!"

Such open incitements to murder in both the SPD and bourgeois press were to flood Berlin for the next two weeks culminating finally in the heartless assassination of Luxemburg and Liebknecht.

## KPD

The Spartacists waited until December 29, 1918, to declare at long last their organizational freedom from the USPD and founded themselves as the German Communist Party (KPD). The three day conference had to grapple with problems that were in large part an outgrowth of the delay in forming an independent party. Nationally the organization was an unknown body. Had it been activated sooner it could have rivaled the USPD as the only genuine revolutionary pole for the left-ward moving workers. As it was such workers, in disgust with the SPD, found only the USPD on the scene.

At this foundation congress of the KPD there were approximately one hundred delegates and visitors representing at most a few thousand members in the country. In contrast, the USPD had about a 120,000 in their organization. In

idealists with anarchistic tendencies and attracted to the group more by the promise of adventure or of instant utopia than by any solid class instinct or programmatic understanding. In large measure it was fear of these elements with putschist tendencies that kept the many thousands of key Revolutionary Shop Stewards from reaching an agreement with Karl Liebknecht to join in founding the KPD in Berlin on New Year's Day, 1919.

## CADRE

An indispensable function of any revolutionary party of the proletariat is to avail itself of the all-too precious opportunity and time to assemble, train, test and select its most valuable ingredient: its cadre. The KPD was to see itself thrown into the crucible of a social revolution with its cadre woefully unprepared. Some of the leadership of the KPD was by no means blind to this grave weakness in the party. The program cheerfully agreed to by the delegates at this founding conference had been drawn up by Luxemburg and published a fortnight earlier in the Spartacist newspaper, Die Rote Fahne. The central perspective outlined the cardinal need of the new party to win a decisive majority of the German working class to its banner before it could take the power and establish a socialist state. Thus, any putschist attempt to remove the SPD government before such time as the KPD became the mass party of the German proletariat was emphatically abjured. Casting a wary eye at the impatient forces in their own midst, knowing how even many of the most prominent leaders were impulsive and by no means immune from the pressures of the unseasoned elements in the party, Luxemburg mounted the rostrum at this founding conference. She took pains to elaborate even more precisely on the iron necessity of the party keeping its cool:

"...We must not have the same illusion we held during the first phase of the revolution on the ninth of November, that all that is necessary

## Pig Power A Petty Bourgeois Sickness

By Lucy St. John

A few weeks ago the streets of New York were 'run' by the latest antics of the frenzied petty-bourgeoisie in a march calling for 'Pig for President.' Amidst this muck which included a squealing pig was no other than Walter Teague, would-be defender of the NLF, and his buddies from the Anti-Imperialist Coalition along with the Yippies. Meanwhile other Pig supporters like Abbie Hoffman were down in Washington 'confronting' the ruling class with such powerful weapons as costumes and obscenities. We wonder

if Mr. Teague and his friends believe that this is the way the Vietcong fight against imperialism.

There could be no better illustration of the blind alley of the petty bourgeoisie than the 'Clean Up America: Vote Pig' people. It appears that these people have just learned to read the bathroom walls and are now scurrying about collecting graffiti from the public toilets to write a program and fill their leaflets.

These publicity seekers with their obscenities and crash helmets and brave calls of 'to the streets' cannot hide

through the confrontations with the cops what they really are -- afraid and panicked with the growing repression by the ruling class. It is this fear and frenzy that characterizes the petty bourgeoisie in a period of crisis. In their fear sections of the middle class turn to Wallace, others turn to the hysteria of the absurd.

## INCAPABLE

These adventurers and their friends in the Anti-Imperialist Coalition such as YAWF are some of the most vocal exposers of the dangers of

fascism. But these people are totally incapable of fighting fascism. Workers World assures us that the Wallace Tide Will Be Turned -- But Not By Supporting Humphrey and Nixon.' But nowhere can they say how. Nowhere do they pose an alternative to Humphrey-Nixon-Wallace.

The logic of this fear of fascism and the inability to pose the necessary struggle against it is represented in the Pig Campaign. Such antics serve only one purpose and that is to aid the bourgeoisie in dividing the radicals and youth from the working class.

# REVOLUTION TO DEFEAT

for the socialist revolution is to overthrow a capitalist government and replace it by another one. The victory of the proletarian revolution can be achieved only when one goes about it in the opposite way; the Ebert-Scheidmann government must be undermined through social and revolutionary mass actions of the proletariat step by step...history does not make it as simple for us as it was in the case of the bourgeois revolutions when it was sufficient to overthrow the central authority and replace it by a few or a dozen men..."

Tragically the young KPD was to encounter a situation less than a week later that was to demonstrate how inadequately the party had absorbed the meaning of Rosa's warning.

## UPRISING

With the slaying of the sailor martyrs it was seen that the SPD ruling strata became not less but more reactionary, as witness their blatant appeal for the enemies of the revolution to have done with Liebknecht and Luxemburg. And in obedience to their real masters, the capitalists and junkers of Germany, the government socialists were determined to prove that they had just as little use for the USPD, especially its left-wing. In the first stage of the November Revolution, The Berlin executive of Workers' and Soldiers' Council had appointed as its chief of police for the city someone with pronounced pro-labor, pro-socialist sympathies. This man, Eichhorn, even after the drastic right turn of the SPD ministers, continued his socialist convictions and would not allow any of his forces to be used for counter-revolutionary aims. When the government tried to remove him on Jan. 3, 1919, the working class to a man was appalled. For sometime the workers of this city had felt uneasy and helpless at the sight of the steady liquidation of the November conquests, modest though they were. This Eichhorn matter was therefore brought before the Central Committee of the USPD's Berlin organization meeting jointly with the Revolutionary Shop Stewards on January 4th. The combined meeting voted to call upon both the workers and soldiers of the city to protest this anti-socialist measure by coming out onto the streets the next day, Sunday. The KPD was invited to participate. The Communist leaders offered their support on the condition that this demonstration be strictly a protest-nothing more. So far so good. Rosa's admonition was still ringing in their ears. The summons to demonstrate against the bureaucratic move of the SPD was issued jointly by all three organizations. This is the last part of that proclamation:

"...The Ebert government with its accomplices in the Prussian Ministry intends to support its power through its bayonets and to secure for itself the grace of the capitalist bourgeoisie, whose disguised representative it was from the beginning. By this blow directed against the Berlin police headquarters, the entire German proletariat, the entire German revolution is to be struck. Workers! Party Comrades! This you cannot and must not permit! Therefore, turn out for powerful mass demonstrations. Prove your power to the autocrat of today; prove that the revolutionary spirit of the November days has not been extinguished. Come today, Sunday, at 2 PM to the impressive mass demonstrations in the Siegesallee! Come in masses! Your freedom, our future, the fate of the Revolution is at stake! Down with the despotism of Ebert, Scheidemann, Hirsch, and Ernest! Long live revolutionary, international socialism! Berlin, January 5, 1919."

## MASSES

Everyone, including those who had called the

It is not surprising that Mr. Hoffman was being paid this summer some \$40 a day for his antics.

While these various middle class parasites find amusement in the Pig Campaign, the working class does not. The working class is under attack. Street antics and obscenities are not going to arm them in a fight against the boss, much less the capitalist state. At a time when sections of the middle class and the working class are looking to Wallace, the Pig business is most dangerous as it reinforces a turn to the

right.

## FEAR

What all these forces fear more than anything else in this period is the struggle for state power. The Yippies, the Anti-Imperialist Coalition and YAWF are totally incapable of fighting fascism. They leave the working class, black and white, and the students open to repression by refusing to take up the serious struggle to build a disciplined revolutionary party. Instead of posing the necessary political

demonstration were astounded at the turn out. Endless columns of workers and soldiers, armed and unarmed, marched in disciplined formations through the streets of Berlin, shouting their defiance of the SPD authorities. Never before had such an enormous mass congregated in the capital: 700,000 workers, soldiers, and sailors. The huge sea of humanity was addressed by leaders of all three organizations, though none demanded that they seize power. But neither were the demonstrators told by anyone what was expected of them. During the day random and spontaneous seizures of hostile newspaper offices--SPD and bourgeois--were carried out, but none of the critical offices were touched; governmental, railway, telephone and telegraph. For hour after hour the masses stood around, in the main good-naturedly, waiting for some instructions from the orators. Finally late at night they began to dribble away.

That same evening the leaders of the three organizations met to formulate a plan. Some seventy Revolutionary Shop Stewards were present and were beside themselves at what they had seen. They prevailed on the leaders of the USPD and the KPD to support them then and there on the idea of overthrowing the government! Liebknecht and William Pieck, swept up by the volatile events of the day and by the enthusiasm of the Revolutionary Shop Stewards, committed their party to this fantastic scheme in violation of the perspective just passed five days before and in violation of democratic centralism. Luxemburg and Karl Radek (a fraternal delegate from the Bolsheviks at the founding of the KPD and still in Berlin) were aghast at the implications of this decision and at the manner in which the two leaders had bound the entire organization to an action so catastrophic in its effects. Both Luxemburg and Radek tried desperately to save the party by steering it back on the course of peaceful protest against the SPD.

## ZEAL

Here were these Revolutionary Shop Stewards, who but a few days earlier has refused to join the KPD unless explicit guarantees were offered them against putschist elements in the new party, here they were sweeping KPD leaders and most of the ranks as well along the road lubricated by little more than their unrestrained zeal. Leaflets were circulated calling on the workers and soldiers to turn out for a general strike, Monday, January 6, aimed at overthrowing for good the Ebert government. Once again thousands marched into the center of Berlin. And once again this countless mass of humanity waited in vain for specific instructions. From early on that frosty morning until late that night the workers stood numb with cold and hunger waiting for the words that never came. Again as the previous night, they had to disperse, this time seriously demoralized by the evident irresolution of their leaders.

The leaders, even in their euphoric state, realized, at least subconsciously, that overthrowing the government in Berlin was one thing, holding the power, when the rest of the country had not been prepared for such action, was totally different. That was the gist of Radek's warning to the KPD in pleading with it to save its structure for the future: "At present," he wrote, "the only mass organizations to be considered, the Workers' and Soldiers' Council, are only of nominal strength...In this situation, one cannot even consider the proletariat's taking over political power. If the government should fall into your hands as the result of a coup d'etat, within a few days it would be cut off from the rest of the country and would be

struggle by the working class against the capitalist system, these people go running around from one demonstration to another. Without posing the struggle for state power, these demonstrations and movements cannot go beyond the level of protest, bloody protest, and mass arrests.

## PREPARE

The Workers League has no kind words for these adventurers. We say the only way to fight the growing threat of fascism in this country is to prepare for the overthrow

of the capitalist system -- that means building a disciplined Leninist party which is based in the working class. We say that the question of power must be posed to the working class today, that an alternative to Nixon-Humphrey-Wallace must be posed. This struggle must be posed today in the struggle for a labor party based on the trade unions, a party which has the power to really confront the ruling class. The working class will fight the state and the police but not under conditions determined by the state.



ROSA LUXEMBURG FOUGHT KPD'S ADVENTURISM

strangled."

Yet the truth is that the leaders of all three organizations continued to carry out what was little more than play acting. Neither they or anyone else really believed what they were saying. As late as January 9th the KPD's Die Rote Fahne carried an article expressing its will to overthrow the Ebert government and make the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils the national ruling body.

## TRAGIC

No doubt that as in the July days in Petrograd in 1917--the KPD was in no position to prevent the masses from demonstrating their indignation at the treasonable role of the Ebert government. To have even attempted to suppress such a movement would have been utterly futile and moreover would have doomed the party's entire future. But unlike Lenin's Bolshevik Party which led the workers, soldiers, and sailors of revolutionary Petrograd in order to prevent an insurrection, in order to channel mass resentment at the socialist compromisers into a defensive protest, the German KPD did the opposite. It became itself a captive of the insurrectionary fever that had seized a section of the workers and soldiers. Such mistakes have tragic consequences. Whereas the Bolsheviks in July suffered some inevitable blows, they were not crushed. Indeed they turned those injuries to excellent advantage in October. Not so the KPD as will be seen in the continuation of the 1918-1919 Revolution in the following issues of the Bulletin.



ABBIE HOFFMAN

# THE SWP PEDDLES GUEVARISM

(This is the third in a series of articles on the Guevara Diaries and their meaning to revolutionaries today.)

By Fred Calhoun

At least it can be said for Che Guevara he gave his life for his revolutionary convictions-- incorrect though his theories were and thus futile his death. But nothing positive at all can be said for those who wrapped themselves in the Guevara mystique thousands of miles away from the struggle as an excuse to run away from any kind of struggle here.

Typical of such forces is the SWP who have used Guevara's heroism to cover up their own anything but heroic retreat from the fight for the revolutionary party in the United States.

Perhaps the clearest example of the complete bankruptcy of this tendency is shown in an article entitled "The Cuban Revolution and Its Lessons," by Hugo Gonzalez Moscoso, described as "a leading Bolivian Trotskyist" which appeared in the March-April 1968 issue of the International Socialist Review (although it was written before Guevara's death).

To begin with, we are told that "The two world wars and the victory of the Russian, Yugoslav and Chinese revolutions spread and encouraged uprisings and revolutions of the colonial peoples. Today the tremendous mobilization of the colonial world is continuing in its course, shaking the foundations of the capitalist world and opening the way for an unlimited development of workers states." And further, "In the prevailing conditions in Latin America, the results achieved by the guerillas in Cuba can be realized in any country. Therefore, I say that guerilla warfare is incontrovertibly the road which revolutionaries must take to liberate their peoples from capitalist and imperialist exploitation."

#### CRUDE

Here Moscoso indicates that the United Secretariat has advanced not one bit from the crude theories of Michel Pablo which were the origins of the revisionism which led to the flight from the Transitional Program and Trotskyism of substantial parts of the international movement. Pablo maintained that the advance into eastern Europe and China of Stalinist forces had broken down the isolation of the Stalinist bureaucracies and meant objectively that the Stalinists would be forced to play a revolutionary role, creating states similar to their own - "deformed workers states" throughout the world. This is essentially what Moscoso is saying today.

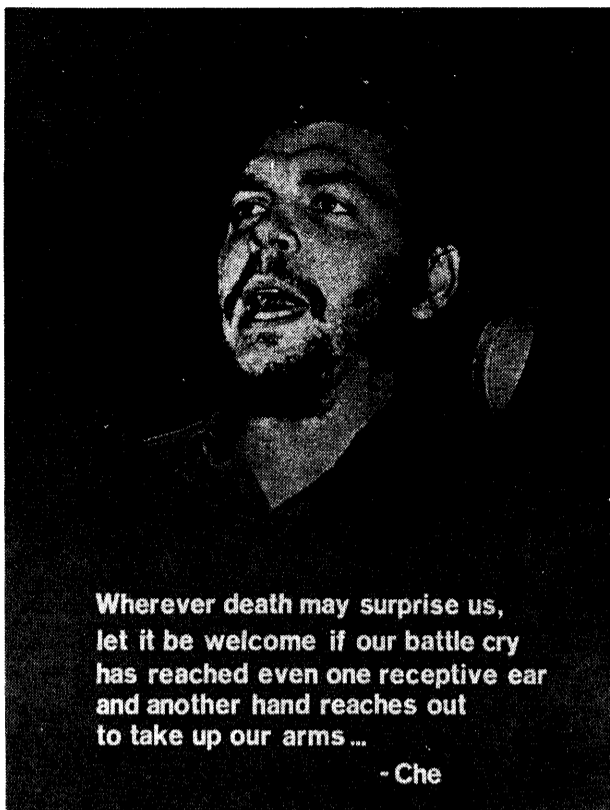
The logic of this position is clear: that the revolutionary party will not be able to lead the working class in the advanced countries. From this basic perspective comes the orientation of the SWP and the Pabloites towards the middle class, and towards the colonial world where petty-bourgeois forces in leading nationalist revolutions were coming into conflict with the "peaceful coexistence" of the Communist Parties. From this orientation, it was an easy matter to conceive of the form which was utilized by nationalists like Castro -- guerilla bands -- as a substitute for the revolutionary party.

#### GUERRILLAISM

Moscoso continues: "It is not true that guerilla warfare negates the role of the revolutionary party; on the contrary, it reinforces it. In Yugoslavia, China and Vietnam, the guerilla struggle was led by Communist parties. In Cuba and Algeria, where the traditional workers parties proved incapable of breaking out of their passivity, errors and conservatism, they were supplanted by new groupings which assumed the role of parties.

"Guerilla warfare cannot be viewed in its armed struggle aspect alone, but must be considered as an inseparable part of the overall political struggle of the peoples for their national and social liberation... We might say that guerilla warfare is a combination of the class struggle at a special juncture by armed means, which does not exclude other forms of struggle but rather combines with them."

Moscoso's article is not without distinction; he has been able to pack the maximum amount of confusion into the minimum amount of space. The role of the Communist Parties in Yugoslavia, China and Vietnam is one question. However what remains to be proved -- and what cannot be proved -- is that the petty bourgeois groups led by Castro and Ben Bella had the same relationship to the working class as the bureau-



SWP PROMOTES CULT OF CHE GUEVARA

cratized parties of Tito, Ho Chi Minh and Mao Tse Tung.

Under certain circumstances, Stalinist parties, in order to maintain their very existence as a bureaucratic stratum on top of the working class and the toiling masses have been forced to take control from the bourgeoisie. This in no way changes their fundamentally counter-revolutionary nature -- their opposition to the formation of an international party of socialist revolution, and their conscious policies of tying the working class in the advanced countries to the bourgeois state apparatus. It is of course true that the Vietnamese Revolution is the impetus for national liberation struggles in the colonial world. It is also true, as we stated previously, that the American ruling class has staked its existence on its ability to crush these liberation movements.

Contrary to what Moscoso has stated, the overthrow of the Ben Bella and Sukarno governments among others, and the return to a more naked form of oppression in most sections of the colonial world has again proven correct the basic program of the Fourth International: the need for revolutionary parties in all countries of the world, and the interconnected nature of revolution in the advanced and colonial countries.

While the bureaucratized Communist Parties sit on top of the working class, the petty bourgeois formations of Castro and Guevara have no relationship at all to the working class. They remain armed bodies of men who -- as becomes clear in Guevara's Diary -- represent no one but themselves and their subjective aspirations. As Trotsky pointed out in "Whither France", "Assuredly, the course of the political life of

a country can not be altered by every group armed with revolvers, at any time. Only those armed detachments which are the organs of specific classes can play a decisive role under certain conditions"

#### SPONTANEITY

Moscoso assumes -- like Guevara -- that once armed struggle breaks out, either the traditional workers parties will assume a revolutionary stance or new formations will occur spontaneously to play a vanguard role. Marxists have always considered the program of the revolutionary party inseparable from the fight to develop cadre to implement it. Marxist theory cannot develop except in the day to day struggle to build the party as the only instrument which will lead the working class to break from the middle class and seize power from the bourgeoisie. Thus any attack upon Marxist theory of necessity must center around an attack upon the role of the party. This is precisely what the SWP and Moscoso do in their glorification of guerilla warfare.

We can only wonder: what special conditions exist in Latin America whereby the act of firing a gun against government troops develops Marxist theory in one's head? In this country there have been many localized acts of insurrection. Did the outbursts of black youth against the intolerable conditions of ghetto life spontaneously produce Marxist theory in the heads of these black youths? Did the rudimentary organizations that developed during these brief uprisings transform themselves into vanguard parties?

#### CUBA

But for Moscoso, in Cuba Marxist theory hangs suspended in mid-air. "In these circumstances, a group of radicalized youth, expressing the historical necessities of the moment, created the July 26 Movement and later in the Sierra Maestra organized the Rebel Army with a broad peasant base. These new political formations, in an exceptional way, performed the role of a revolutionary Marxist party, substituting by their actions for the traditional parties which had proved unable to rise to the height of the political tasks of the moment..."

"It is true that, at the beginning, the July 26 Movement and later the guerillas in the Sierra Maestra did not have a well defined theory and fell into confusion and errors. However, their fusion with the landless peasants, and with the agricultural workers of the plantations, coupled with the profound mobilization of these layers, later supported by the proletariat of the cities, enabled the leadership of the July 26 Movement to raise themselves to the level of Marxist-Leninist conceptions, following in practice the line of permanent revolution formulated by Leon Trotsky."

No doubt, if Trotsky were alive today, he would take great comfort in the thought that the theory of Permanent Revolution arrived at and fought for over the course of three decades of struggle had been spontaneously recreated by the youth of Cuba.

Or perhaps Moscoso is saying that the contact of the intellectual with the peasant and worker which allowed the former to "raise themselves to the level of Marxist-Leninist conceptions" means that the workers and peasants themselves -- without the intervention of a revolutionary party -- had developed Marxist theory spontaneously. Precisely where and how did the Cuban workers and peasants -- let alone the "radicalized youth" in the July 26 Movement -- develop Marxist theory? And if the Cuban working class understood Marxist theory, meaning they could act as an independent class, why would they need either the revolutionary party or the guerilla band to take power?

#### CONCEPTION

But perhaps Moscoso is only suggesting that the physical contact of the intellectual, the worker, and the peasant in and of itself produces Marxist theory -- sort of like a political immaculate conception.

Armed with absolute confusion regarding how Marxist theory is developed, it is easy for Moscoso to equate the revolutionary party and the guerilla band -- the conscious painstaking, day to day struggle for the implementation of a revolutionary perspective with the chaotic antics of the petty bourgeoisie who, regardless of their personal motivation, can only confuse the working class with their hostility to theory.

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# HOW BLACK POWER DEFEATS WORKERS

By Lucy St. John

Racism threatens the very existence of the trade unions in the U.S. Racism is a prime weapon of the bosses and their political representatives in order to keep the workers fighting each other rather than the bosses and their government. At a time when workers both black and white are fighting against the attacks on their working conditions, speed-up, lay-offs, unemployment, there are growing divisions among black and white workers.

In recent months black and white transit workers in Chicago have waged a militant struggle against the leadership of their union and the rotten conditions they face. This struggle began combining the demands of the black workers for representation within the union with demands for rank and file control of the union and a fight against the deplorable working conditions. The wildcat strike which began in July and called by a caucus of Negro workers won support from white workers.

Black and white workers were united against a notorious sellout leadership which used racism to preserve its privileged position. The bureaucracy has controlled the union through the retired members who are primarily white. The workers on the job have little voice in union policies. At the same time the leadership refused to fight the ever deteriorating working conditions.

### DIVISION

As the struggle progressed and the workers went back to

work and then out on another wildcat the unity previously forged between black and white workers was threatened with the intervention and influence of black nationalist leaders such as Jesse Jackson. Mr. Jackson is an open exponent of black capitalism, the very oppression the workers are fighting. The strike was turned by the nationalists around black power, black pride, and black capitalism. The rank and file black workers lost most of the support of the white workers who became increasingly confused.

A similar development has occurred within the UAW in Detroit. In May a wildcat strike was called at Chrysler led by both black and white workers against speed-up in the shops. The strike was not sanctioned by the UAW leadership. After the strike black and white workers were fired and suspended. Following this strike DRUM was founded, a black caucus led by black nationalists.

### DRUM

In July DRUM called a strike of black workers. Even though the last strike had been led and supported by both black and white workers, DRUM made little or no effort to get the support of the white workers. DRUM sees "no possibility of collaboration with white workers." Rather than posing demands which would affect all rank and file workers, DRUM's demands were for "installment of 50 black foremen, 10 black general foremen, 3 black superintendents, a black plant



AUTO WORKER UNITY IS SPLIT BY WALLACE RACISM AND BLACK NATIONALISTS

manager, and that a 'black brother be appointed as head of the board of directors of Chrysler.'" Further DRUM demanded that black workers stop paying dues to the union.

Recently DRUM has run a candidate for election against the bureaucracy. While the program emphasizes the deteriorating conditions and speed-up in the shops, it made no effort to propose a program of struggle by the ranks uniting both black and white against the boss.

They approach the fight against the leadership in the same way. They pose the conditions in the shop as caused by racism rather than the attacks by management to save the profits of the bosses. Racism is not the cause but is used to carry out these attacks. Therefore DRUM sees the problem as one of management being controlled by "Poles" and perpetrates the illusion that if management were black all would be fine.

The criminal thing in both

the Chicago and Detroit cases is that at the beginning there was class unity in the struggle. Black workers played a militant leading role in starting a rank and file fight back by the bosses. Then outside black nationalist forces intervened to consciously split the black and white workers encouraging rather than undercutting the white racism which is being expressed in the Wallace campaign.

We say these black nationalists are the agents of the bosses. We say groups like the Socialist Workers Party which uncritically supports these tendencies are in this fashion also working in the interests of the bosses. This is a central reason why the Workers League will give no concessions to these revisionists and fight them day and night in the interests of the working people of this country.

Black workers cannot win

separated from the rest of the working class. A strike can never be won when half of the workers are on the picket line and half inside.

Racism must be rooted out of the unions. The labor bureaucracy refuses to fight racism and fosters it by acceding to the backward prejudices of white workers in order to hold their power. The black nationalists act only to encourage the racism of the labor bureaucrats aiding them in perpetrating this among the ranks of white workers and thus must also be held responsible for this racism.

Caucuses must be formed in the unions which unite black and white workers on a class program. At the same time this program must include the fight for equal representation within the union for black workers. This is the only way to cut through the divisions growing within the unions and prepare for real battles which will defeat the bosses.

# THE TRUTH ABOUT POVERTY SCANDAL

NEW YORK—City Hall looks more and more these days like Tammany Hall. New scandals in the misuse of city funds are becoming regular news items. While it is being revealed that top, highly paid, administrators in the city government are absconding with thousands if not millions of dollars, Lindsay and the city government plead poverty when it comes to meeting demands for higher wages for low paid city employees and demands for jobs and higher benefits for the unemployed.

This summer the city announced that there would be

no funds for the Neighborhood Youth Corps. Lindsay finally came up with \$3 million after 1500 youth demonstrated at city hall. Recently welfare grants have been slashed by the institution of the flat grant fully supported by the Director of HRA, Ginsburg.

It appears that the city's budget is being depleted by some of Lindsay's prize officials. The latest exposures in relation to the Human Resources Administration which administers most of the city's anti-poverty programs is the most criminal. The fiscal head of HRA runs off with

\$22,000 and it is estimated that up to \$6 million was embezzled from the Neighborhood Youth Corps program. No wonder there were no funds this summer! At the same time while thousands of Negro and Puerto Rican youth are jobless in this city, HRA pays the well know hippie, Abbie Hoffman, \$40 day for 'consultation.' While Mr. Ginsburg so readily ignores the demands for funds for job training for welfare recipients, he enthusiastically defends the subsidizing of the hippies, who wouldn't think of getting an honest job.

### COHORTS

Lindsay, Ginsburg, and the City Council seem to have little concern for their cohorts with high salaries who are embezzling funds. They are much more worried about the possibility that the million people receiving public assistance in this city might be getting a few extra dollars than what they are entitled to. The city is using the exposures of fraud not to attack the guilty but the innocent, the thousands of youth who are jobless and those who are receiving welfare.

The anti-poverty programs have from the beginning not been a measure to remove poverty but to buy off would be leaders in the communities with high salaries to hold back any struggles in the ghetto for a real improvement of their conditions. While administrators of the anti-poverty programs are paid around \$15-20,000 a year, youth employed in the youth corps program rarely make more than \$30-35 per week.

### CLEAR

It is clear that those who

run this city in the interests of the capitalists have not the slightest intention of improving the living standards of the masses of people in this city, whether employed or unemployed. They work only to preserve their fat nests at the expense of the working people. At the same time they attempt to put the blame for the failure of their system on the city employees and the unemployed youth and those receiving welfare, attempting to divide the working class. The fault and decay of this city lies with them.

## COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE ELECTIONS

(Continued from page two)

varied anti-Communist liberals and assorted anti-Meany labor bureaucrats which is committed to reforming the Democratic Party. The conference included both McCarthy and Humphrey supporters who agreed to a blissful neutrality. 'Thus the conference sought to minimize divisive points...' remarks Davidow, approvingly. Thus, even after Chicago, the C.P. holds back from a complete break with Humphrey, not to

mention O'Dwyer.

### CONSISTENT

To say that the C.P. is conservative and pro-capitalist is not enough. It is necessary to see how the Fourth International, founded under Trotsky's leadership in 1938 and today represented by the Workers League and the International Committee has carried on the only consistent fight, both theoretically and in practice to build the revolutionary alternative to Stalinist betrayal.

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# MASSACRE IN MEXICO



MEXICAN SOLDIER MARCHES OFF PROTESTER TO JAIL

At dusk on the evening of October 2, at the signal of flares dropped from a hovering helicopter, and in accordance with a previously taken decision ten thousand armed troops and riot police violently attacked a peaceful assembly of students which was being advised by its leaders to disband. This wanton and senseless assault resulted in the greatest massacre to have occurred in Mexico since the Revolution of 1910. By coincidence, the government chose to attack the students on the great square of Tlateloco, where almost four and a half centuries ago, in a similar military action, the last Aztec resistance crumbled before overwhelmingly superior Spanish troops.

As this is being written I can observe the Tlateloco district, still cordoned off eighteen hours later, still surrounded by thousands of armed men who carry out mopping up operations against un-armed students, many of them teenagers, who took refuge with sympathetic apartment owners last night.

The most outstanding characteristic of the confrontation has been the overwhelming force and brutality of the government against unarmed students. The government has treated its own youth with the cynical callousness that might be expected from an occupying foreign power. In order to bring to a head once and for all student unrest before the start of the Olympic Games, the government through the use of provoca-

pling poverty of the peasants, the Byzantine characteristics of the ruling party, the mystique of the 1910 Revolution in order to cover up counter-revolution.

The working class, being crushed by inflation, can no longer be controlled by clever bureaucrats. The peasants, poorer than ever, are no longer entirely quiescent. The Stalinists and Social Democrats are no longer able to guide popular discontent into institutionalized channels which represent no threat to the state. The bureaucrats desperate with the desperation of men who feel the cement of power turning to quicksand beneath their feet. The measure of their over-reaction in armored columns is the measure of their weakness.

## SCOPE

Student demonstrations are certainly not new in Mexico, they are quite common. But the typical demonstration of the past was one organized by governmental politicians who maintained hack leaders in the schools to stir up support for particular currents within the ruling party. All tendencies had their kept, professional students, and a meaningless little demonstration could be staged at any time for any thing at all.

This time it was not like that at all. On the contrary, the scope of the student movement has been such that certain tendencies within the ruling class have been forced to lend some support to the students against their better judgment. Small groups of left students, especially Trotskyists, whose influence previously was negligible, are now playing a role of importance within the struggle.

The students demand the replacement of the local police chief, elimination of the riot police, the annulment of constitutional provisions which permit the arbitrary jailing of subversives without recourse to due process of law, freedom of speech and assembly, freeing of political prisoners, respect for the autonomy of the University, and a great many slogans on the level of 'Viva Choapa', something akin to 'Hurray for Morgan High School.'

The political consciousness of young people has advanced enormously in the last two months. I know of 13 and 14 year old boys who laboriously compose and copy manifestos which are handed about in the Junior Highs.

When the troops and riot police stop firing they establish a perimeter around the effected zone. Methodically they search the area, rooting out students who have managed to hide, taking prisoners. Overhead the spotter helicopter radios information to the ground. All traffic is rerouted and only the sirens of the ambulances, now under military control, break the silence. Beyond the perimeter small knots of students who have escaped, hidden by fences, hidden by vehicles, begin to form. They talk in low voices, sometimes within yards of the cordon of troops.

teurs forced a confrontation in order to smash the students before they were ready to act effectively.

## CONTROL

For some time the traditional methods of control employed by the Mexican government have failed to have their

Particularly despicable has been the role played by Lombardo Tolodano, leader of the Popular Socialist Party (PPS) and long time collaborator with international Stalinism. In the magazine "Siempre" of Aug. 14th he writes: "The authorities should not put in the same bag those who form the authentic left with those who exploit the phrase. The drug addicts gangs of hoodlums, foreign adventurers, Trotskyists, those who invoke Mao Tse Tung and the Cuban Revolution to cover themselves, are not the left in Mexico or any other part of the world.

Earlier he wrote this on the French students struggles: "The youth, desiring that the University of Paris and the universities in the provinces renovate their structure... adopted without thinking the proposals of the provocateurs and launched the strike."

former effectiveness. To understand this breakdown of government one must understand in a large measure the entire history of post revolutionary Mexico: the military-statist crystallization of the bourgeoisie, the organization of a semi-corporate, one party state, the corruption of the trade union movement, the servility of the Stalinists and the Social Democrats, the venality of the press, the crip-

## Lessons of the Mexican Struggle

On this page we print an on-the spot story of the bloody massacre of Mexican students on the eve of the Olympic Games. This action shows clearly the absolutely reactionary character of capitalist rule. This is no isolated incident but a small indication of what the capitalist rulers of this world will do when they feel seriously threatened. A peaceful display of various sporting skills, from which the Mexican capitalists hope to make millions, is prepared for with the bodies of the Mexican youth.

This is no isolated incident. It reflects the deepening crisis of capitalism throughout the world and in Latin America in particular. Today nine of the 16 Latin American republics are openly ruled by military juntas. Just within the last two weeks the military have taken over in Peru and Panama--taken over with armed forces trained by the U.S. at the expense of the American taxpayer.

These student demonstrations represent the most serious threat to the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party in its 40 years of rule. For long hailed as the most stable government in Latin America gifted at taming and bribing its opponents like Stalinist Toledano while jailing the unbribable, the Mexican government is incapable of coping with growing dissent except through armed repression.

Particularly important was the effort of the Mexican students to link up in a common struggle with the working class. It was these efforts which threw the Mexican ruling class into panic seeing a new leadership developing capable of leading the workers in the direction of the overthrow of capitalist rule in Mexico.

There can be no question that we see in Mexico the beginnings of the development of a new revolutionary leadership throughout Latin America. Of course these young students are terribly confused and represent a wide range of political views, lack any coherent discipline, are for the most part extremely young and raw politically. Of course if they remain as they are they cannot lead anything anywhere.

But the possibility of developing out of this struggle a new conscious leadership which absorbs the lessons of the international struggle for socialism is very great. What is required above all is the principled struggle for Trotskyist politics and the building of a strong section of the Fourth International in Mexico.

This takes place in a new context. The explosions in Mexico City mark the beginning of the urban struggle in Latin America--the struggle for a working class leadership of the socialist revolution. It expresses positively what Guevara's death expresses negatively--guerilla nationalism represents a complete blind alley for socialist struggle. The future of Latin America will be determined in Mexico City, Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro, La Paz--not in the Andes. France not Cuba shows the way to the future for Latin American revolutionaries.

The Socialist Workers Party hails the Mexican students and participates in rallies in their defense. At the same time it holds memorial meetings for Guevara holding up Guevara's struggle as the road for revolutionaries in colonial countries to follow. What a mindless adaptation to whatever is going. What complete bankruptcy of leadership.

What does the SWP wish the students to do--abandon the urban struggle to reach the working class and take to the hills like Guevara? Can we defend the Mexican students in any other way than drawing the lessons of the Bolivian defeat and thus arming these students against similar future defeats? Those who disarm the revolutionary movement theoretically undermine the defense of the revolutionary movement. No amount of bombast in the Militant can cover up this fact.

The Mexican students have taken the first step forward. Their actions not only expose the revolutionary potential of the urban struggle in Latin America and the worldwide character of the struggle which broke out in its most advanced form in France last May, but like the French events, the action exposes the crying need for a conscious disciplined party with a program to gain hegemony over the industrial working class.

Forward to the building of the Fourth International in Latin America. This requires a relentless struggle against Guevarism and its apologists in the SWP.