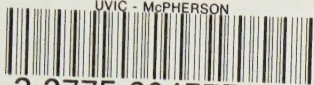



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A REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY FOR THE 70s

**Documents of the
Socialist Workers Party**

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Introduction

By Barry Sheppard

These documents of the Socialist Workers Party are of particular relevance to all those who seek to understand the unfolding process of the new radicalization and, more important, to shape a revolutionary strategy for action based upon that understanding.

The first of the three articles in this collection, *The New Stage of World Revolution*, is the international report presented to the Twenty-fourth National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party (held August 8-12, 1971, in Cleveland, Ohio) by Joseph Hansen and adopted by the convention. *Perspectives and Lessons of the New Radicalization* is the main political resolution adopted by the convention. The remaining article is the political report given by Jack Barnes, national organization secretary of the SWP, at a plenary meeting of the SWP National Committee in March 1971 and adopted by that body.

The March plenum also adopted the resolution *Perspectives and Lessons of the New Radicalization*, which was then submitted to the SWP membership as a whole early in May, at the opening of a three-month preconvention discussion period in the party. Shortly thereafter, drafts of the resolutions on the women's liberation movement and the Chicano struggle, prepared by the Political Committee of the party, were submitted to the discussion.*

The three-month preconvention discussion was carried on both in oral form in the party branches, and in written form through a discussion bulletin open to the contributions of all SWP members.

In a democratic-centralist organization like the SWP, individual members or groupings may submit counter-resolutions to those of the leadership, and organize during the discussion process to fight for the adoption of their views by the party. Against this principle of democratic centralism, Stalinist or-

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* Those resolutions are currently available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

ganizations like the Communist Party prohibit all ideological groupings, tendencies, or factions, thereby stultifying and smothering democratic discussion and decision making, and sapping the internal vigor necessary for a revolutionary organization—which is one indication of the fact that the CP long ago ceased to be revolutionary.

Early in the SWP discussion period, a group of party members submitted a counter-resolution to the main political resolution, *Perspectives and Lessons*. Their document, entitled *For a Proletarian Orientation*, disagreed with the majority's estimate of the depth of the present radicalization and urged large-scale colonization of SWP members into basic industry.

Near the end of the discussion, another grouping appeared, submitting a resolution against both political resolutions already before the party.

Minority resolutions were also submitted counter to the women's liberation and Chicano struggle documents drafted by the Political Committee. There was a separate minority resolution proposed in opposition to the National Committee draft *Israel and the Arab Revolution*.

The main debate centered around *Perspectives and Lessons*. At the end of the three-month discussion period, delegates to the national convention were elected in each SWP branch, with proportional representation for all the views being presented for a vote.

The Twenty-fourth National Convention was attended by more than 1,100 people, of whom 113 were elected delegates with vote. This was the largest convention ever held by the SWP, and reflected the substantial growth of the party and of the Young Socialist Alliance in the previous period. The national convention is the highest body of the SWP, and the elected delegates, after reports and debates on the issues, made the final decisions on the questions in dispute. *Perspectives and Lessons of the New Radicalization* was adopted by a vote of 106; *For a Proletarian Orientation* received 6 votes, with 1 vote going to the third opposing resolution. A similar vote adopted the women's liberation and Chicano struggle resolutions. Having been approved by a majority of the party, these documents guide the activity of the SWP until the next convention.

In addition to being the product of a thorough debate in the ranks of the party, these resolutions are the results both of the application of the Marxist method and program to present reality—including to the new forms and movements of struggle characteristic of the new radicalization—and of the

concrete experience of the SWP in working in today's mass movements. Thus these resolutions apply the lessons of the class struggles of the past and on a world scale, embodied in revolutionary Marxism, to changing reality in order to better arm revolutionary socialists in the struggle to build a mass revolutionary socialist party capable of leading the coming American revolution.*

Perspectives and Lessons places the developing radicalization in the context of the underlying contradictions facing world capitalism. In its first section, the resolution explains the factors operating in the world capitalist economy motivating the attempt by the ruling class to lower the real wages of the American workers. It outlines the alternatives before the ruling class and its government as follows: "Only two basic options are left to the ruling class if inflation is to be a successful tool to hold down the American working class's real share of the national product: move toward a national 'incomes policy,' that is, a national wage-control scheme that would give the government authority to hold down wage gains designed to make up for the inflationary bite; or precipitate a recession deep enough to result in an increase in the industrial reserve army sufficient to drive down these wage demands."

The resolution explains that "the Nixon administration at the outset leaned toward the second course, adopting fiscal and monetary measures that facilitated the 1970 recession." But the combativity of the working class was such that the level of unemployment was "not sufficient to effectively dampen the workers' willingness to fight for wage increases to keep up with the rise in the cost of living."

The resolution was written in the spring of 1971. The correctness of its analysis was brought home just a few days after the conclusion of the SWP convention when Nixon announced the wage freeze, a sharp blow against the living standard of the whole working class. The administration, with full support from both capitalist parties, opted for the first alternative outlined in the resolution, that of attempting to impose a national wage-control scheme.

While not attempting to predict the exact tempo of the process, which is impossible, the resolution explains that this attempt by the capitalist class to lower the standard of living of the workers and curtail the fighting power of the unions will, in combination with the issues and struggles already

*For further material along these lines, the reader is referred to *Towards an American Socialist Revolution: A Strategy for the 1970s*, Jack Barnes, George Breitman, et. al. (New York, Pathfinder Press), \$1.95.

underway in the current radicalization, politicize a decisive section of the working class, and can lead to immense struggles.

A few weeks after Nixon announced the wage freeze, the rebellion at Attica graphically illustrated a central feature of the new radicalization which the resolution explains. That is the fact that "there is no layer too oppressed to struggle, no reactionary prejudice and oppression too sacrosanct and deep-rooted to be challenged."

Against just such prejudices toward prisoners, designed to justify the treatment of inmates as subhuman, the Attica prisoners raised the demand to be treated like human beings. In the nature of their demands and in the obviously high political level of their spokesmen, the Attica prisoners gave a vivid picture of the process of radicalization occurring in the prisons. Their basic humanity contrasted sharply with the naked brutality and outrageous lying of the capitalist politicians, from Nixon and Rockefeller on down. The cry raised by the martyrs of Attica has had a profound impact upon the consciousness of all newly radicalizing layers of the population.

Perspectives and Lessons of the New Radicalization together with the political report by Jack Barnes adopted by the March plenum of the SWP National Committee analyze and assess the new radicalization in the U. S. In *The New Stage of World Revolution*, Joseph Hansen focuses on two key aspects of the present international situation: first, the war in Southeast Asia and its impact on the U. S. and world economies; and, second, the meaning of Nixon's planned visit to Peking and the significance of Mao's new-found friendship with Washington.

This article includes Joseph Hansen's summary comments, which followed extensive discussion by the delegates. Here he outlines the relationship between democratic and transitional demands in building mass anticapitalist struggles, and assesses the current development and prospects of the world Trotskyist movement, the Fourth International.

The documents presented here, taken with the documents in pamphlet form and past resolutions of the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance, represent an important step in arming the revolutionary socialist movement to intervene effectively in the mighty class struggles shaping up in the decade of the 1970s.

Barry Sheppard

The New Stage of World Revolution

By Joseph Hansen

In the time available, I will not seek to do more than indicate the main features of the world situation as it stands today. Similarly I will not go beyond mentioning in a broad way how the world situation affects the tasks of the world Trotskyist movement in the period immediately before us.

Perhaps in the discussion some of the comrades may want to take up developments that I have been compelled to omit.

Vietnam — most crucial issue in world politics

The most crucial issue in world politics for the past six years has been the war in Indochina. The reasons can be summarized as follows:

To begin with, it has involved all three of the main sectors in which the world is divided today. The colonial sector is represented by the insurgent people of South Vietnam, struggling for their democratic right to determine their own fate. The sector of the workers' states is represented by North Vietnam, defending the fruits of an anti-imperialist victory and an anticapitalist revolution. The imperialist sector is represented by the richest, the mightiest, and the most ruthless of all the industrially advanced powers, the United States of America.

Because of their common ties with Hanoi, Moscow and Peking were directly challenged from the beginning. Both China and the Soviet Union were ultimate targets of the assault launched by the Pentagon, as, of course, were the East European workers' states, and North Korea and Cuba.

Against this lineup, U. S. imperialism dragged its satellites and "client states" into the conflict. South Korea, Australia, New Zealand, and the Philippines participated directly in the adventure. Canada was deeply implicated. Japan and the capitalist powers of Western Europe acquiesced in the aggression, abetted it, and did what they could to profit from it, even though one of the key objectives of U. S. imperialism was to

extend its colonial empire at the expense of its allies.

U. S. imperialism selected Southeast Asia as the most favorable arena at the moment to advance its interests by armed conquest. It elevated the outcome into an issue of crucial importance. The whole world was compelled to take sides, for the conflict threatened at any time to touch off a nuclear war.

The great testing ground

Vietnam thus became a great testing ground.

For the Pentagon, Vietnam has been a testing ground for everything in its arsenal except nuclear weapons, and it has compensated for this limitation by such massive use of high explosives as to exceed the destructive force of all the bombs dropped by all the belligerents in World War II.

Once-fertile areas of Vietnam, now covered with craters, resemble landscapes on the moon. Herbicides have stripped away the vegetation in entire regions, incurring an ecological disaster that may be irreversible. Antipersonnel weapons, including nauseating gas, napalm, guava bombs, darts, and slivers of steel by the millions, have enabled the U. S. generals and the animals in their pay in Saigon to add up an enormous body count of "Vietcong," ranging from infants to octogenarians.

The war crimes committed by the U. S. government in Vietnam are reminiscent of those committed by the Nazis.

For the Pentagon it was most useful preparation for bolder and more ambitious undertakings on the road to World War III.

Vietnam has been a testing ground in other respects. The resistance of the Vietnamese people turned the tables on U. S. imperialism. What Washington intended to be an object lesson to the freedom movements everywhere was converted into an object lesson on the limitations of the ability of U. S. imperialism to extend its empire.

In this respect, the Vietnamese have already won a victory of historic proportions. The American goliath has not gone down; but he has certainly been staggered.

Another outcome of the war in Vietnam is the proof provided by the opposition of the American people that the United States is not a monolithic bastion of reaction. The antiwar movement began as a spontaneous protest to Johnson's escalation of the war in 1965. This militant challenge was unprecedented, as was the subsequent growth of the antiwar movement in defiance of the government during a war.

The American people were revolted by the conduct of their

own government—by its lies, its moral degradation, its monstrous war crimes. The American people were aroused by the costs of the war at home in casualties and treasure; and by the costs abroad which were acutely visible in the universal condemnation of the U. S. aggression in Vietnam.

Finally the American people began to relearn how to unite in action on a great political issue of common concern. They mobilized and demonstrated in an increasingly massive way. Today a new political force of vast potential scope is beginning to become outlined in the United States.

It is quite clear that this country will never be the same. A new stage has opened in American politics. This is of world-wide significance.

The persistent struggle of the Vietnamese people and the rise of the antiwar movement in the U. S. are dialectically interrelated. Each has strengthened the other with its successes. Together they have altered the world political situation as a whole.

Moscow, Peking, and Havana

Vietnam has been a testing ground for other forces and tendencies in world politics. In the case of Moscow it will be recalled that in the beginning the Brezhnev-Kosygin leadership made rather forceful statements denouncing the U. S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam. Stalin's heirs even permitted expressions of solidarity with the Vietnamese, including some demonstrations in front of the U. S. embassy in which stones and bottles of ink were thrown at the building. The tab for the damage was, of course, picked up by the Soviet government.

This activity was soon curtailed, however, and brought into proportion with the flow of material aid that the Soviet bureaucracy doled out to the Vietnamese with an eyedropper. Above all, Moscow avoided any action in any other theater that might have given the Pentagon cause to reconsider its aggression in Vietnam and to retreat.

At the same time, the Kremlin maintained its understanding with Washington and through secret diplomatic channels played the role of a go-between, putting pressure on the Vietnamese and doing everything possible to bring them to the "negotiations table" set up by the imperialist aggressor.

Peking's policy was no less perfidious than Moscow's. In the beginning, the Mao leadership staged giant rallies, denouncing the U.S. imperialist aggression and voicing solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese. There was even talk of readiness to send volunteers to participate in the fighting. The

Mao regime did furnish considerable material aid, particularly in the form of small arms and ammunition.

However, all of this was discounted by the Pentagon in view of the Sino-Soviet dispute. Neither Moscow nor Peking proved capable of closing this breach, the main reason being that they placed their narrow national bureaucratic interests above the interests of the world socialist revolution.

On top of this, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution that Mao opened up in a bid to liquidate his rivals, or potential rivals, in the bureaucracy was taken by the Pentagon as sufficient assurance that the ruling caste in China was so deeply divided internally as to be incapable for the time being of offering any serious resistance to intervention on the mainland of Asia even though the American military machine became implanted within striking distance of the borders of China.

Mao capped all this by extending the hand of friendship to Nixon, a development I will return to.

The Castro government followed a different course. It genuinely sought to conduct itself toward the Vietnamese people in the spirit of international solidarity. Out of their meager resources they offered the Vietnamese a supply of sugar. More importantly, they raised the slogan "Create two, three . . . many Vietnams." They designated no one less than Che Guevara to carry out the mission of organizing an action that might relieve the pressure on the Vietnamese while at the same time bolstering the Cuban revolution by extending it into the continent of Latin America.

The political calculations behind this guerrilla effort proved to be wrong and it led to a defeat and the tragic death of Che Guevara. But the concept of international solidarity and the concept of defending a revolution by extending it—which were the two concepts that motivated the attempt—stood in the finest traditions of the revolutionary proletarian movement.

How the left measured up

Vietnam also submitted the entire left to the proof.

The social democrats eliminated themselves through a wrong theory—identifying the Vietnamese revolution and the North Vietnamese workers' state with Stalinism. This placed them in the camp of bourgeois democracy. Under the circumstances, this was the camp of American imperialism.

At the opposite pole to the social democrats, the sectarians—some of whom claimed to be Trotskyist—mounted their own mini-marches and mini-rallies to which no one paid much attention.

The ultraleft confrontationists, one of the components of the New Left, gained considerable publicity through their adventurist tactics but proved incapable of diverting the antiwar movement from its main thrust.

Their major error was to confuse the *objective* of victory to the National Liberation Front with the *means* required to achieve that objective. Means and end are not identical. They are dialectically interrelated. To be dialectically interrelated they have to be *different*.

The ultralefts did not separate their wishes for a victory of the National Liberation Front from the slogans and methods of action best calculated to advance that cause in circles that were not yet prepared to go beyond opposing U. S. involvement in the internal affairs of the Vietnamese people.

The Stalinists in most countries betrayed the Vietnamese cause through inaction. In the United States they were caught in a dilemma. To avoid extinction they had to participate in the antiwar movement. In the concrete situation that meant participating in mass actions, the logic of which went counter to the two-party system. Moscow's line of popular frontism, however, required the Communist Party to seek to divert the antiwar movement into capitalist electoral channels by supporting one or another "peace" candidate of the Democratic Party. This dilemma can well turn out to be insuperable for the American Communist Party.

The Maoists went with the ultralefts. Mao's betrayals in Bangla Desh and Ceylon, and his bid to Nixon seem to have finished this current as a serious force, at least in the form in which it has appeared up to now. Perhaps some of them will yet be seen in a popular front with a "progressive" bourgeois figure like Nixon.

Trotskyists live up to their responsibilities

Vietnam likewise put the Fourth International to the test. The key role in representing the international Trotskyist movement fell to the Socialist Workers Party and to the Young Socialist Alliance because they were stationed within the imperialist monster. How well they lived up to their revolutionary responsibilities has been shown by the position of respect and of influence they have won in the antiwar movement, and by the witch-hunting attacks leveled against them by such figures as J. Edgar Hoover. It is also shown by the gains of the American Trotskyist movement, some of which are visible at this convention.

The tactic applied by the American Trotskyists in carrying

on this struggle, to which their success is largely ascribable, is, as you know, to support a nonexclusive coalition committed to the single issue of getting the U. S. armed forces withdrawn at once, not by lobbying or pleading with bourgeois political figures, but by demonstrating in the streets in the most massive formations possible. This tactic succeeded in bringing the political career of one president to a close and is not far from ending the political career of another.

Success in applying this tactic in other parts of the world has hinged, of course, on the relative size and influence of the Trotskyist forces, their energy, and the possibility of arousing thinking layers of the public to the wrongs done the Vietnamese people and the ever-present threat of the U. S. aggression developing into a nuclear war. In some areas this has not been an easy task. Nevertheless our international movement has succeeded to a gratifying degree.

I should like to call special attention to the achievements of our Canadian comrades, who have stressed the complicity of the Canadian government in the U. S. imperialist aggression.

Similarly in Australia, our comrades have utilized the token contingents of troops sent to Vietnam by the Australian government to help build huge mass antiwar demonstrations.

Likewise in New Zealand, our comrades played a key role in organizing demonstrations of astonishing size and impact in view of the smallness of the population and the long quiescence in the class struggle that has marked politics in that country.

In Britain our comrades played a similar role in sparking huge demonstrations in the first phase of the struggle and did important work in advancing the investigations of the War Crimes Tribunal initiated by the late Bertrand Russell that did so much to stigmatize the U. S. government before the bar of international public opinion.

In Europe our comrades have been in the forefront helping to organize the marches and rallies from Denmark to Italy that have coincided with the dates of the giant demonstrations in the United States.

And in the demonstrations in Japan, some of which have reached immense size, our comrades have been active participants.

Thus it can truthfully be said that the Fourth International and the organizations in sympathetic association with it have not defaulted in defending the Vietnamese revolution under

the most crucial circumstances—an imperialist military assault.

Nixon playing last cards

Nixon is now playing his last cards in an effort to gain still more time and to win a Korea-type settlement in Indochina. His ace in the hole proved to be a helping hand from Mao.

Nevertheless, two hurdles still face Nixon. One is the determination of the Vietnamese not to give up the clinching victory now within sight. The other is the determination of the antiwar movement in all countries to win the demand on which such huge efforts have been expended—*Out of Vietnam, NOW!*

Nixon is deluding himself if he thinks that his projected trip to Peking will silence the opposition and prove sufficient, in conjunction with some arm-twisting of the Vietnamese by Mao, to get him what he wants.

The consequences of Vietnam

As I said at the beginning, the war in Vietnam has been the most crucial issue in world politics for the past six years. A turn is now occurring from the war itself as an issue, although this remains. Coming to the fore now are the consequences of the war. These consequences, both inside the United States and outside, are beginning to shape the course of world politics even while the war continues.

Economic, social, and political consequences of the conflict have advanced and sharpened the contradictions of capitalism that were operative in any case. The quantitative accumulation has reached the point where qualitative changes have come about in various areas already.

Sectors of the ruling class in the United States are aware of the changes and are alarmed over them. One of the persistent themes sounded by the Eastern Establishment in criticizing the prolongation of the war in Asia has been the diversion of attention and resources required to prevent domestic and international problems from becoming utterly unmanageable.

Costs of the war

The government has not yet divulged the true figures on the cost of the war in Vietnam. In 1966, however, it became known that the Johnson administration projected an outlay amounting to at least \$2 billion a month and more likely \$3 billion. If we take the \$3 billion figure, the war will have

now cost the U. S. around \$200 billion. That's an easy figure to remember—it's around \$1,000 for every man, woman, and child in the United States.

The cost of the war in Vietnam can be seen in other ways. Housing, the school system, hospitals, and the availability of medical assistance have gone backward in the past six years.

Despite sky-rocketing charges, the deterioration in public services has become a daily scandal. Electric power constantly hovers on the verge of major breakdowns. On the railways passenger service is being liquidated. The postal system has dropped below the level of the twenties.

To this should be added the menacing proportions of environmental pollution in face of which the government stands helpless, mainly because it is a government of the polluters, by the polluters, and for the polluters.

At the same time, taxes, rents, transportation, and food costs—primarily affecting the low-income levels—have risen persistently. A good indicator is the Consumer Price Index which in the first four months of this year rose at an annual rate of 3 percent, and during May and June at an annual rate of more than 6 percent.

This is not all. The so-called neocapitalist—more accurately Keynesian—policies followed by the U. S. government for the past quarter of a century of intervening in the economy to stave off a major depression by inflationary measures has finally resulted in a combination of inflation *and a recession*. Unemployment has again become a scourge, running as high as 17 percent among the youth as a whole and 35 percent among Black youth.

Deteriorating economic situation

The truth of it is, as an editorial in the July 1971 *Quatrieme Internationale** points out, that the international capitalist system as a whole has undergone a turn for the worse. Besides the United States, other major countries are experiencing recessions at the same time. These include Great Britain, Italy, and Canada. West Germany may be on the verge of a recession, while what happens next in France and the Benelux countries hinges on developments in West Germany. In Japan, the economy is still expanding, but the rate of expansion is declining.

* Revolutionary socialist magazine published bimonthly in Paris.

The editors of *Quatrieme Internationale* forecast that the deteriorating economic situation will lead to an intensified drive among the major powers for increased shares of the world market. They will vie more intensely for outlets in the industrially advanced sectors of the capitalist world. They will seek to penetrate the colonial markets more deeply. And they will seek to step up trade with the workers' states.

The sharpening of interimperialist rivalries does not mean that West Germany or Japan have much prospect of displacing the U. S. in its supremacy. But the sharpening of interimperialist rivalries is a sign that the U. S. has slipped somewhat. Parts of the U. S. industrial plant are no longer the most modern in the world. Japan and the Common Market countries have become relatively stronger as the Pentagon pursued its military adventure in Indochina. The U. S. faces nagging chronic problems in the international monetary system and in its balance of payments.

Even as a world policeman, the U. S. no longer appears so awesome. It is worth noting that some small countries have dared to reach up and give that big long nose of Uncle Sam a twist. The latest examples were Peru, Bolivia, and Chile.

The main conclusion to be drawn for the immediate period ahead is that all of the imperialist powers will, among other things, turn inward to see what can be taken out of the hides of the workers. The corporations will seek to lower real wages, utilizing the clubs of unemployment, "incomes" policies, anti-labor legislation, greater state intervention in the unions, and the practice of buying up the labor bureaucracies.

The result of this will be intensification of the class struggle in a series of countries in the coming period, beginning with the United States. This process was inevitable in any case. It was greatly speeded by U. S. involvement in Vietnam.

Time of troubles at home

Inside the United States, the consequences of the war in Vietnam have been most striking. It is at home that U. S. imperialism is now the most vulnerable. This is something new. It may well prove to be the most important current development in world politics.

Before World War II, Leon Trotsky forecast the volcanic force with which U. S. imperialism would expand. He also predicted that U. S. imperialism would inevitably be compelled to include in its foundations all the main economic and social powder kegs of the world. We have seen this come to pass.

Today these powder kegs are exploding before our eyes.

All of us are familiar with the rise of Black nationalism in this country. Among its sources of inspiration were the freedom struggles in the colonial and semicolonial world. These helped lift the Afro-Americans to their feet.

Similarly in the case of the youth radicalization. While the vanguard youth, like the Blacks, were aroused by their own immediate experiences in a world they never made, they were attracted by the freedom struggles in other parts of the world. The Cuban revolution played a notable role in inspiring these youth to turn in a revolutionary direction.

This occurred before the escalation of the war in Vietnam. Vietnam provided the draft-age youth with a great unifying issue, a field for concerted action, and eventually an accumulation of precious political experience.

Two very important things now happened. First of all, inside the United States, the rise of the Black nationalist movement and the radicalization of the youth had repercussions in other layers.

The struggles conducted by the Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, and Native Americans grew into mass movements. And they took off at a higher level, since they absorbed certain lessons learned from the trailbreakers.

Another example is the women's liberation movement, which started off with a mass orientation and with street demonstrations. How natural it now seems in the U. S. to take to the streets to publicize a point of view!

The second thing that happened was that these movements stirred corresponding social layers in other countries into action.

The radicalization of the youth was, of course, the prime example. After the teach-ins on the American campuses and the first battles with the Establishment over the escalation in Vietnam, the movement leaped to other continents. At first this occurred through direct appeals for demonstrations of international solidarity in the struggle against American involvement in the conflict in Vietnam. Soon demonstrations all over the globe appeared to occur almost spontaneously.

The importance of this was self-evident. A new generation of rebel youth was making its appearance on the political scene internationally—a generation remarkable for its independence of thought, for its militancy, and for its size. If the radical student youth in the United States have not yet been able to act as a detonator for the American proletariat, they certainly succeeded in detonating some promising movements

among the youth in other lands. The struggles abroad have served in turn to give fresh inspiration to the radical youth of America. An outstanding example of this was the explosion in the universities of France in May-June 1968.

At present, the women's liberation movement appears to be following a similar course. From a few beginnings in other countries, one of the notable ones being Canada, it flared in the United States and then began leaping oceans in a spectacular way. The latest country where women are beginning to organize is Italy. Under the very walls of that stronghold of medieval ignorance and reaction, the Vatican, they are gathering signatures for a referendum to legalize abortions without the blessing of the Pope.

The changed face of America

Consider the significance in world politics of these new developments. U. S. imperialism came out of World War II in a position of power not matched since ruling classes first appeared on earth. The victory appeared to open up the road to immediate inheritance of the colonial empires of the old imperialist rivals and to early destruction of the Soviet Union and absorption of its resources for the further revitalization of capitalism.

This grandiose dream of American empire guided the strategists of the Pentagon. The military machine was reorganized around monopoly of the atomic bomb. Western Europe and Japan were viewed as springboards for the attack against the Soviet Union. In 1946, a year after the end of World War II, the cold war opened with Truman's atomic-bomb diplomacy.

Things did not go quite as projected. First of all, the human side of the Pentagon's military machine had to be replaced. This was the outcome of the "Get Us Home" movement that was started by the GIs in 1946. The Soviet Union recovered much more rapidly than expected from the devastation caused by the war, thanks to the planned economy. Capitalism was toppled in Eastern Europe, and then, to the stupefaction of the strategists in Washington, the Soviet Union broke the U. S. monopoly on nuclear weapons, testing its first atomic bomb in 1949. That same year marked the triumph of the Chinese revolution.

The timetable for World War III had to be altered, while U. S. imperialism made better preparations. This did not lead to a change in plans for the home front, however. These were applied according to schedule. McCarthyism, which had been set in motion by Truman in 1947 as an adjunct of the cold

war, spread like a plague. It was fostered and nurtured as a preventive against potential revolutionary opposition to the war plans of big business. Its immediate purpose was to purge revolutionists out of industry and out of the labor movement. Coupled with the long prosperity, McCarthyism succeeded in dampening the class struggle.

McCarthyism and America became synonymous in the eyes of the world. The United States appeared to have become a country of brutal reaction and paralyzing fear, a land of the know-nothing, the bigot, the witch-hunter. Political dissidence was a crime punishable by long years in prison. With a military budget running around \$50 billion a year, the U. S. imperialists seemed to be moving irresistibly toward another conflict that could end in a nuclear catastrophe. No force seemed capable of staying them from their course, least of all any force inside America.

What a different picture we see today!

In light of what has happened in Vietnam, U. S. imperialism has been compelled to draw back and reconsider. The colonial revolution has turned out to be much more formidable than the Pentagon strategists had calculated. In light of the evidence, they have likewise decided that the workers' states may not be pushovers. If a military victory cannot be won in Vietnam after all the money and effort poured into that experiment, how much more difficult must it be to defeat China and the Soviet Union, with *their* populations and both of them armed with nuclear weapons!

The White House has obviously decided to pause and take stock. But that means shelving any idea of a major military assault in the immediate future. In fact, the more rational elements in the ruling class are of the opinion that full attention must now be paid to the acute problems that have arisen as a result of the Vietnam war.

Inside the United States, in place of McCarthyism, the world now sees a totally different image—huge sectors of the population in a seeming state of incipient rebellion, demonstrating in the streets, marching against their own government in time of war. Even the GIs seem to be picking up where the GIs of 1945 and 1946 left off. They cannot be relied on to carry forward a war of conquest.

In industry, the workers are not taking slashes in their standard of living passively. They are fighting back. It is quite clear that the days of "relative quiescence in the class struggle" are over.

Viewed as a whole, the radicalization is already deeper than

anything previously seen in the United States. A great new stage of the class struggle is opening. We are now witnessing the harbingers of what is to come.

Internationalism of the jet age

As I have already mentioned, one of the most significant aspects of the new radicalization is the strong tendency of its component forces to inspire similar struggles abroad and to be inspired themselves in turn by what happens in other countries.

Some of the aspects of this modern-day internationalism should be noted. First of all, the directness, immediacy, and speed of the process are quite striking. The Sorbonne is quickly imitated in the U. S. Columbia is imitated in Kenya.

The primary explanation is to be found in the ease and speed of communication and travel in the age of television and the jet plane. The presence of foreign students is an important ingredient. They become a living link able to pass on considerable experience.

While the student struggle undoubtedly provides the clearest example of the directness of international linkages, it was already observable in the case of the Black struggle. The same pattern can be seen in the women's liberation movement.

A second striking feature is the high priority given to current models. A success—or seeming success—registered in one country is quite often assured of immediate imitators in a series of other countries.

A third feature is the anonymity of contact. The leap from country to country gives the appearance of being almost spontaneous. The carriers of the latest ideas, it is obvious, tend to be quite young. In the majority of cases, they are probably not yet fully formed politically. They are radicalized youth still to be won to a developed political program.

A corollary of this is that the new rise of internationalism is not the work of Moscow, Peking, Belgrade, Tirana, Pyongyang, Hanoi, Havana, or any other capital. It originates out of the very worldwide radicalization of the youth itself—out of the struggles that have been flaring on all continents. It is part of the broad process of the participants in these struggles—the new generation of rebels—finding each other and exchanging experiences under the advantageous conditions provided by today's speed of communication and travel.

The net result is an atmosphere that has never been seen before. Internationalism seems to be in the very air. Actions carried out in the United States, for instance, can have the

most unexpected echoes in the most unpredictable places. Conversely, actions undertaken in other countries, even small and seemingly remote countries, can have unexpected impact in our home territory.

This general new feature is of the utmost importance to the international Trotskyist movement. It confirms in a fresh way the correctness of our fundamental outlook, the internationalist outlook. It offers new promise for the growth of the Fourth International. It also offers a new set of problems that must be considered with the closest attention.

Limitations of current models

The main characteristic of the new internationalism is its empiricism. Its models are taken from current experience without the modifying influence of the tradition of Bolshevism. This often leads to a singular lack of revolutionary judgment.

This is one of the reflections of the absence of mass revolutionary socialist parties and another confirmation of the need to build them. As yet no mass revolutionary socialist party exists anywhere in the world. If even one existed, it could become a most attractive model for the radicalizing youth in other countries. But such a model is still to be constructed. The best that the Fourth International and its sympathizing organizations can offer are small nuclei that have undertaken to build such parties but that are still in the stage of recruiting and educating cadres.

The radicalization, however, has proceeded at a much faster pace than the process of assembling cadres. Thus the models to which the radicalizing youth have turned have often included some very negative features. This is especially true on the level of revolutionary strategy where the models at hand are countries in which the most revolutionary victories over capitalism have been scored. The two favorites, as everyone knows, have been China and Cuba.

The Cuban model is the more important because of the attractive image established by the Castro-Guevara leadership and because of the active policy followed up until recently by the Cubans in depicting the pattern of their revolution as a model and in providing aid to those interested in trying to apply it in other countries, particularly Latin America.

The Cubans have been of the opinion that to win a revolution it is sufficient to rely on guerrilla warfare. In the wake of the Cuban revolution any number of attempts were made to follow this prescription, so that today an experience of more

than a decade of defeats has been accumulated. Variations are still being tried.

We in the Socialist Workers Party have long doubted the possibility of simply repeating the Cuban pattern. Whatever role guerrilla warfare may play as a tactic, now or in the future—and it can be important at certain stages—it is our opinion that the correct strategy in Latin America, as elsewhere, is to build a party of the kind first constructed under the leadership of Lenin.

The propensity to imitate guerrilla fighters who are trying to repeat the Cuban experience has had very unfavorable results in a number of instances. One that came very close to home was the kidnappings carried out in Quebec in 1970 by two different FLQ groups.

The Trudeau government utilized the kidnappings as an excuse for a massive witch-hunt in which some of our own comrades were imprisoned for a time. The witch-hunt was eventually beaten back—not by the FLQ, but by other forces with a better and more revolutionary appreciation of Canadian politics.

Three-pronged approach

What should we do to seek to overcome this negative side of the current readiness to learn from others? A three-pronged approach is called for:

1. On the level of theory, the Trotskyist press should carry sustained polemics in defense of the Leninist concept and practice of party building against the various tendencies that consider Lenin to have been superseded.

2. On the level of practice, every Trotskyist grouping should set an example in the thoroughness with which it thinks through to the end and tests out every tactic it engages in. It is good to have a reputation of receptivity to new ideas. It is still better to have a reputation of caution and responsibility in weighing them for their real worth.

3. Constant efforts should be made to initiate and sustain international campaigns of interest and concern to varied groupings. Defense of the Vietnamese revolution through internationally organized and coordinated antiwar marches and demonstrations is a good example.

A three-pronged policy of this kind will enable the Fourth International to establish itself among the radicalizing youth as the most serious tendency among the contenders for leadership of the vanguard.

When this happens we can count on a truly swift spread of Trotskyist concepts and of Trotskyist influence among the broad layers of rebel youth on an international scale. The change will be qualitative, since the former sources of ideas and models for action will be superseded. The Fourth International with its rich heritage of revolutionary theory and experience will become the main pole of attraction. This in turn will be translated into a rapid expansion of membership among the sections and sympathizing organizations of the Fourth International and the true beginning of mass actions headed by Trotskyist cadres.

Nixon, Mao, and Vietnam

I now come to what rates as the most spectacular consequence of the Vietnam war up to now. This is the abrupt change in relations between Washington and Peking. It is a consequence, moreover, that will affect a great many things in world politics in the coming period.

I will not go into the background of the turn but simply confine myself to the main conclusions to be drawn.

First of all, Nixon's de facto recognition of the existence of the People's Republic of China, which will certainly be followed at a certain point by formal recognition, constitutes acknowledgment of an alteration in the world balance of power. U. S. imperialism, as I have already indicated, is relatively weaker than it was in 1965 when Johnson began the escalation in Vietnam. Kissinger's trip to Peking constitutes an admission of the military defeat suffered by the U. S. armed forces in Vietnam and of the hope that Mao, at the last minute, will be able to intervene in behalf of the U. S., and, through the miraculous workings of Mao Tsetung Thought, save something in Indochina that can be used by Nixon in his 1972 campaign for reelection.

Kissinger's trip also constitutes an admission that the People's Republic of China has emerged as a major world power. Thanks to the victory of the Chinese revolution, to the toppling of capitalism in China, and to the power of planned economy, the Chinese people have been able to lift themselves out of destitution and famine. Beginning at the most basic level, their standard of living, the Chinese people have registered remarkable progress, even breaking down the barriers to membership in that holiest of holies, the nuclear club.

According to estimates made in the West on the basis of a few figures on production recently given to Edgar Snow by Chou En-lai, China now probably has an annual growth

rate of 4 to 5 percent in industrial production and 3 to 3.5 percent in industrial and agricultural production combined.

The capitalist showcase of India, by way of contrast, continues to stagnate at the level it shared with the China of Chiang Kai-shek. How India's position is reflected in her international status can be judged from the anger of the Gandhi government when it learned that Kissinger's stopover in India on a world "fact-finding" tour was only dupery, a cheap maneuver to help provide a screen for his trip to China.

The fact that U. S. imperialism has finally been compelled to recognize the existence of China can only be a source of satisfaction to revolutionists everywhere. It signifies a major defeat for a policy followed by U. S. imperialism since the end of World War II, that is, of seeking to make things as difficult as possible for the Chinese people by backing their bitterest enemy, Chiang Kai-shek, and by subjecting them to an economic and diplomatic blockade. U. S. recognition makes possible some new substantial gains for China both economically and diplomatically.

Secret diplomacy

Nonetheless, the circumstances of the thaw in relations between Washington and Peking indicate that both sides have counterrevolutionary objectives in mind. This is the reason for the secret diplomacy. What is being hatched is a secret deal based on the principles of "peaceful coexistence" as expounded by the Mao regime in the class-collaborationist tradition of Stalinism.

Nixon wants Mao to bring counterrevolutionary pressure to bear on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam. Mao, of course, is in position to do so, inasmuch as China is a major supplier of arms and ammunition and other material aid to the Vietnamese and can control the shipment by rail of similar supplies from the Soviet Union.

That Mao is capable of following counterrevolutionary policies has recently been shown in the most convincing way by the solidarity he has displayed toward Yahya Khan's attempts to put down the independence movement of Bangla Desh through mass murder, and toward the Bandaranaike coalition government in Ceylon in liquidating a rebellion of tens of thousands of revolutionary-minded youth.

Nixon is interested in utilizing Mao's services in advancing "peaceful coexistence" throughout Southeast Asia, in India, and wherever else Mao Tsetung Thought has any standing.

Besides this, Nixon has something else in mind—the possibility of taking better advantage of the Sino-Soviet conflict. One of the arguments made for years by spokesmen of the wing of the American ruling class that has favored recognizing China is that this would open up opportunities to play Peking against Moscow, and Moscow against Peking.

Another objective that ought to be mentioned is the possibility of China becoming a new and profitable market for American commodities. It is true that there has been talk in Wall Street of extending credits to China. However, the news of Nixon's diplomatic coup had virtually no effect on the stock market, which has been sagging recently.

A few figures should suffice to indicate the reasons that Wall Street was not impressed. China's gross national product in 1970 was estimated at \$80 billion—that's about \$100 per capita. In 1969 China's total exports were \$2.1 billion, her imports only \$1.8 billion. By comparison, the U. S. was spending \$3 billion a *month* on the war in Indochina.

It thus appears that for a long time to come the Chinese market will be far below the hopes of those businessmen who dream of 800 million customers reaching for American commodities with built-in obsolescence.

Mao Tsetung Thought and peaceful coexistence

Those most stunned and shocked by Mao's invitation to Nixon were without question the sincere followers of Mao Tsetung Thought. The faithful who had placed confidence in Mao were particularly unprepared for the turn because of Peking's preceding ultraleftism. As late as the centennial of the Paris Commune last March, the Mao regime, in an authoritative-sounding article, was still proclaiming the necessity of armed struggle, of people's war, and the need to pick up the gun and smash the bourgeois state.

It should be added that it would not be at all surprising if Peking continued to produce and circulate articles of that kind. It is obvious that they would not affect Mao's love match with Nixon. Peking's ultraleftist verbiage has been discounted by Washington.

The dupes of Mao Tsetung Thought overlooked the meaning of the occasional reaffirmations that the government of the People's Republic of China still held to "peaceful coexistence," although the experts in the State Department read these reaffirmations correctly. The Maoist innocents, or those impressed by the show put on by Mao, either joined in the genuflections in the direction of Stalin, or refused to

see them, or dismissed them as not meaning too much when taken in conjunction with the training of guerrillas and the supplying of arms to certain guerrilla groups as in the Middle East.

They refused to draw the obvious conclusion that one of the reasons the cult of Stalin was maintained in China, when it was smashed in other workers' states, was to make it easier to keep alive Stalin's major contribution to counterrevolutionary ideology—the theory that you can build socialism in a single country.

They refused to see that giving material aid to certain guerrilla groups was part of a policy followed by Peking to gain pawns for use in prospective "peaceful coexistence" deals with imperialism or its satellite powers.

The basic methodological error made by revolutionists who either followed Peking unquestioningly or who were influenced to one degree or another by Peking's diplomacy and ultra-left posture was to identify the Chinese revolution with the Maoist regime either wholly or partially.

The truth is that a parasitic caste rules China. Its interests clash with those of the revolution. The interests of the caste are narrowly nationalistic while those of the revolution are internationalist. The ruling caste of bureaucrats in China is similar to the one in the Soviet Union although it has its own specific features.

On the basis of this analysis, it becomes understandable why Mao and the group around him began signalling to U.S. imperialism even before the victory of the Chinese revolution. It was recently revealed in Washington, for instance, that Mao had made secret overtures as far back as the close of World War II. The long-range objective of Mao's foreign policy has remained that of reaching an understanding with U.S. imperialism on the model set by Stalin in the thirties.

Whoever understood this could hardly feel surprise at either the White House's decision to turn to Mao or Mao's ready acceptance of the turn. In fact it was possible to predict the rapprochement some years ago. The fundamental social forces involved—the ruling bureaucracy in China and the ruling class in the United States—had a mutual interest in achieving it. Their mutual interest was to impede new advances by the world revolution, both inside China and inside the United States, and quite a few places in between.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution now appears in a clearer light. First as to name. I was pleased to see that in the July 30, 1971, issue of *Life* magazine, Edgar Snow, Mao's

close personal American friend and interpreter of his policies, used the term "fierce domestic purge" in one place and "great purge" in another. Consequently, one can now feel assured that it is acceptable in Peking to drop the name "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" and use the more accurate term: "Great Fierce Domestic Purge." That it was fierce, we can judge from a single reference in Snow's article. He recounts how Chou En-lai was endangered during the "Great Fierce Domestic Purge" when "half a million ultra-leftist Red Guards" surrounded his offices. Chou talked them into dispersing.

"It was only following that incident," says Snow, "that Lin Piao brought thousands of troops into the capital, and the disarming and breakup of the Red Guards began in earnest—with heavy casualties."

Mao purged tendencies both to the right and to the left, whether potential or already formed, lumping them together under a blanket charge—capitalist-roaders seeking to make a deal with imperialism. The reason for selecting that charge was, of course, to make it easier for Mao to make a deal with imperialism himself without serious domestic opposition.

Mao did not invent this tactic. He only applied what he had learned from his late teacher Stalin in the massive purges of the thirties in the Soviet Union that were climaxed by the famous pact with Hitler.

The Moscow bureaucrats know who is to blame for this. All that has happened is that Mao has succeeded in moving into position to do what they have been doing—practicing collaboration with Wall Street, the archenemy of world revolution and implacable foe of all the workers' states both big and small.

Moreover, the Moscow bureaucrats initiated the Sino-Soviet conflict by breaking their agreement to help China in the nuclear field and by withdrawing all of the thousands of Soviet technicians stationed in China at a most difficult time for the Chinese people.

There are bound to be repercussions in the Soviet Union over the Washington-Peking detente. Perhaps the top circles of the bureaucracy will decide to make more serious efforts at fence-mending with the Chinese bureaucrats. This could include a shake-up in the Kremlin comparable to the one in which Khrushchev was bumped.

Reaction of the Vietnamese

The government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam apparently did not feel that they were in a position to speak

out frankly. Nonetheless, they indicated in oblique ways that they were worried over secret commitments that might already have been made by Peking at their expense.

One of the most alarming hints was Chou En-lai's assurance to a visiting leader of the Australian Labor Party, Gough Whitlam, that the Mao government was prepared to participate in a new Geneva-type conference to settle the war in Vietnam. It was the Geneva conference in 1954 that cheated the Vietnamese of their victory over French imperialism, divided the country in half, and paved the way for renewed civil war and the intervention of U. S. imperialism.

Both the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam will probably put up considerable resistance to being dragged to a repeat performance. Even if they were inclined to go along, they would face great difficulty in putting over a betrayal, even though there is undoubtedly a great deal of war weariness among the Vietnamese people after the destruction and blood-letting they have been subjected to for twenty-five years.

Sato and Chiang Kai-shek

Kissinger's trip to Peking and the de facto recognition of China by the U. S. caught the Japanese government completely by surprise. Like Indira Gandhi in India, Premier Eisaku Sato had difficulty hiding his anger and embarrassment. Since the end of World War II, the Japanese government has made it basic policy in the conduct of foreign affairs to follow Washington's lead. Thus, although there has been heavy pressure in Japan, both from the masses and from sectors of big business, to recognize China, the government has refrained from doing this. Instead, it has maintained friendly relations with Chiang Kai-shek and fostered considerable investments in Taiwan.

The pressure will now be very heavy on the Japanese government to reverse its attitude toward Peking. In fact it may be tempted to try to outdo Washington in offering blandishments to Mao.

As for Chiang Kai-shek and his entourage, he has few defenders outside of the most extreme rightists in the United States. Rumors have already appeared in the press that Chiang, while publicly screaming over the knife jutting from his back, has quietly begun approaching Mao through secret diplomatic channels in hope of a small deal for himself; and Chou En-lai has hinted rather broadly that the Mao regime has shown in the past that it has had no difficulty

in finding useful niches for certain reactionary figures of the old regime. Chou might have added that no similar flexibility has been displayed toward the Chinese Trotskyists, some of whom are still being held in prison—if they are still alive.

Contradictory aspects

It is clear that viewed as a whole, U.S. recognition has contradictory aspects. The betrayals committed in Bangla Desh, Ceylon, and elsewhere—made by Mao as payments in advance—are very damaging to the colonial revolution. On the other hand, these betrayals serve to expose the true nature of Peking's ultraleftism and to show that the Maoist ideology, for all its pretensions, is not genuinely revolutionary. The lesson will prove salutary for many revolutionary-minded youth and will certainly make it easier to attract them to Trotskyism.

We already know how the Sino-Soviet dispute helped break up the monolithism of Stalinism and puncture the authority and prestige of the Kremlin. Perhaps Stalin's heirs in Moscow may be able to make some capital out of the gross betrayals of the world revolution now being committed by Mao. However, it is excluded that they can regain the predominant position in the radical vanguard they held following World War II.

It is excluded because of their own line of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism, which is not qualitatively different from that of the Maoists, and because of the crimes they have committed and will continue to commit in trying to stave off and beat down the political revolution.

Thus, in the period now opening, it will be increasingly difficult for either Moscow or Peking to channel and divert the deepening radicalization of the masses on an international scale.

The long-range results

Moreover, in the long range, U.S. recognition of China will serve to give still greater force to that radicalization. First of all, the Vietnamese people will be credited with a most impressive victory over U.S. imperialism, one of the consequences of which was U.S. recognition of China. This example will embolden other peoples to press their demands harder.

Secondly, the rise of China to a world power, in contrast to the dismal stagnation of neighboring India, will reinforce the example already set by the Soviet Union as to the quickest road out of the unbearable conditions of poverty and backwardness still prevalent throughout the colonial and semi-colonial world. I am referring to the long-range effect on

popular consciousness of the incomparable power of planned economy.

Naturally, if the Vietnamese people succeed in sticking tough and in rejecting any new repetition of the 1954 Geneva conference sellout, then the military defeat of U. S. imperialism in Vietnam, coupled with U. S. recognition of China, can give extraordinary impulsion to the colonial revolution elsewhere in the world.

And a development of that kind would soon be reflected in the imperialist centers by a further rise in class consciousness among the workers and their allies.

Rising curve of political revolution

How soon will the alteration in the world situation be registered in the minds of the masses in the Soviet Union and the workers' states in Eastern Europe? We can only speculate on this. Nevertheless we may not have to wait long for some indications.

Once the masses grasp the essential fact, which is the relative weakening of U. S. imperialism, the old question that has so long been a factor in inhibiting militant mass action—that is, fear of inviting attack by a powerful foe—will recede in immediate importance. The thinking of the masses may begin centering around a different, although related question: How does the change in the world balance of power affect the possibility of getting increased concessions from the bureaucrats?

The creators of the underground Samizdat publications will certainly weigh how it can be turned to account in the struggle for a return to the proletarian democracy of Lenin's time. Thus we may witness a further extension and deepening of political dissidence in the Soviet Union and the East European countries.

Many conditions favoring such a development have already been established. These can be placed under five main headings:

1. The recovery from the devastation inflicted by the German imperialist invasion in World War II, the general rise in productivity, and the improvement in the standard of living. These have served to reenergize the masses.

2. The continued existence and aggravation of bureaucratic privileges that stand in glaring contrast to the socialist aims of the revolution, to the official propaganda claiming that socialism has been achieved, and to the optimum rate of development of the Soviet economy. These generate continual dissatisfaction with things as they are.

3. The clear limitation to the concessions that the bureau-

cracy is willing to grant. This turns the cutting edge of mass discontent against the bosses in the Kremlin.

It should be observed that the "de-Stalinization" undertaken by the Soviet bureaucracy never went beyond the first measures initiated by Khrushchev. Even these were, in fact, ground away by subsequent phases of "re-Stalinization." The hope expressed by such observers as Isaac Deutscher that the bureaucracy might undertake a "self-reform" proved to be delusory, as we forecast. The evident determination of the bureaucratic caste to maintain its privileged position, including its usurpation of state power, makes it increasingly difficult for the Kremlin to divert the masses from taking the road of political revolution.

4. The rising curve of the trend toward political revolution. This reflects an accumulation of forces of immense potential.

Following the large-scale uprisings of the workers in East Germany, Poland, and Hungary in the 1953-56 period, a lull set in. A combination of the use of troops, as in East Germany and Hungary, and considerable concessions, as in Poland, served to suppress the proletarian movement toward political revolution for the time being.

The movement resumed in Czechoslovakia in 1967, its first signals appearing among the intellectuals. The movement gathered force, leading to the toppling of the Novotny government. Then came the invasion of Czechoslovakia as the Kremlin once again brought massive armed force to bear against the developing political revolution.

With the crushing of the movement for proletarian democracy in Czechoslovakia, there were many, besides the Kremlin bureaucrats, who thought that another considerable period of political quiescence would follow, as happened after Moscow crushed the incipient Hungarian political revolution.

But a new, and even more dynamic outbreak occurred very shortly in Poland. It began in May 1970 with a rebellion of women, who destroyed a supermarket because of its constant meat shortages. The continuing agitation led to a workers' insurrection on December 14 of last year, and six days later Gomulka resigned.

This time, Gomulka's successors, with the agreement of the Kremlin, felt that they had no choice—if they were to avoid a showdown—but to make considerable concessions to the masses. And the Moscow bureaucrats, reading the weather vanes correctly, hastily made some fresh concessions in the Soviet Union.

It is quite clear that the tempo of the movement pointing to a political revolution has quickened in recent years and

that its tendency to jump borders has become heightened as has its tendency to involve ever broader masses. Another notable new feature is the tendency for the initiative to pass from dissatisfied sectors of the bureaucracy to militants rooted in the masses.

5. The reciprocal influence of the foregoing factors makes the process all the more dynamic. Two things stand out clearly: the growing influence of the resistance to the bureaucracy, and the declining capacity of bureaucratic violence to intimidate and demoralize the political dissidents. The examples of defiance and the successes of militant mass actions are now tending to outweigh the effect of victimizations and the use of armed force as a repressive means.

In light of the above analysis, we are entitled to draw optimistic conclusions about the perspectives for the advance of the political revolution in the East European countries and the Soviet Union itself in the period now before us.

Underlying explosiveness

I have necessarily had to pass over some very important areas in the international situation. I should like especially to say something about the importance of the *Transitional Program* in the world today. I will try to cover it in my summary. At this point I will conclude by merely indicating the chief characteristic of the international situation as a whole.

Despite the defeats and setbacks suffered by the world revolution, of which there have been many in the past decade, some of them of historic proportions, the chief characteristic of the international situation is its underlying explosiveness.

The truth of this can be seen with all the greater clarity in view of the fact that this now applies to the United States itself.

Among the many things that follow from this, the main one, in my opinion, is that the chances have greatly increased for sudden social upheavals of great scale in which the question of state power is soon posed. This is one of the main lessons to be drawn, for instance, from the experience in Bangladesh, in which an entire population rallied against the oppression of a foreign ruling class.

I think we will begin to see more and more upsurges of this kind. I would not venture to predict what countries might be next; there are too many unknowns and imponderables. But I should like to hope that the United States stands high on the list. In the light of the facts, I believe that the hope is a reasonable one.

Summary:**On Democratic and Transitional Demands**

I concluded my opening remarks by pointing out that the chief characteristic of the international situation is its underlying explosiveness; and I cited the example of Bangla Desh. I could have mentioned Ceylon. Or the Middle East. Or Africa. Or Santo Domingo in 1965. Or Czechoslovakia in 1968. Or France in that same year.

The eruption of mass movements of such scope and dynamism at shortening intervals of time and widening areas of the world confronts the Trotskyist movement with an immense responsibility. The Fourth International bears the program that can assure a successful outcome to the mass struggle. Yet the resources of the Fourth International remain small. We are still isolated from the big battalions, and in no position as yet to guide the forces that will prove decisive.

The problem is to close the gap between the mass forces required to win and the leadership now to be found in nucleus form in the national sections and sympathizing organizations of the Fourth International.

There is no lack of advice on how to solve the problem. In fact it can be had at bargain rates from the sectarians, whose main wish is that we would drop dead.

The real solution to the problem of bridging the gap between the masses and our program of revolutionary socialism is to be found in the proper application of the transitional method taught us by Trotsky. The method is not complicated. It consists in approaching the masses at whatever level they may stand and in drawing them through progressive struggles and explanations toward a higher level of thought and action, that is, in the direction of socialist revolution.

If we think this through carefully we can see that the first linkup must be determined empirically. Moreover, our own wishes, or our own level of class consciousness, must not be permitted to influence our judgment as to the real nature of the current concerns of the masses or the issues on which they are prepared to go into action. Since the ideology of society as a whole is shaped by the ideology of the ruling class, we must be prepared to accept situations in which the masses, or a sector of the masses, will respond only to slogans of quite limited nature. Or, to put it in more revolutionary terms, we ought to look for such situations.

If one were to place some of these slogans in the logical

sequence of history rather surprising labels could justifiably be placed on them. In the case of democratic slogans which are so important in the struggle against fascism, or against dictatorial regimes of lesser malignancy, or against the erosion of democratic rights in countries that still proclaim adherence to bourgeois democracy, it would be necessary to call them "bourgeois" or "petty bourgeois."

That should not cause us to hesitate to use them. In fact an audacious and aggressive attitude in this respect lies at the heart of the *Transitional Program* and the method it teaches. We are unable to choose the field of battle. In the class struggle, battles break out as consequence of forces over which we have no control at the present stage of our development. Our party, as a revolutionary socialist party, has no choice but to engage in these battles, otherwise it will not grow but will wither on the vine.

The audacity in the transitional approach consists in attempting to wrest these slogans out of the hands of the bourgeois politicians, who seek to utilize them to divert the masses into safe parliamentary channels.

As an example, I should like to call attention to the stand our movement took on the Ludlow amendment. In February 1935 Louis L. Ludlow, a member of the Democratic Party who would be described today as a "peace" candidate or a "dove," introduced a resolution in the House of Representatives to limit the war-making powers of Congress. The amendment would have required that a national referendum would have to be taken before Congress could declare a foreign war. This resolution gained immense popular support as the threat of World War II became more and more acute and Roosevelt prepared to take the U. S. into the approaching conflict.

Comrade Trotsky proposed that the Socialist Workers Party should offer critical support to the Indiana Democrat's proposed amendment to the bourgeois constitution of the United States. After a bit of hesitation by some comrades our party adopted this position.

Trotsky considered the matter so important that he included a paragraph about it in the *Transitional Program*.

Note carefully. No matter how one characterizes democratic slogans, we fight for them with proletarian methods of struggle — not bourgeois methods, which consist today at best of parliamentary shadow-boxing.

It may sound paradoxical, but in an imperialist country, in the stage of the death agony of capitalism, a revolutionary socialist party can find itself utilizing proletarian methods of

struggle in defense of a slogan that belongs logically to the epoch of the ascending bourgeois revolution.

If you would like an example, I can cite: "Self-determination for the Vietnamese people! Withdraw all U. S. troops NOW!" To accompany that slogan, we have advocated as the correct method of struggle the mobilization of the largest numbers possible—in the streets. And that has a logic of its own—the logic of independent political action, which clearly points away from parliamentarism toward socialist revolution.

If we call democratic slogans "bourgeois" or "petty bourgeois," we have to add at once that all this really means in the context of the times is that it has fallen to the revolutionary socialist movement to defend the great historic gains, or historic objectives, of previous revolutions, such as freedom of thought, freedom of the press, freedom to organize, freedom to control one's own body. If the proletariat and its allies are prepared to defend the democratic gains or democratic slogans of the bourgeois revolution, this is a very positive beginning. We can join them in that and proceed from this relatively backward ideological level to help the workers reach full class consciousness.

If the working class had already reached the level represented by the program of revolutionary socialism, then we would not need any *Transitional Program*.

While I am on the point let me say a word about the relationship between democratic slogans and transitional slogans.

As I said, democratic slogans were advanced in connection with the bourgeois revolution that cleared away the precapitalist economies to make way for capitalism. They were an expression of the needs of the rising capitalist economy in opposition to the preceding forms. In the period of the death agony of capitalism, the observance of democratic rights operates against the need of capitalism to defend itself against its historic successor, the planned economy of socialism.

Transitional slogans, such as a sliding scale of hours and a sliding scale of wages, pertain to the socialist economy of the future and are only realizable under it.

Democratic slogans and transitional slogans are related in two ways. The first is that capitalism has reached the point where it becomes more and more incompatible with any form of democracy. The defense and extension of democracy thus become proletarian tasks along with the advancement of transitional measures that go beyond capitalism although stemming from its present point of development.

The second and more important way in which democratic

and transitional slogans are related is in the method by which we defend and advance them. The method is the same in both instances—the proletarian method of mass struggle. The heart of this method is mobilization of the masses assembled by capitalism as the human basis of its mode of production. The *Transitional Program* deals with the problem of organizing and developing this type of struggle and carrying it forward to its final conclusion in the victory of socialism.

I hope that this makes clearer the fundamental distinction between Trotskyist tactics and strategy and the tactics and strategy say of guerrilla fighters like the Tupamaros. Trotskyism stresses the proletarian method of mass struggle, the intimate connection of this struggle with the socialist goal which it drives toward, and the necessity to keep this goal constantly at the center of the struggle. This, of course, is where the party comes in as the highest living expression of the class consciousness of the proletariat.

I have observed that among the sectarian fringes of the world Trotskyist movement an understanding of the nature and meaning of the *Transitional Program* is completely absent. That is one reason why they are sectarians.

The truth is that the transitional approach taught us by Trotsky is more timely today than ever before. In fact it has become of burning actuality.

Consider, for instance, the youth radicalization. This is a grass-roots movement if there ever was one. It was not instigated or fomented by any particular political tendency. It arose out of the class struggle itself as reflected on the campuses and among young workers and young soldiers. Our problem was to link up with it. We had to do this at the level where the movement itself stood. And having linked up with it, we had to do our utmost to help it advance to a higher stage by a series of proposals leading in logical progression along the road of mass action to the socialist revolution.

We faced a comparable problem in the United States in linking up with the rise of Black nationalism, which again was a grass-roots movement. The same holds true for the upsurges involving the Puerto Ricans, the Chicanos, and the Native Americans.

A current movement of great importance, which is now gathering momentum internationally, is women's liberation. Once again, our movement, if it is to link up with it successfully, has no choice but to begin at the level of the movement itself and not at a level it has not reached.

Because of the uneven development of the class struggle,

these movements came into being and became engaged in actions in advance of the radicalization of the industrial workers. They thus represent anticipatory movements. But they have an influence of their own on the process that will lead to the eventual radicalization of the major contingents of the working class, and these movements will ultimately converge with them and increase their striking power.

To take an incorrect stand on these anticipatory movements, to fail to apply the transitional method in approaching them, could prove disastrous. We in the Socialist Workers Party can assure the world Trotskyist movement that we are aware of the danger and will do our part in helping to avoid it.

The timeliness of the *Transitional Program* is shown with almost textbook clarity in the case of Bolivia. A Popular Assembly has appeared on the scene which has the potential of developing into a dual power. This is the opinion of observers ranging from bourgeois commentators to our own comrades in La Paz.

In the *Transitional Program*, Trotsky tells us that the establishment of dual power marks the culminating point of the transitional period, that is, the period between the prerevolutionary situation to be seen in most parts of the capitalist world today and the revolutionary situation in which the masses reach a position to make a serious bid for state power.

Associated with the establishment of dual power are a whole series of transitional measures such as the organization of committees and councils, the establishment of a workers' militia and the arming of the masses to block the threat of a counter-revolutionary coup as the workers strive to win the majority needed to establish a workers' and peasants' government.

If the assessments of the potentialities of the Popular Assembly are correct, then our Bolivian comrades face the opportunity of providing the world with a fresh example, in the tradition of the Bolsheviks, of the successful application of the *Transitional Program*.

I should like to close by saying a few words about the Fourth International itself and its prospects.

I happened to be in Coyoacan when the Fourth International was founded in 1938. I recall the feeling of elation in the household when the news came that the founding conference had been held and that the Fourth International had actually been launched.

Trotsky was deeply satisfied; as if what had been a vexsome problem had finally been successfully worked out. Trotsky

had no illusions about the difficulties that faced us. Stalin was aiming terrible blows at our small movement, and the founding congress itself had met in the somber shadow cast by two murders—the killing of Leon Sedov, one of the key leaders of the Left Opposition, and of Rudolf Klement, the secretary of the world Trotskyist movement, who was in charge of preparations for the founding congress.

The Soviet bureaucracy had marked the Fourth International to be crushed in the egg. The Nazi top command agreed. The Roosevelt administration was not unsympathetic to this objective as was shown by the imprisonment of the leadership of the Socialist Workers Party during World War II. And the trade-union bureaucracy in the United States joined with the FBI and the Coast Guard in the McCarthyite period in a witch-hunt aimed at driving every Trotskyist out of industry.

Whatever the disagreements on other points, the reactionary tendencies throughout the world found it feasible and perfectly understandable to make a united front on a single issue—the battle against Trotskyism.

The Fourth International and our party survived those blows and those days of repression and isolation, and today we are coming into position to make big advances. To see what is happening, it is only necessary to compare the decline in strength and prestige of all our opponents in the left with the rise in standing of the Trotskyist movement.

We still face immense difficulties. We still face big internal problems. We are still only a relatively small movement. But I think that when the history of Trotskyism is written, it will be said that with the opening of the seventies the Fourth International had succeeded in assembling the nuclei of cadres required to build the mass parties needed to assure the final victory of the world revolution.

Perspectives and Lessons of the New Radicalization

The purpose of this resolution is threefold: first, on the basis of the political resolution and report adopted by the 1969 convention of the Socialist Workers Party and the political report adopted by the 1970 plenum of its National Committee,* to evaluate the evolution of the radicalization and of the objective political and economic factors underlying it; second, to evaluate the progress we have made vis-a-vis our opponents on the left towards our objective of gaining hegemony in the socialist movement, and to state the key differences we have at present with them on how to advance the radicalization and build a revolutionary socialist leadership; and third, to define how these factors affect the key task of constructing the Socialist Workers Party.

PART I

A. American imperialism's basic contradictions: the evolution of the war and the economy

The February 1971 invasion of Laos reconfirmed that the basic strategy of the Nixon administration in Indochina remains the same as that followed by Johnson: to attempt to win a military victory of such scope as to decisively crush the will of the Vietnamese revolutionary forces. No alternative, including a compromise with the Vietnamese, would avoid the deleterious effects to American imperialism of the victory of the Vietnamese revolutionary forces in South Vietnam. Nixon is driven in this direction because the relationship of forces in Indochina faced by the previous occupant of the White House remains unchanged.

The depth, extent, and independence of the mass upsurge in Vietnam are so great that neither Moscow, Peking, nor

* These documents are reprinted in *Towards an American Socialist Revolution*, 207 pp., \$1.95, Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014

even Hanoi (if it so desired) has been able to turn the Vietnamese revolution into a pawn to be bargained away in a broader diplomatic deal with imperialism, as in 1954. Because of its class character, no Saigon regime acceptable to Washington—coalition or not—could grant the substantive and large-scale economic, social, and political concessions to the Vietnamese masses necessary to maintain itself in power in face of this revolutionary upsurge. Only the presence of American military power prevents the triumph of the Vietnamese national liberation struggle.

The massive growth of antiwar sentiment in the United States forced Johnson to halt the bombing of North Vietnam and initiate the Paris talks. Johnson's objective was to temporize by making concessions to antiwar sentiment while continuing the fighting. He hoped that, given time, American military power could crush the revolutionary upsurge and force the Vietnamese to accept the kind of regime in South Vietnam desired by imperialism. Nixon inherited this situation. To gain support and buy more time, he had to promise the American people that he had a plan to end the war. His plan turned out to be "Vietnamization," i.e., the stabilization of the Thieu-Ky regime and the establishment of the South Vietnamese army (ARVN) as a replacement for U. S. troops.

In the period of massive buildup of American troops, Johnson promised that increasing American military power would quickly lead to "pacification" of the Vietnamese. This did not gain credence; but Nixon's professed perspective has led many Americans to believe that he is trying to end the war. Thus, Nixon's time-buying promises can finally prove more explosive than Johnson's as the American people demand fulfillment of his pledge.

"Vietnamization" has not worked. The time bought by Nixon's demagogic maneuvers has not enabled the U. S. military machine and its puppet ally to break the resistance of the Vietnamese masses. It was this failure that led Nixon to decide on the plunge into Cambodia in May 1970. The unparalleled outburst of antiwar sentiment in the U. S. forced Washington to pull back its troops from Cambodia; but the war, through increasing U. S. air bombardment and periodic ARVN invasions, had now been extended into Cambodia. This only broadened the scope of U. S. involvement in Indochina to include underwriting the Lon Nol regime. It did not succeed in compelling the Vietnamese to knuckle under in the least.

With his troop withdrawal timetable pressing upon him, Nixon decided on a new plunge in February 1971, this time into

Laos. But the military fiasco of the "crack" ARVN units drove home to millions of Americans what an illusion and fraud "Vietnamization" was. That the war with all its dangers was being extended, not shortened, became clearer than ever. The logic of "Vietnamization" has not been withdrawal but the expansion of the war to Cambodia and Laos. This expansion in turn broadened the Indochinese revolution, and created in Cambodia and Laos many of the same problems for the U. S. that the U. S. has faced for years in Vietnam. Each expansion of the war and each new plunge enhances the possibility of increasing the military pressure to such a degree as to bring China into the conflict, as happened in Korea in 1951.

U. S. imperialism faces a harsh dilemma. Today, it is still no closer to forcing capitulation of the insurgent forces, let alone establishing the ARVN as an instrument capable of doing this, than it was before "Vietnamization" began. Yet Washington has promised the American people the steady withdrawal of American forces. If withdrawal were actually carried out on a large scale, with the Vietnamese revolution still unsubdued, it would constitute the biggest defeat for U. S. imperialism in its history, and would give the world revolution a powerful additional impetus.

Thus, a dangerous mood is evident in Washington, with Nixon casting about in desperation for a fast military solution through some combination of U. S. and Saigon military forays while he stalls off any large-scale withdrawals of U. S. forces. Whichever tactical course Washington follows in the next period can only increase antiwar sentiment among the GIs involved and spur a massive antiwar response at home.

For all of the above reasons, the Vietnamese revolution and the effort of U. S. imperialism to crush it remain the central issue in American and world politics.

Making the workers pay for the war

The evolution of the world capitalist economy over the last year demonstrates that U. S. imperialism cannot afford an extended, unending war in Southeast Asia without attempting to make the working class pay for it. The best variant—from the capitalist point of view—would be the acquiescence of a prowar labor movement to "emergency" austerity measures and controls, allegedly justified by the needs of the war. But the attitude of the working class toward the war precludes any such direct attack on the living standards of the masses without precipitating gigantic social struggles that could extend the radicalization to broad layers of workers.

The main way in which imperialism has put the squeeze on the living standards of the working class has been through inflation. A characteristic of capitalism in its death agony, inflation in the U. S. has been exacerbated by the war expenditures. But two problems for the ruling class are built into this method of lowering the standard of living of the masses.

One is the recognition by the workers of what inflation is doing to their pay checks and living conditions, and the consequent resistance evidenced in the 1970 wave of strikes in which a major issue was wage increases to catch up with the rising cost of living.

The second and longer-term problem is the deterioration of the relative competitive advantage of U. S. imperialism in the world market and the increasing shakiness that spiraling inflation introduces into the stability of the capitalist world monetary system.

Thus, there are both internal and external pressures to bring inflation under control. From an immediate, solely economic point of view, the fastest way to curb the rate of inflation would be to end the war in Vietnam. But this is precluded by the Nixon administration for the reasons outlined above.

At the same time, the ruling class and its spokesmen in the mass media and universities carry out a large-scale propaganda campaign to convince the American people of the fallacious notion that the workers' attempts to defend their standard of living against the effects of capitalist inflation are the *cause* of inflation. On the contrary, this cause is to be found in massive war expenditures and the gigantic public debt; the monopolistic price structure derived from the continuing capitalist concentration and centralization, under the spur of growing international competition; and the various governmental financial outlays necessary to protect monopoly profits and underwrite the research and development of the giant corporations.

Only two basic options are left to the ruling class if inflation is to be a successful tool to hold down the American working class's real share of the national product: move toward a national "incomes policy," that is, a national wage-control scheme that would give the government authority to hold down wage gains aimed at catching up with the inflationary bite; or precipitate a recession deep enough to result in an increase in the industrial reserve army sufficient to drive down these wage demands.

Both of these alternatives hold serious dangers for the ruling class.

An attempt to impose an "incomes policy" could provoke

a major reaction by the working class, one taking place in the framework of the general political radicalization that has been developing in the country.

A policy of fostering a recession of sufficient depth to increase unemployment enough to put effective pressure on wages contains two dangers. First, it could precipitate or coincide with recessions in the other major capitalist countries, which could then snowball into an uncontrolled world recession. Second, it could provoke a sharp political reaction by the working class against the threat of massive unemployment.

The Nixon administration at the outset leaned toward the second course, adopting fiscal and monetary measures that facilitated the 1970 recession. This policy resulted in the highest unemployment rate in a decade, officially more than six percent. The first recession in a decade featured *both* increasing unemployment and continued inflation.

But the strength of the unions and the combativity of the working class demonstrated that higher levels of unemployment than this are necessary to effectively dampen the workers' willingness to fight for wage increases to try to keep up with the rising cost of living. In spite of the rise in unemployment, workers intensified their struggles to defend their standard of living, as was seen in the General Electric and auto strikes, in the Teamsters' negotiations and wildcat strikes, in the combativity of the railroad workers, in the postal workers' struggles, and in the demands now being put forward by the steelworkers. The UAW reasserted its demand for an escalator clause, which the bureaucrats had allowed to be gutted in past negotiations, and won back part of the escalator clause protection they had bargained away in 1967.

The anxiety about rising unemployment and the resistance to any broad wage-price controls indicate the political obstacles standing in the way of another move contemplated by the ruling class, that of opening a legislative and administrative attack on the power of the unions themselves. Although the ruling class knows this will be necessary at some point, it hesitates to resort to such an attack on the unions now because it could lead to a political showdown with the union movement and touch off an explosion beyond the power of the labor bureaucracy to control.

The foundation of American capitalism's economic supremacy is being undermined by the growing capacity of European and Japanese imperialism to narrow the differential in labor productivity between their economies and the U.S. It was this differential, established as a result of the large-scale destruction

of German and Japanese capitalism in the second world war, the exhaustion of British imperialism, and the extraordinary extension of the postwar boom, that made the wide wage gap between American and Euro-Japanese labor tolerable for American corporations and helped to provide the resources the U.S. rulers could use for social reform.

Under the new conditions, the threat of trade wars, international monetary crises, and concurrent recessions in the major capitalist countries has increased. Regardless of the timing or the scope of such events, which are unpredictable, the intensification of interimperialist competition on the world market means that the American monopolists must find a way to narrow this wage differential. This can be done only by attacks on the wage gains, standard of living, organizations, and rights of the American workers. In the current turbulent political atmosphere, such attacks can result in immense struggles and rapid radicalization of a decisive section of the American workers.

Substantial social reforms and concessions can be wrested from the ruling class in the struggles that lie ahead. But the intensification of competition on an international scale, coupled with the costs of maintaining Washington's role as world policeman for imperialism, closes the door to American capitalism's granting any long-term series of social reforms large enough to decisively reverse the radicalization of increasing sections of the American people set in motion by the social struggles of the last decade.

B. The continuing development of the radicalization

Since the 1969 convention of the Socialist Workers Party, the radicalization has continued to deepen. Following the Moratorium and March on Washington in October and November 1969, the antiwar movement achieved its broadest mobilization to date and most clearly demonstrated its potential in the May 1970 antiwar upsurge. During the same year, two powerful new contingents entered the radicalization in a massive way, the movement for Chicano self-determination and women's liberation movement.

This period also saw the emergence of the gay liberation movement; organized revolts in the prisons from New York to California demanding prison and judicial reform, inspired by the nationalist radicalization; increased radicalization inside the Catholic Church led by a militant layer of nuns and priests; deepening revulsion against capitalism's destruction

of our environment and the ecological system on which humanity depends; the continued formation of radical caucuses in all types of professional organizations; and intensified Black nationalist sentiment and organization and further antiwar radicalization within the army. Neither in the Debsian radicalization nor in the thirties were there comparable upheavals in these sectors of American life.

These new developments, coming on top of the initial waves of the radicalization—the rise of the Black liberation, the student, and antiwar movements—constitute further indications of the depth and scope of the radicalization, and its speed of development.

The May 1970 antiwar upsurge

The central feature of the May 1970 antiwar upsurge was the most massive nationwide mobilization of students in history. This response to the Cambodian invasion and the murder of the Kent State and Jackson State students demonstrated in action the unprecedented social weight and power of the American student movement. It also reconfirmed the capacity of the student movement, seen elsewhere in the world, to act as a detonator of larger social forces, by sparking the mobilization of hundreds of thousands across the country in antiwar street demonstrations.

The May events provide striking confirmation of our strategy of the "red university"—in this case in the form of the antiwar university. The red university strategy embraces the occupation and utilization of the resources of the university around a transitional program designed both to link student struggles to broader social struggles and to draw broader forces into mass actions around political issues.

Under the politicizing influence of the May events, the student strike was converted on thousands of campuses into mobilizations to occupy and utilize some component of the university facilities. On a number of key campuses, this culminated in an almost unchallenged de facto control of the university by the student antiwar movement, turning the university into an antiwar university, both as an organizing center for the antiwar movement and as a vehicle for reaching out to mobilize and draw other sectors of the population into the struggle. Even where we had no influence, this tended to be the logic of the mass struggles.

Another gain of the May events was the organization of broad and democratic strike councils on the campuses that set an example of democratic executive bodies working around

the clock as the authentic leadership of a mass upsurge. The May events created among students a new consciousness of their potential power and responsibilities and pointed to the most effective organizational forms for future struggles. The struggles during the May events exposed the colleges as instruments vital to capitalist rule, for which the ruling class will fight to maintain control.

The May events were another confirmation of the central role of the Vietnam war in American politics, and the extent to which this war has bred mass antiwar sentiment. Under the impact of the student strike and occupation, the first large demonstration against the war called and organized by a sector of the labor movement took place in New York City, symbolizing the potential of the war issue as a politicizing and radicalizing agent in the working class.

The May events brought home to the ruling class the fact that the repercussions of the Vietnam war go well beyond the military, diplomatic, and strategic problems of Asian and international politics. The evolution of the war has led not only to the growth of antiwar sentiment, the antiwar movement, and a deepening radicalization; it has also brought into deep question the credibility and moral authority of the ruling class itself. Millions now doubt the capacity of the powers-that-be to solve the major social problems facing the American people or even to present them honestly to the public.

The May events confirmed our line of building the antiwar movement as a single-issue, nonexclusionary united-front-type movement centered on mobilizing mass street demonstrations, the main demand of which is the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Indochina. The effectiveness and potential power of independent mass mobilizations around a burning social issue was clearly demonstrated. The success dealt a blow to the ultraleftists who attempt to substitute themselves for mass action, to the sectarians who sit on the sidelines scolding the mass movement, and to the reformists who always seek to subordinate the mass movement to their class-collaborationist schemes.

The student actions of May 1970 provided an important objective test and confirmation in action of the red university strategy and the ability of the Young Socialist Alliance to apply it. It presented the biggest test thus far of the organizational capacities of the YSA as against our opponents in a key sector of the developing radicalization. The opposition of the ultraleftists to the development of the antiwar university was a most striking example of sterility in a mass upsurge.

Growth of the feminist movement

The year 1970 saw the beginning of the transformation of the new feminist movement into a mass movement with appeal to the broadest layers of American women. It has already had a deep impact on the political consciousness of the country, as reflected in the mass media and in the spread of the women's liberation movement to every nook and cranny of the nation. Women in all kinds of situations—in Black and Chicano organizations, unions, educational institutions, churches, professional organizations, in work places—have raised and struggled for feminist demands. The potential power of this movement exists in virtually every organization and institution of American society.

The August 26 marches, commemorating the right-to-vote victory achieved by the first mass mobilization of feminism in the U. S., were the first nationwide mass actions of the new women's liberation movement. The publicity around these actions popularized the movement and its demands to millions of Americans. They demonstrated the power and potential of mobilizing women around democratic and transitional demands that both attack the pressing manifestations of the oppression millions of women suffer and that lead in the direction of the complete liberation of women.

The mass-mobilization approach, confirmed in action on August 26, points the way forward for the movement. It is the revolutionary alternative to any tendencies to turn inward and stagnate in a small-circle existence; or to reject feminist demands under the guise of adopting an "anti-imperialist" or "workers" orientation, which has been evident in ultraleft currents of the women's movement; or to depend on the liberals, as proposed by the reformists.

The three basic demands of the women's liberation movement form a starting point for the development of a transitional program for women's liberation.

The first of these, free abortion on demand, coupled with opposition to forced sterilization, is based upon the elementary and democratic right of women to control their own bodies. This right is of immediate concern to most women, and is a life-and-death question for hundreds of thousands of women every year. The thrust of this demand cuts sharply into basic and deep-going cultural, social, and religious prejudices against women; it is aimed at the subordinate and dependent role women have been subjected to since the rise of class society. The part of this demand that calls for *free* abortion on demand goes beyond democratic demands: it raises the concept of so-

cialization of medical care and answers a need of the most oppressed and exploited.

Reactionary forces, mobilizing against the women's movement in opposition to this demand, are attempting to reverse the partial victories the movement has already scored concerning abortion. The political struggles around abortion will be one of the important battles of the entire next stage of the women's liberation movement.

The second major demand of the movement, for free, community-controlled, twenty-four-hour child-care centers available to all, answers a pressing need of millions of women, especially working women. At the same time, it highlights the importance of society's responsibility for rearing the young.

The third demand centers on pay, educational and job opportunities, and legal rights for women equal to those of men. These democratic demands challenge capitalism's economic and political institutionalization of the subordinate and dependent status of women, which has its roots in the historical rise of the patriarchal family system. They put forward a concept indispensable for inspiring and mobilizing a powerful movement for women's liberation: that is, the full and complete worth and dignity of women.

The women's liberation movement has already had a profound impact on the current radicalization, not only by adding another sector of militants to the struggle, but also through the implications of its critical analysis of the historical role of the institution of the nuclear family. This institution, which has its origins in the rise of class society and which, in one form or another, has been a necessary feature of all class societies, plays the central role in implanting in infants and children the ideology and character structure necessary to maintain the hierarchical, exploitative, and alienated social relations intrinsic to capitalism.

The women's liberation movement thus brings to light and helps break down some of the deepest prejudices and attitudes among the ideological and moral props of class rule. It raises problems of human alienation, whose solution lies in the establishment of a workers' state and the building of socialism. It intensifies the struggle to expose the moral bankruptcy of the ruling class and to heighten the moral authority of the fighting mass movements.

By participating in this movement, women are transforming their view of themselves, affirming the essential dignity and worth denied them through the entire period of class society. An integral part of the fight against capitalism is the

fight against the racism and sexism built into the ideology of capitalism. This discovery and rethinking by women of their history and worth has paralleled the same phenomenon among the oppressed nationalities. It has reawakened a demand for knowledge and understanding of their oppression—its history, causes, and the road to its elimination. It previews a similar process that will take place in the workers' radicalization.

The responsiveness of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance to the rise of the new feminism has been another important test of our movement. Our ability to embrace this movement as our own, to participate in it and learn from it, and to help lead it in the direction of the mass independent mobilization of women around democratic and transitional demands stands in sharp contrast to the default of all our opponents who claim to be socialist or communist.

Nationalism on the rise

Nationalism continues to deepen not only among Afro-Americans but among Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Native Americans, and Asian-Americans. This has been expressed in increasing opposition to the war among the oppressed nationalities, in the character of the prison revolts, and in the expansion of nationalist consciousness and organization inside the army and the high schools. The recession, which has hit the oppressed nationalities hardest, has spurred on this process. The effects of the recession, the failure of the highly publicized token integration of the building trades, the continued fiasco of "Black capitalism," and the government's use of "desegregation" of schools, especially in the South, to fire Black teachers and administrators, have dealt further blows to the belief in the ruling class's ability to meet the needs of the oppressed nationalities through reform.

The development of Black nationalist attitudes, solidarity, and organization in the army has brought the explosive national question to a new point of tension inside this key instrument of imperialist policy.

While antiwar sentiment in the Black community has been high from the beginning of the war, there are signs that for the first time this antiwar sentiment is going to be expressed in an organized way. The Black Moratoriums held in some cities and campuses present new models for independent organization of antiwar sentiment among Black people. Increasing possibilities for involving Afro-Americans in antiwar actions are also indicated by the willingness of organizations

like the NAACP to endorse and build such actions as the April 24 antiwar demonstrations.

In the May 1970 events, a number of all-Black universities were the scenes of large-scale antiwar mobilizations, among them Jackson State College, the scene of a murderous assault upon its students. The organization of Black participation in the April 24 mass marches is the most important opportunity to build such actions and to test this potential.

On the college campuses, struggles have centered around defense and maintenance of Black studies departments, won in the struggles of 1969, against the attempts by university administrations and the government to abolish them. Black high-school explosions often center on the refusal of administrations to allow even symbols of Black pride and nationalist consciousness. The militancy and consciousness of Black workers, highlighted in the Atlanta AFSCME (American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees) strike and the postal workers' strike, as well as the widespread adoption of the nationalist button and salute by Black workers, reflect the continued deepening of nationalist consciousness among Black people. The authorities are having unexpected problems in their nationwide efforts to recruit Black cops—potential candidates say they will be ostracized in the Black community if they become cops. The response to the arrest of Angela Davis showed that the rise of nationalist consciousness has further limited the effect of anti-Communist propaganda among Afro-Americans.

Attempting to head off the development of any independent Black political organization, the two capitalist parties have nominated increasing numbers of Black candidates. While remaining within the confines of bourgeois politics, the election of Black mayors in a number of important cities and of the largest number of Black congresswomen and congressmen since Reconstruction results from the pressure of Black nationalist consciousness.

The crisis of leadership in the Black community has not lessened. There have been no significant initiatives toward the formation of an independent Black political party. No nationwide group has emerged on the campus with authority among Black student militants. Under the hammer blows of victimizations and its own incorrect line of policy, the Black Panther Party continues to decline. At the same time, the feeling of solidarity of the mass of Black people for victimized Black Panthers, Angela Davis, and other militants persecuted by the government, emphasizes the potential that exists for

a capable leadership armed with a transitional approach to begin to mobilize the Black community.

Our major task in relation to the Black liberation movement is still to popularize the idea of the need to organize around a transitional program centered on the fight to win Black control of the Black community. The struggles of the Cairo, Illinois, Black United Front have been the main positive experience in the Black movement since 1969. Its leadership in the course of struggle has advanced important aspects of such a transitional program.

This transitional approach to Black liberation was outlined by Malcolm X and expanded in the Socialist Workers Party resolution "A Transitional Program for Black Liberation."* This points out the realistic and realizable path to transforming a small revolutionary nucleus into a mass organization, and to mobilizing more sectors and growing numbers of Black people on key issues affecting their lives which at the same time lead them into struggle with the capitalist state over all the fundamental aspects of Black control of the Black community. Such struggles will drive home the need for the Black community to break politically with the parties of the ruling class by forming an independent Black political party as the indispensable democratic instrument to fight for Black community control.

Independent La Raza Unida parties

Since the 1969 SWP convention, the expanding struggles of the Chicano movement have constituted the most important political thrust forward of the oppressed nationalities. Organizing around opposition to the war and the special price the Chicano people are forced to pay for the war has been a central feature of and spur to the radicalization of the Chicano people. This reached its high point to date in the August 1970 Chicano Moratorium when a march of 30,000 Chicanos brought out additional tens of thousands of supporters in the Los Angeles Chicano community before it was murderously attacked by the cops.

The most important advance of the Chicano movement has been the organization and initial experiences of La Raza Unida parties in Texas, Colorado, and California. The first Raza Unida parties developed in Texas out of a series of mass struggles focusing on Chicano control of Chicano schools. Some of the key initiators and leaders gained their initial ex-

* Available from Pathfinder Press

perience in the student movement, especially the Mexican American Youth Organization (MAYO). The Raza Unida parties are still small and face all the problems of any new political party attempting to build a mass organization independent of the capitalist parties and based on the needs of an oppressed and exploited section of the population. Nevertheless, they are the most advanced expression of independent political action to develop among the oppressed nationalities or the labor movement since the radicalization began.

The spread of Raza Unida parties to Colorado, into California, and elsewhere in Aztlan—as long as they remain clearly independent of the capitalist parties—will pose the question of attitude toward the Democratic Party more and more sharply in the Chicano community. A realistic perspective of expansion, the development of a clear program for Chicano liberation built around the fight for Chicano control of the Chicano community and the self-determination of Aztlan, and maintenance of an independent perspective constitute the next stage and test of this development of independent Chicano political action. And it is around these questions that the most important debates in the Chicano liberation movement will revolve.

The experience of the efforts to build independent Chicano parties can be utilized to help explain the meaning of independent political action by oppressed nationalities and the labor movement. The Raza Unida parties participate in elections and utilize them to educate and propagandize for their ideas, and have even won certain elections in Texas, which have been utilized to further build a base for Chicano control of the Chicano community. But they project themselves primarily as social movements, not merely electoral machines. They strive to be parties of a new type. They help to direct the Chicano struggle concerning schools and other social needs, the organization of Chicano workers into unions, and other aspects of the overall Chicano liberation movement.

While there are as yet no signs of incipient movements for independent political action in the Black community or labor movement, the extension and development of the Raza Unida parties can have a major impact in these areas, serving as examples in dealing a blow to the Democratic Party. Most important, the Raza Unida parties have the potential to lead the struggles for self-determination of the Chicano people to new levels of independent mass mobilization.

The nationalism of oppressed nationalities is basically a response to and struggle against their oppression as a people

and includes an affirmation of the dignity and humanity denied them through national oppression. It is a discovery of their identity through a new understanding of their true history and their unique contributions to human society. Independent organization is necessary to unify and mobilize them in a struggle against all aspects of their oppression.

The rise of Chicano nationalism and the organizational forms it has taken, such as the Chicano Moratorium and the Raza Unida parties, reaffirm the validity of Malcolm X's insight that a prerequisite of genuine alliances with other forces, including other oppressed nationalities, is the prior independent organization and unification of each oppressed nationality.

How the radicalization has affected the working class

The specific major areas of struggle that have characterized the developing radicalization thus far—(1) the Black liberation movement, (2) the youth radicalization, (3) the antiwar movement, (4) the Chicano liberation movement, and (5) the women's liberation movement—have occurred, in the main, outside the framework of the union movement and in no case have been led by any section of organized labor. Nevertheless, these movements have already deeply affected the consciousness of the working class. According to government statistics, of the total work force in the United States, 22 percent are under twenty-four years old; 28 percent of those between twenty-five and thirty-four have received some college education, with a higher percentage in the under-twenty-five age bracket; 40 percent are women; 11 percent are nonwhite, and this percentage is higher for basic industry. The Labor Department anticipates that every one of these percentages will increase in the 1970s. These bare statistics alone indicate the potential these movements have in attracting and influencing American workers.

This has been most significantly shown to date in the deep-going penetration of nationalist consciousness among workers of the oppressed nationalities. This can be observed in many ways: the appeal of all-Black caucuses to the mass of Black workers, even with ups and downs and in some cases dissipation under ultraleft leadership; the wearing of nationalist symbols and buttons by Black workers; the expressions of nationalist sentiments by Black workers in militant struggles like the 1970 postal workers' strike and the Mahwah, New Jersey, Ford strike; the formation of the Polaroid Revolutionary Workers Movement and its campaign over Polaroid's South African investments; the large number of Black workers who

stayed home on Martin Luther King's birthday; the nationalism exhibited by young Blacks, mostly from working-class families, in the army and high schools; the fact that the Chicano workers organized into the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee insisted that the UFWOC was not just a union, but *La Causa*; the public threat by the Raza Unida Party in Texas that it would organize its *own* unions if the AFL-CIO didn't do the job; the participation by large numbers of workers in the extended mobilization of the Cairo, Illinois, Black community around Black-control demands; the strike for recognition of the virtually all-Black AFSCME local in Jackson, Mississippi, in which the workers combined economic demands with nationalist demands of the Black struggle.

The continuing spread of nationalist consciousness and militancy among Black workers has become a matter of grave concern to the bosses and bureaucrats.

The available evidence shows the depth of antiwar sentiment in the working class. The November 1970 referenda won a majority against the war in the industrial centers of Dearborn and Detroit, Michigan, in San Francisco, and in Massachusetts, with significant working-class support. The union-organized mobilization of 25,000 in New York during the May events, the overwhelming support given the Los Angeles Chicano Moratorium by the largely proletarian Chicano community, the growing pressure on union officials to endorse antiwar actions and antiwar positions in city referenda on the war, are additional signs of the antiwar sentiment in the working class.

The rise of the new feminism, too, is already finding a reflection among women workers. Women's caucuses and committees have been formed in several unions. Women, Inc., a caucus in the Association of Western Pulp and Paper Workers, led a fight against "protective" laws used to discriminate against women workers on the job. A caucus of women teachers at the 1970 convention of the American Federation of Teachers demanded that the union adopt positions in favor of maternity leave with pay, the dissemination of birth control and abortion information in the high schools for both women teachers and students, and the provision of child-care facilities as contract demands.

As concessions to the new militancy among its women members, the UAW April 1970 convention passed resolutions calling on the government to establish child-care centers and guarantee the right to abortion. Federally Employed Women has been formed to fight pay and job-classification discrimination

against women workers employed by the federal government. The American Newspaper Guild organized a conference of women members on women's rights.

Another index to the growing militancy among women workers is the sharp increase in the number of individual women workers filing complaints against discriminatory practices with the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission.

The impact of the general youth radicalization on working-class youth can be seen in the army, not only in antiwar and Black nationalist sentiment, but also in the fact that the brass has been forced to relax and modify its regulations on discipline, dress, hair styles, etc. because these regulations had become virtually unenforceable. The situation regarding the youth in the plants was summed up from the ruling-class point of view in an article in the July 1970 issue of *Fortune* magazine entitled "Blue Collar Blues on the Assembly Line": "The central fact about the new workers is that they are young and bring into the plants with them the new perspectives of the American youth in 1970."

Government offensive against the unions

The character of the 1970 strike wave demonstrated that the working class is not willing to sacrifice its standard of living for the sake of Washington's war in Vietnam. This confirmed the growing ineffectiveness of direct or indirect ruling-class appeals to patriotism, anti-Communism, and racism against colonial peoples as justification for denying or subordinating labor needs. The 1970 strike wave saw not only the largest number of workers out on strike since 1952, many in long strikes, but also the continuing tendency to reject inadequate wage-increase settlements negotiated by the union bureaucrats, and to take unauthorized action against them.

One of Nixon's main hopes was that, through rising unemployment, the recession would weaken the will of the organized working class to defend its real wage rates against inflation. But while unemployment rose, so did prices, and so did the determination of the organized workers to fight to keep their wages abreast of the rising cost of living. The only positive result of the recession-induced increase in unemployment, from the ruling-class point of view, was the slowdown of unorganized labor's rate of wage increases. It was clear that a figure of 6 percent "officially" unemployed was too low to break the will of the organized workers to fight for wage increases.

A growing sector of the ruling class believes that the next

step must be a wage-control program under the cover of a broader "incomes policy" and the "fight against inflation." But this also threatens to trigger struggles by the working class.

Ruling-class timetables for legislative curtailment of union power have suffered a series of setbacks with the continued increase in the unionization of public employees and their strike struggles, often in direct defiance of local, state, and federal antistrike laws. The most spectacular of these strikes was the 1970 postal workers' strike, which directly defied the federal government and its unconstitutional antistrike laws.

Either the attempted imposition of wage controls or further legislative and administrative attacks on the use of union power would provoke fresh defensive struggles and accelerate the process of politicalization and radicalization in the working class. The ruling class is aware of this. But the timing of a serious challenge to the unions is dependent not only on their estimate of the relationship of class forces in the U. S., but also on their evaluation of the international economic situation.

In this context, the UAW's fight, in the 1970 strike, for an escalator clause to counter inflation was important. The Steelworkers' officials have projected initial demands for both an escalator clause and a shorter workweek as targets of the 1971 contract negotiations. At the same time, under the growing pressure of ruling-class propaganda on the need for controls, both Woodcock and Meany have made concessions to the idea of an "independent" wage-price-profits review board. This line of capitulation to the capitalists runs counter to the interests of the working class.

The fight for a sliding scale of hours and wages must be counterposed to all attempts by the capitalist class to "solve" the problems of unemployment and inflation by moving toward wage controls.

The active intervention and threat of intervention by the government on the side of the employers, and against the unions, underscores the fact that key economic issues today are increasingly contested on a political level.

The labor bureaucracy is a conservative, petty-bourgeois social layer encrusted on the unions. It acts as the central transmission belt for bourgeois politics into the working class and remains the chief obstacle to transforming the unions into revolutionary instruments independently fighting around the key political and social issues facing the working class and its allies. Far from mobilizing union power behind the important political and social issues of the radicalization, issues that deeply affect their members, the labor officialdom does

everything in its power to keep the workers tied to as narrow and reformist a social program as possible.

The impact of the developing radicalization on the union movement and the politicalization of the workers arising from their economic struggles continue to be molecular processes. There has been no major challenge to the bureaucracy as a whole at this stage. There is not yet discernible any organized tendency toward the formation of a left wing in the union movement, whose goal would be the overthrow of the conservative bureaucracy and its replacement by a leadership based on a class-struggle program aimed at the ruling class.

New components of the radicalization

As the radicalization has deepened, other issues have been raised and new movements have come forward: the revulsion against capitalism's destruction of our environment and the ecological system on which the life of humanity depends, the development of radicalism among the laity and clergy of the Catholic Church, the prison revolts, the increasing radicalization inside the army, the gay liberation movement against the legal and extralegal oppression of homosexuals. The radicalization has likewise had big repercussions in professional, cultural, and artistic circles.

The wave of prison revolts that erupted in 1970 had a different quality from the protests that have been historically endemic to prison life. This was made clear by the conduct of the Black and Puerto Rican leaderships of these revolts. The prisoners who have led and participated in these struggles consciously see themselves as victims of the class and racial bias of American justice. They are inspired by the revolutionary literature they read and the examples set by figures like Malcolm X and George Jackson. The essence of their demands for prison and judicial reforms has been an affirmation of their dignity and humanity. The recognition by most young radicals of the prison struggles as part of the movement and their sympathy and identification with the prisoners' demands is a further gauge of the radicalization.

As with prisoners, bourgeois society views homosexuals as outcasts. The gay liberation movement has raised a series of demands against the way homosexuals are treated by bourgeois society. These include demands for equality before the law like other citizens, with full rights in all respects; against police entrapment practices; for their acceptance as equals in all spheres of social life; and insistence that their private lives be their own, free from legal or police restraint.

The gay liberation movement was strongly influenced by the opposition of the women's liberation movement to the commercial exploitation of sex, the reduction of sex to something other than a free human relation, the reactionary and stifling sexual norms of bourgeois society, and the psychological distortions of sexuality and sex roles in a class society based on the nuclear family system. The women's movement began to see that the antagonistic attitudes towards homosexuals are simply another facet of a sick social order.

One characteristic of the radicalization is the growing opposition among very broad layers of young people to sexual oppression of any kind. This has been reinforced by the women's and the gay liberation movements.

The radicalization in the army is being fed by the youth radicalization, the nationalist upsurge, the antiwar movement, and, in the women's branches, the new feminism. Antiwar sentiment in the army appeared several years ago with the rise of the antiwar movement and has continued to deepen and broaden with each new wave of the radicalization. The wearing of peace symbols, love-beads, flouting of army appearance standards, giving Black power salutes and holding meetings, demanding equal rights and prerogatives in the WACS, are overt symbols not only of GI defiance but of the political radicalization affecting GIs. The fight for the rights of GIs as citizen soldiers, which we have supported and publicized as the mainstay of political work within the army, has been strengthened by the victories won by GIs and has been shown to be an effective and key component of the struggle waged for freedom to express their political views.

Another sign of the deepening radicalization is the growing rejection, first by the youth and then by wider circles, of the cultural values and authority of bourgeois society. This is reflected in all the arts and in many other ways. It includes the proliferation of underground newspapers with a generally radical bent and a new thirst for and interest in radical books and literature of all kinds. More revolutionary literature is now being published, read by the population as a whole, and assigned in colleges and high schools than in any previous period in American history.

Strategy of the ruling class

The ruling class was shaken by the May 1970 events. Its divisions and indecision over what to do extended right up into Nixon's cabinet.

The liberal wing of the bourgeoisie tried to project an ori-

entation towards the fall 1970 elections as a way to demobilize the antiwar upsurge. During the May events, the administration, with the collusion of the reactionary bureaucrats of the building-trades unions in New York, organized a "hard-hat" patriotic demonstration to attempt to counter the massive antiwar actions and foster the myth that workers support the war. These unions were picked for that purpose because the reactionary policy of the bureaucrats to preserve these unions as white job-trusts helped inculcate prejudices against the radicalizing Blacks and youth among the white, skilled, older members. Even so, the bureaucrats had to use a combination of threats and bribes to get their members to march; and slogans supporting the war were conspicuous by their absence.

The Nixon administration proceeded with a combination of promises on the issue representing the greatest threat, the war, and demagoguery to turn people against the antiwar demonstrators by playing on the prejudices of the most backward layers of the population with the "law-and-order" question. At the same time, Congress made the concession of granting the vote to eighteen-year-olds.

Part of the "law-and-order" strategy was to single out certain radicals for selective repression, especially those the government felt it could pillory in court as "criminals."

The government's "law-and-order" campaign took advantage of ill-advised actions by ultraleftists, using them in an attempt to smear the radicalization as a whole. But one of the unexpected results of these frame-ups, especially against the Black Panther Party, has been to expose the role and number of police agents and provocateurs—and the way that ultraleftists play into the hands of such paid representatives of "law and order." This lesson, combined with the power displayed by the mass mobilization in May 1970, has helped weaken the appeal of ultraleftism in the radical movement. It is one of the reasons for the continued decline of the Black Panther Party and the Weatherpeople-type tendencies. When the new school year opened, the government pressured college administrators, through the IRS guidelines and J. Edgar Hoover's speeches and letters to college presidents, to take away some of the gains the students had won in May 1970.

In the summer and fall of 1970, there was a general pause in the antiwar and student movements, as people waited to see whether Nixon's promises of "winding down" the war were going to be carried out. The militants were also weighing the lessons of May, particularly the exposure of the sterility of ultraleftism, and seriously grappling with questions of strategy and perspective.

By the time of the 1970 elections, the short-term gains the ruling class had made were beginning to be reversed. Large-scale student participation in the campaigns of the "doves," which had been touted during the May events, failed to materialize. The combination of the continuation of the war, the rise in unemployment, ever-mounting prices, and a backlash against the youth- and Black-baiting forays of Nixon and Agnew resulted in a rebuff for Nixon in the elections.

The character of the capitalist two-party electoral system prevents the real attitudes of the voters from being clearly reflected at the ballot box. Even so, it was apparent that Nixon's red-baiting didn't work as planned.

Antiwar voters saw little choice between the supporters of Nixon's "withdrawal" plans and the "dove" capitalist politicians, who had virtually capitulated to Nixon. But the referenda on the war demonstrated that while there was a temporary lull in antiwar actions, the mass antiwar sentiment had continued to deepen.

Although the renewed red-baiting and repressions against the Panthers, the Berrigans, Angela Davis, etc., had some dampening effect, these moves have not decreased the mood of opposition to the Nixon administration. Even the hard-hat building-trades workers whom the White House brought out in May 1970 have been angered by Nixon's decision to try to lower wage gains in the construction industry.

Clearly, Nixon has big obstacles to overcome in seeking reelection in 1972.

PART II

A. General characteristics of the radicalization

The current radicalization began with a new rise in the Afro-American struggle for self-determination in the early 1960s. This developing independent movement, affected by nationalist struggles around the world and especially in Africa and Cuba, and sparked by a new layer of Black youth, attracted sympathy and support and precipitated a nationwide student movement. The students then became the spearhead of the antiwar movement as Washington plunged into Vietnam.

The mass actions of the antiwar movement generalized the radicalization, spreading it both geographically and into layers of the population other than the students. From a credibility gap on the war question, suspicions and doubts about the actions of the government widened into a willingness to challenge the authority of prevailing institutions and to re-

ject more and more of the norms and ideology of capitalist society.

As these movements continued to develop, with ebbs and flows, new struggles caught on. The most massive have been the Chicano and women's liberation movements. New issues, such as pollution of our environment, have further fueled the radicalization. The ruling class has been unable to prevent the radicalization from making a strong impact on its armed forces. The gay liberation movement against the oppression of homosexuals, the prison revolts, the welfare struggles, the divisions in the Catholic Church demonstrate that:

1. There is no layer too oppressed to struggle, no reactionary prejudice and oppression too sacrosanct and deep-rooted to be challenged.

2. The actions of each new layer of the diversified movement have raised greater doubts about the fundamental values of bourgeois society.

3. Each extends and deepens interest in radical ideas about the reconstruction of social life.

4. Each drives home the conclusion that new issues and independent struggles will continue to emerge as the radicalization deepens.

All of the movements mentioned have interacted and drawn inspiration and tactical lessons from one another. But each has an autonomy and an independent dynamic. They do not develop in unison but irregularly. As one radicalizing area goes through a period of relative quiescence, others leap ahead; and from these new struggles, lessons are learned that can be absorbed and applied by the others. Throughout the uneven, sometimes explosive rhythm of the radicalization, the general trend has been constant. It continues to advance.

From our observation and participation in the different sectors of the unfolding radicalization, the following generalizations can be drawn about its character and meaning for the Socialist Workers Party.

1. Each of these movements has essentially an independent character and course. They are not wings of the Democratic or Republican parties. They are outside the stifling control of the labor bureaucracy. They are not under the leadership of the Communist Party.

While each has been willing to form action alliances with, and learn from the experiences of, other sectors, they have refused to subordinate their demands or wait for the struggles of others before embarking on their own. This independence has been a salient feature of the student, Black, Chicano, and

women's movements, and it will be the attitude of others still to come. This self-reliance is one of the best guarantees that the radicalization will continue and not be derailed through dependence on reformist leaders.

The same attitude will tend to mark the radicalization of the working class when the struggle unfolds to break the political dependence of the union movement on its conservative misleaders and the capitalist two-party system.

2. Each of these movements has been, from the first, ready, able, and willing to engage in direct action in the streets and schools, and to organize mass protest demonstrations against the authorities and administrations. The ghetto uprisings and the mass antiwar mobilizations, the August 26, 1970, New York women's march, and the August 1970 Los Angeles Chicano Moratorium have been the most dramatic expressions of this militancy. But it characterizes every one of these social struggles to one degree or another.

3. As was the case in the early 1930s, the process of radicalization began in other areas prior to an extensive upsurge and politicalization of the working class. But the issues raised by the social struggles of the 1960s have begun affecting the thinking of the entire country. And the radicalization already has certain characteristics—the size and weight of the student movement; the extent of antiwar sentiment; the degree of nationalist consciousness and combativity; the depth of feminist consciousness; the challenges to the class, racist, and sexist assumptions that furnish the ideological glue of bourgeois domination—which were not present to anywhere near the same degree during the radicalization of the 1930s.

Today's radicalization is bigger, deeper, and broader than any previous radicalization.

The existence and growth of this radicalization prior to the radicalization of major sections of the working class is of vital importance to the Marxist tendency. Our capacity to recruit and educate a Marxist cadre that is active and influential in the movements as they arise, that fights for leadership against the claims of all our opponents, is decisive in building a mass Leninist workers' party capable of leading the coming struggle for power to a victorious conclusion.

4. A distinction must be made between radicalization and a revolutionary situation. The current radicalization, in which large numbers of people, under the impact of changes in international and national conditions, have begun altering their attitudes about important questions, beliefs, values, customs, relations, and institutions—social, personal, philosophical, po-

litical, economic, cultural—is not at the point of becoming a prerevolutionary situation. It is a precondition and preparation for it. The borders of a revolutionary situation can be reached only when the politicalization and radicalization has extended to decisive sectors of the working masses, and when a revolutionary upsurge and mobilization objectively poses the basic question of which class shall wield power.

Although a radicalization can develop and prevail over a period of many years and even decades, prerevolutionary or revolutionary situations, where the contending class forces directly confront each other, are of short duration. We can predict neither the tempo of a radicalization of the working class nor the appearance of a prerevolutionary situation. But it is clear that the prospects for its favorable outcome will be improved the deeper, broader, and bigger the prior radicalization has been, the greater is the number of politicalized and revolutionary-minded militants previously developed in the mass movement, and the more receptive the masses have become to radical solutions.

The potential speed with which such a situation can appear was graphically illustrated by the May-June 1968 upsurge in France that suddenly placed the question of power squarely on the agenda. The key question at such a juncture is whether a revolutionary socialist combat party has been created that is capable of taking the leadership of the workers' upsurge away from the reformists and centrists and of mobilizing the masses in revolutionary struggle for state power.

5. The characteristics of the radicalization so far have made it clear that the American revolution will have a combined character. It will be a revolution by the oppressed nationalities for self-determination together with a working-class revolution to take power and open the road to the *destruction* of capitalist exploitation, alienation, oppression, racism, and sexism, and the *construction* of socialism—the first truly human social order.

The coming American revolution will incorporate the democratic and transitional demands that flow from the various independent movements that have arisen in the course of social struggle as well as those that will arise as the radicalization deepens. It will give an enormous impetus to the further development of these movements until their demands are met in full in the course of the construction of socialism.

6. The fundamental economic and political contradictions of American capitalism that underlie the radicalization have an international basis. The basic dilemma faced by America's

rulers today is pointed up by the fact that the very measures required to halt the world revolutionary process and to meet the growing economic competition of their capitalist competitors come into increasing conflict with the maintenance of social stability, ideological authority, and class peace at home. This gives deep international as well as national roots to the radicalization.

The current radicalization takes place in a period of ascending world revolution. In spite of major defeats, like that in Indonesia, and setbacks and temporary stalemates like those of the past decade in Latin America, the colonial revolution continues to press forward. The monolithic character of world Stalinism has been shattered. Not only has the political revolution made important advances in Eastern Europe, but its first shoots are becoming visible in the Soviet Union. In the advanced capitalist countries, there is a new wave of struggles and radicalization.

The example and lessons of the struggles in one country or area of the world tend increasingly to spread to others, as has been seen in the international scope of the student radicalization, the rise of the antiwar movement, the acute appearance of the national question in advanced capitalist countries, and now in the struggles of the women's liberation movement.

The use of anti-Communism to stop the radicalization, of foreign adventures to inflame war patriotism, of war spending to generate prosperity, of government attacks to silence protesters, of racism to conservatize privileged sectors of the working class, and of sexism to support reactionary prejudices and ideology cannot be relied upon to reverse this radicalization. Quite the contrary, opposition to the material, social, and psychological effects of war, inflation, repression, racism, sexism, and red-baiting are the central motive forces of the radicalization itself. These ruling-class weapons, combined with limited reforms and concessions, can and will bring about pauses and partial setbacks. Yet exacerbation of the fundamental underlying contradictions of American capitalism feeding the radicalization will propel it forward.

7. In all stages of building the mass revolutionary socialist party, its cadres must be alert to, recognize, and embrace the new forms of struggle and the progressive demands of oppressed groupings that appear as the radicalization develops. The Leninist party champions the fighting movements of all oppressed social layers and advances and develops their key democratic and transitional demands as part of its own.

The revolutionary vanguard consciously uses its participation in these movements to draw the lessons necessary to bring revolutionary socialist consciousness to as broad a layer of militants as possible.

In view of the decisive significance of the construction of the revolutionary party, our most important objective in involving ourselves deeply in these mass movements and absorbing their lessons is to recruit the best militants and help them to assimilate the program and traditions of Trotskyism, and gain the political experience necessary to become integrated in the expanding Trotskyist cadre.

8. The changing relationship of forces on the American left, which, while far from settled, is turning in our favor, is of decisive importance in the further development of the radicalization. This could be seen most clearly in the initial stage by the incapacity of the Communist Party to take the leadership of the ascending movements and derail or divert them into class-collaborationist schemes.

The May 1968 events in France did not lead to victory, not because of a lack of consciousness or incorrect tactics by the revolutionary Trotskyist forces, but because of the political domination of the workers' movement by the mass Stalinist party, a domination that could not be reversed by a revolutionary nucleus qualitatively smaller than the CP. The French CP was thus able to divert the revolutionary upsurge into reformist channels. That need not be the case when a comparable opportunity develops in the United States.

Unlike the situation in the beginning of the radicalization of the thirties, the Communist Party does not have a large edge over us in forces and resources. Our movement has its first opportunity to become the very center of the radical movement in this country.

Since the 1969 convention, the relationship of forces among the socialist tendencies and within the larger radical movement has continued to shift in our favor. The SWP's role in participating in, leading, and recruiting from the women's liberation movement is far greater than that of the Communist Party, Socialist Party, or any of our ultraleft opponents. Given our small number of Chicano and Latino members, we have been able to play an important role in the Chicano movement, an arena where the CP has significant strength. In the antiwar movement we continue to be the best builders, and we are in the strongest position in comparison to all our opponents.

In the student movement, the Young Socialist Alliance is the largest, most cohesive, and most influential of all the youth

organizations claiming to be socialist, including the Communist Party's Young Workers Liberation League, the Socialist Party's Young People's Socialist League, and the various remnants of SDS. This is the single most important aspect of the current struggle between the SWP and YSA and our opponents because it is still among youth that the greatest immediate potential for recruitment to Trotskyism lies.

In key areas of party building, we have made important gains. The party's press is now distributed more widely geographically and has a larger distribution in the U.S. than the *Daily World* or the press of any other opponent. We have been able to expand the paper from twelve to twenty-four pages. The YSA has made big advances in setting up new locals throughout the country. The SWP has been able to establish new branches and nuclei of branches in several new areas. Our national apparatus in all our departments has grown, in *The Militant* editorial and business offices, the *International Socialist Review* editorial staff, in the staff of the national office, and in our printing and publishing efforts. We are publishing many more pamphlets and books than ever before. Sales of Trotskyist literature have greatly expanded.

The struggle for hegemony is not yet settled, especially in relation to our most important opponent, the Communist Party and its Young Workers Liberation League. But while we are not yet the predominant force on the left, we can confidently expect to win this position if we do not make major mistakes in the next period.

B. Our opponents on the left

The progress of the SWP and YSA in the struggle for leadership of the left was symbolized by the December 1970 YSA convention. It was the largest youth convention since the founding of American Trotskyism. All of our major and minor opponents were there to present their disagreements with us through leaflets, corridor discussion, and articles on the convention in their press. These included the Communist Party and the Young Workers Liberation League; the Socialist Party and its Young People's Socialist League; Progressive Labor and its fraternal SDS; International Socialism; the Workers League; and Spartacist.

One striking fact about the arguments circulated by all of these opponents was that each from its own political vantage point made the identical charge—the politics of the SWP and YSA are petty bourgeois, not working class.

Each advanced its own arguments supporting this contention in criticism of positions the SWP and YSA have taken towards the radicalization. The SP-YPSL, for example, attacked our support of Black nationalism, the antiwar movement, the gay liberation movement, the women's liberation movement, and our opposition to Israel (which, they argue, is "led by a labor party") as anti-working class. The Communist Party and the YWLL alleged that our support of Black nationalism amounted to racism, that in building the antiwar movement as an independent movement we are racist and divisive and thus are not concerned with "workers' problems," that our petty-bourgeois nature is shown by our lack of a program for the "industrial concentration" of our members, and that the same thing is demonstrated by our call for the overthrow of the "only workers' governments" in the world.

Similar attacks were leveled by the smaller organizations and sects. All these opponents charge that the SWP and YSA constitute a petty-bourgeois tendency. All adduce as proof our support to Black nationalism, feminism, and the other movements that have developed out of the current radicalization. All counterpose their organizations as truly working class, and their orientation as the way to reach the mass of workers.

All these opponents, reformists and ultraleft alike, make three basic errors in their approach to the current radicalization:

1. They cannot recognize the class struggle as it unfolds. They do not understand the nature of the radicalization itself, its chief characteristics and new forms of struggle. Instead of embracing the new forms and progressive demands of these struggles, they tend to be repelled by them. Instead of seeking to extend the independent and revolutionary thrust of these movements, they seek to channel them into reformist directions, to oppose them in a sectarian manner, or to dissipate their potential through ultraleft gimmicks.

2. Partly because of this and partly because of a dogmatic projection of their limited understanding of the radicalization of the 1930s onto the current struggles, they do not understand the dynamics and depth of the radicalization, how it can extend into the working class in the future, and how it can lead to a revolutionary upsurge. They misunderstand or reject all the key aspects of revolutionary strategy based on a transitional program for participation in and acceleration of the radicalization.

3. None of them understands the political and organizational character of the kind of party that must be built to

lead the struggle for socialism to victory in the United States. Furthermore, they tend to approach the problem of building a mass party as if they already were that party whose central problem is the disposition of its mass forces. We see ourselves as a Leninist nucleus concentrating on those essential cadre-building steps without which there will be no basis for the construction of a mass revolutionary workers' party.

1. They reject the main demands of the mass movements

None of our opponents adopt the major progressive demands of the largest components of the radicalization—the Black nationalist, Chicano, student, antiwar, and women's liberation movements—as part of their own. Our opponents all fail to understand the logic and depth of these movements. To one degree or another, they are all uncomfortable with, antagonistic toward, and repelled by these movements.

One argument both the reformists and ultralefts use against full support to these new manifestations of the class struggle is that they disrupt the unity of the working class. The way our opponents recoil from the independent thrust of these struggles means in practice disregarding the interests of the more oppressed workers and pandering to the prevailing prejudices and narrow interests of privileged layers in the working class and of the trade-union bureaucracy.

Revolutionists call for unity in action of the working class against attacks by the class enemy. But we fight to break up the "unity" founded on subordination of the historical interests of the class as a whole to those of the more privileged workers, to the anti-working-class interests of the union bureaucracy, and to the capitalist class.

Revolutionists do not call for unity of the working class based on the narrow parochial interests of the more privileged strata of workers, or on the current level of political consciousness, but for unity on a class-struggle program. This orientation requires full support to the struggles of all the less privileged workers and oppressed sectors of the population, against the special oppression they suffer as a result of the racial, sexual, and generational divisions fostered by the ruling class. In reality, far from threatening the real unity needed by the working class against its class enemies, the struggles of the oppressed nationalities, the women, the youth are all helping to deal powerful blows to the ideological barriers that racism, sexism, and narrow job-trust attitudes erect against the unity of the working class on a class-struggle program.

The reformists and ultralefts alike argue that the struggles that have so far emerged in the current radicalization are basically "petty bourgeois." Thus, the demands and driving forces of the radicalization at this "petty-bourgeois" stage are ephemeral and will be overcome at the next stage when the workers enter the struggle. As the CP defensively puts it, that is why Trotskyism is growing today and will die tomorrow.

They are wrong on all counts.

The demands and struggles of the students pointing toward the struggle for the red university, the demands of the antiwar movement for immediate withdrawal of the American imperialist army from Vietnam, the demand for control of their own communities by the oppressed nationalities in their struggles for self-determination, the social and political demands of women for their liberation, are all directed against the interests and authority of the ruling class and in the interests of the working class.

Far from diminishing the importance of these movements, the radicalization of deeper layers of the working class, which will occur in part around these political issues, will give them tremendous impetus. When this occurs, these movements will have the most powerful and decisive reinforcement of all, the entry of a great majority of the working class into struggle against the common enemy, the ruling class. And each of them will gain powerful new proletarian forces.

Only a leadership applying a transitional program that includes the progressive demands of all the oppressed, a leadership tested by previous struggles, will be capable of leading the working class and its allies in a victorious struggle for the establishment of a workers' state.

Both our reformist and ultraleft opponents exhibit a tendency towards *economism* in their ultimately pessimistic view of the role of the workers in the radicalization process. They see struggle over wage and job issues, *in isolation* from the political issues and motive forces of the radicalization, as the sole way the workers will be brought into struggle. This error is tied to their misconception—and hope—that independent movements like Black nationalism and feminism will somehow fade away when the "real" struggle begins.

The decisive mass of workers will not be politicalized until the underlying international economic crises force American imperialism into a showdown with the labor movement. But the issues that have already been raised in the current radicalization are not peripheral to the process of social discontent; they are central to it. And, in combination with the workers'

struggles over wage and job issues, they will lead to politicalization and radicalization of the working class. The independent and uncompromising demands of the various movements will be an additional aid to the workers' struggles against the efforts of the reformists to channel the burgeoning radicalization into the dead end of class collaboration.

In the face of the radicalization, the reformists and ultralefts are basically *conservative*. They fear the struggles of the developing radicalization, the revolts of the least privileged, just as they fear the revolution itself. This is reflected in either their sectarian abstention from the living movements emerging in the process of the radicalization or their participation only to divert, blunt, and in essence oppose the demands of these movements, their uncontrolled initiatives, and their independent political thrust.

At the bottom, this conservatism betrays a deep lack of confidence in the revolutionary potential of the working class and an ignorance of the essential nature of social revolution. Our opponents do not think that the young, militant workers who will revolt are ever capable of becoming antiwar, feminist or profeminist, nationalist or pronationalist, or self-reliant. If that were true, the American workers would also be incapable both of mobilizing the oppressed masses to overturn American capitalism and of shouldering the immense task of constructing socialism.

Thus, at bottom, our opponents are utopians. They really do not believe that the ranks of the American workers can do the job. And, in practice, for reliance on the workers they substitute reliance and dependence on other forces—the sectarians their mechanical political fantasies, and the reformists the liberals and progressive bureaucrats.

When the reformists or ultralefts proclaim that the forms and issues of the radicalization are detours, aberrations, or obstacles to the working class taking power, they actually mean that the radicalization threatens to become more and more of an obstacle to their desire to keep the class struggle in reformist channels or to control it according to a preconceived schema. All of the class-collaborationist opponents, including the ultralefts like PL, recoil from the independent struggles of the current radicalization and rail against "single issueism" because they have difficulty imposing their line of class collaboration upon them. The sectarian grouplets like the Workers League do the same because these struggles do not fit their preconception of a radicalization.

Every one of our opponents without exception adopts op-

portunist attitudes and positions in practice. In the 1968 New York teachers' union strike against steps taken toward Black control of the Black schools in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville section of Brooklyn, most of our opponents either equivocated or supported the Shanker leadership's reactionary strike against the Black community. All of them opposed the Equal Rights Amendment. None of them understood the May events—the reformists, ultralefts, and sectarians all feared the spontaneous mass mobilizations not under their control, underestimated their social and political importance, opposed the development of democratic strike councils, opposed the struggle for the antiwar university, and lectured those who went ahead. All are opposed to an independent development of La Raza Unida parties, either because it threatens an imaginary "people's" wing of the Democratic Party, or a labor party that doesn't yet exist, or working-class "unity." All have opposed concentrating on the mobilization of masses in street actions for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam. They condemn support for these actions as "Trotskyist."

All the class collaborationists and reformists will recoil from the future spontaneous, audacious, and uncontrolled mobilizations of the working class because they will be frightened by their inability to dominate that movement. But far from abstaining, they will do everything they can to keep the workers within reformist channels.

The sectarians (those who have not become the crassest opportunists) will scold the workers, recoiling from the new forms, language, and initiatives of the political radicalization of the working class just as they have done with regard to the current movements.

In the character of their political line and response to the rise of Black nationalism, independent Chicano struggles, the student movement, the women's liberation movement, and the antiwar movement, we have been provided with a preview of how our opponents will react to the radicalization of the working class.

2. A dogmatic view of how the workers will radicalize

All of our opponents share what might be labeled a dogmatic view of how the working class will become radicalized and how the struggle for transformation of the union movement will unfold. This dogmatism combines two errors—first, drawing the wrong lessons from the previous radicalization of the 1930s; and second, generalizing the concrete forms, tactical steps, and

dynamic of this previous radicalization and projecting these generalizations onto the present one.

They do not understand that both the successes (the consolidation of mighty industrial unions) and limitations (the CIO's failure to form an independent party of labor, and the deep incrustation, over decades, of a conservative, privileged bureaucracy on the unions) of the previous radicalization determined that new forms and new tactics would be necessary in the next radicalization.

Our opponents tend to believe that if the unions have not been radicalized, or if the radicalization is not yet reflected in consciously radical union struggles, then there is no real radicalization. This view leaves out of account the fact that the radicalization in the 1930s did not begin with the existing union movement, but outside it. It did not begin with the radicalization of the industrial workers, but with the intellectuals, the students, the veterans, the unemployed, and the farmers. When the industrial workers joined the struggle, the radicalization gathered power, and it did so through a split in the AFL and the development of a new form on a mass scale, the industrial unionism of the CIO.

Neither the reformists nor the sectarians can grasp that today's radicalization is already the biggest, deepest, and broadest in American history—and that it points toward the radicalization of the only social force that can wrest power from the hands of the rulers, a decisive sector of the working class. Neither can they grasp the optimistic conclusions concerning the American revolution that flow from this fact.

Our opponents view the radicalization of the workers in terms of the 1930s and as an extension, or repetition, of the 1930s—as they understand that period. Thus, the Communist Party's strategy—and hope—is to transform the union movement by a re-run of their heyday—an alliance with a "progressive" sector of the union bureaucracy, with themselves as leaders of "progressive" unions, carrying out a "progressive" line of support to "progressive" Democratic Party politicians. The Workers League sect offers as the answer to all questions the immediate construction of a labor party whose program will be counterposed to the demands of the Blacks, women, students, and Chicanos.

In its rise, the CIO led the struggles of many oppressed social layers as part of its drive to organize the unorganized workers in the mass-production industries. This ascending industrial-union movement was a vast social movement with the potential of transforming itself into an independent working-

class political instrument that could draw all the oppressed layers into political struggle with it, for the first time breaking the grip of capitalist politics on the masses in the U. S.

The failure of the CIO movement to break through onto the political plane greatly facilitated the incrustation of the union movement in the succeeding period of war, prosperity, and witch-hunt with a conservative, class-collaborationist, self-seeking, privileged bureaucratic layer. This bureaucracy steadily narrowed the scope of the union movement, and politically subordinated it to the Democratic Party. The union bureaucracy became the biggest obstacle to a new radicalization, to any break with class-collaborationist political quiescence, to any forms of struggle that would threaten class peace or escape their control.

As the *Transitional Program* points out, when masses of workers radicalize, in addition to struggling to transform the unions, they will have to construct and utilize organizational forms like strike or factory committees, councils, or political organizations that are distinct and separate from the official union organizations.

The important question at this stage is not predicting what forms the workers will create in their future struggles; or how many and which unions can be transformed into revolutionary instruments. The key thing to understand is that building the independent movements that have emerged in the new radicalization, and deepening their struggles, is part of the process of the working-class radicalization and the preparation of its fight for political independence; and that the struggle to transform the unions includes fighting within the unions for support to the central demands of the independent struggles rising in the current radicalization.

Our program for the union movement flows from the concrete situation facing the working class, both the unionized and unorganized sectors, and the forces in rebellion outside the union movement that are allies of the working class.

The demands we raise flow from two historical factors: first, the failure of the union movement to go beyond the economic organization of the workers to political organization, and the existence of a privileged bureaucratic layer whose interests are alien to those of its members and all the oppressed; and second, the inability of American imperialism to escape the international contradictions that will impel it, at some stage, to mount a heavy attack on the living standard of the workers and to attempt to reduce the mighty power of the unions.

The following are the outlines of the program we propose:

1. In the face of unemployment, inflation, and the threat

of imposition of a government wage-control scheme, our program calls for a sliding scale of wages and hours; full compensation for every jobless worker, including youth unable to find jobs; preferential hiring, upgrading, and training of workers of oppressed nationalities and women workers; and full equal rights for oppressed nationalities and women in the union and on the job.

2. To counter the ruling class's use of the labor bureaucracy to limit and control the unions, more thoroughly integrate them into the capitalist state, and keep the decision-making power out of the hands of the rank and file, our program calls for rank-and-file control of all union affairs; complete union independence from all government controls; and defense of the unconditional right to strike.

3. In face of the ruling-class monopoly of politics through the two capitalist parties, we explain the need for an independent labor party based upon the unions.

4. In view of the need to transform the unions into instruments of struggle around the issues that face the working masses and other oppressed layers as a whole, and the need to unite in struggle all these allies decisive to the future struggle to defeat the capitalist state, our program calls for full support to the struggles of the oppressed nationalities for self-determination; full support to the struggle of women for their complete liberation; the immediate withdrawal of all U. S. troops from Vietnam.

The above is an outline of the initial program around which we strive to educate left-wing forces in the unions. Stress on one or another aspect of this program is determined by the concrete situation. There are no tactical prescriptions generally valid for all unions. Because of the continued power and grip of the bureaucracy, we still have to use flanking tactics in the unions, which make the immediate target of our demands the class enemy, and which avoid the premature precipitation of power struggles in the unions. Our basic task remains one of publicizing and explaining this program.

The crisis of union leadership is part of the crisis of leadership of the working class that characterizes our epoch. Our program for the union movement is a class-struggle program for the formation of a revolutionary leadership in the unions. The outcome of this struggle is crucial; ultimately, it will determine the fate of the unions.

Our program is a program of struggle; it is not a list of promissory notes. We do not predict or promise beforehand how many of the unions will be transformed into instruments of revolutionary struggle, whether a labor party will be formed

or what its initial character may be, what other forms of mass organization the workers will create in relation to other mass organs of struggle outside the union movement as the radicalization deepens. Our union program is part of our general transitional program and is linked organically to the decisive task of building a mass revolutionary socialist party.

3. Construction of a mass revolutionary party is decisive

In the final analysis, the decisive question is the construction of a mass Trotskyist party. We proceed from the recognition that the SWP is not yet that mass party. We are a small but growing nucleus of cadres formed around the revolutionary socialist program necessary to build such a party. Thus, recruiting, training, and assimilating such cadres are the indispensable preconditions for building a mass workers' party. This has been the central task since the formation of the American Trotskyist movement, and there are no general rules on the ways and means to accomplish it. These depend upon the objective stage of the class struggle, the forces in motion, the degree of radicalization or conservatism, and the size and experience of our own forces. Many different tactics have been used in the history of our movement: entries, splits, fusions, regroupments, and colonizations of cadres in promising political situations in the various sectors of the mass movement.

Today our immediate goal is the recruitment of more and more of the young militants radicalized in the current political struggles, and the transformation of these recruits through education and experience into Trotskyist cadres.

All our opponents to one degree or another act as if they already were mass parties whose central problem is the deployment of their forces. Thus, the Communist Party has launched a daily newspaper, with a circulation below that of *The Militant*, as if their size and ability to directly influence all areas of the class struggle required a daily paper. Progressive Labor has for several years "colonized" its members into various unions, under the illusion that by "colonizing" they are going to transform themselves into a mass proletarian organization and also directly influence the course of the unions' development. The Workers League sect, which carries its lack of appreciation of reality to the extreme, has formed committees of a few of its members previously "colonized" in the unions to "form a Labor Party now."

A corollary to the pretension of all these propaganda groups that they are affecting social struggles like mass parties, is

their sectarian and factional refusal to recognize that united-front-type formations are absolutely necessary to mobilize masses of people and that this cannot be done today by any single socialist organization alone. Thus, we are treated to the spectacle of the Workers League calling for a *mass general strike* to stop the war, the ultralefts calling for *mass trashing* to stop the war, the CP calling for *immediate* mass actions to stop the invasion of Laos, PL calling for a *mass migration* to Detroit in support of the GM strikers and to bring down the imperialist warmakers—all as a substitute for building the antiwar movement.

All revolutionary parties at different times selectively colonize members into promising political situations in industry. But the purpose of such colonization cannot be a shortcut in overcoming objective developments or artificially "proletarianizing" the organization by transforming colonized individuals into workers. The key to becoming a mass working-class party, in composition as well as in program, does not lie in such individual transformations. It lies in the recruitment of politicalized workers to a party that has proven itself in the political and social struggles that are occurring, that has geographically spread and grown to such a size that it is seen as a revolutionary alternative to the parties of the rulers and the programs of the workers' misleaders.

All of our opponents are wrong about the way a socialist party wins working-class cadres. Workers become politicalized by the struggles they engage in, and radicalized by the important social and political issues facing the country and at the center of the radicalization. As this occurs, they begin to look for an alternative political organization to support. Our own recruitment of politicalized workers in the 1930s and 1940s confirms this.

How many radicalized and politicalized workers will be recruited in the future to a revolutionary program and organization or to a reformist or ultraleft dead end depends on one key factor: the prior development of cadres capable of participating as revolutionary socialists in the struggles as they arise.

Report to the SWP National Committee

By Jack Barnes

I am sure the comrades were struck by the amount of attention our opponents gave to our movement at the Young Socialist Alliance national convention.¹ I don't know how much of the written material concerning the convention the comrades have seen.

The *Daily World* had several stories including a reprint of the full text of a leaflet the Young Workers Liberation League distributed at the convention.

The Socialist Party came to literary life with two major articles in *New America*. One, entitled "The YSA Has Lost Its Way," has a picture of the YSA's "Come to Minneapolis" poster from the *previous* YSA convention, and a clear picture of a *Militant* salesperson hawking the issue with the headline "No U. S. Troops to the Mideast," to show how bad we really are. They followed this with a major article entitled "Arafat Si, Marx No."

The Healyite Workers League² published for the convention a special four-page insert in their paper entitled "Most Critical Period in History." Comrades should not jump to any conclusions from this headline, however. Wohlforth sees every week as the most critical in history. Especially the week when the "proletarian" police went on strike and he thought New York City was on the verge of civil war.

The International Socialists circulated a very restrained leaflet explaining the "misconceptions" YSA members have about IS—including the YSA's "misconception" that IS is Shachtmanite.

Even a miniscule split-off from the Spartacists or the Work-

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1. The Tenth National Convention of the Young Socialist Alliance was held in New York City December 27-31, 1970. It was attended by 1,220 delegates and observers from thirty-four states.

2. The Workers League, headed by Tim Wohlforth, is the American expression of a tendency that split from the world Trotskyist movement in 1963. Its political inspirer is the sectarian Socialist Labour League of Britain led by Gerry Healy.

ers League called something like the Vanguard Newsletter organized a special intervention, as did other groups. The *Guardian* headlined a full-page story "YSA Plans to Lead Youth Movement." And the writer partly convinced himself this was possible.

All this attention symbolizes a stage we've reached in striving for leadership of the socialist movement in this country. It is also indicative of the fact that, as the radicalization process continues, the various tendencies sense that we're going through a turning point in American history; they try to explain what is happening, and they can't do that without paying attention to the revolutionary party and to the forces that relate to it. We should meet the challenge our opponents have thrown us, as well as the challenge and opportunities the objective situation presents, by taking a careful look at where we are, what stage the radicalization has reached, and what further positions we've come to since we began looking at this process very closely prior to our last convention in 1969. In the political resolution and in this report, we want to analyze the major events since we last got together, not so much to draw the conjunctural conclusions and determine our immediate tasks from them, as to see what they confirm and how they make us modify our earlier estimates.

In one way, our opponents present almost a united challenge to us—a challenge to our analysis of the radicalization and the evolution of the class struggle in this country; a challenge to the major role the Trotskyists are playing in the militant movements and political struggles that have arisen; and a challenge to forsake the road we're on and to join them on what they consider the correct road to the construction of a proletarian party and the mobilization of the working class.

The objective of the political resolution [*Perspectives and Lessons of the New Radicalization*] is to step back from our immediate tasks—these are developed in the other resolutions and reports—in order to take a clear, objective look at the radicalization and the current stage of the construction of the Socialist Workers Party. On the basis of this analysis, we will propose a program of organizational expansion and political campaigns to the party convention.

The scope of our expansion program, the character of the activities we engage in, the character of our planned geographical expansion, the size of the effort to increase the circulation of our press and our literature, the perspectives we have for the growth of the youth movement, and the character of the presidential campaign we project for 1972, would all be

part of a pollyanna-like pipe dream if they were not firmly rooted in an accurate political evaluation of the objective situation.

Finally, as the comrades on the National Committee know, there is some disagreement inside the party about its orientation and political evaluation, its projected path for the construction of the revolutionary proletarian party, and the key tasks before us in constructing a cadre. The exact character of these criticisms is not clear yet. But the comrades who disagree state that they are preparing their ideas in written form for submission to the party early in the preconvention period. This will facilitate a thorough political discussion by the entire party prior to the convention decision on our political line.

1. Prospects of the radicalization

Our analysis of the radicalization is based on our evaluation of its roots and prospects. The roots of the radicalization—and of our conclusion that it will not be decisively reversed without gigantic struggles in which the question of what class rules will be posed—lie in the imperialist war policies of the ruling class and the growing contradictions arising from the evolution of world capitalist economy. We have gone over this before in the political resolution adopted at the 1969 convention, and it is developed further in the current political resolution. The resolution puts the evolution of the war in Vietnam since our last plenum, and the unfolding of the 1970 recession, in this longer run basic framework.

It's important that we make clear what we do *not* say. We do not say there won't be twists and turns, ebbs and flows, ups and downs, and successes and setbacks in the struggle as it unfolds. From the beginning of our analysis and discussions on the radicalization, we stressed that its logic will bring a deepening of class polarization and of mass struggles in this country. We believe neither that the revolution is around the corner nor that the ruling class in this country will give up without using everything available to it, up to and including an attempt to turn toward fascist methods.

What we *do* say is that as American capitalism enters the 1970s, it does not have the capacity to grant concessions of the scope and character necessary to meet the growing demands of the American people, halt the deterioration of the quality of life around them, and thus simply stop, and then reverse, the radicalization for an entire period of time.

A qualitative turning point in the process of radicalization

came in the middle 1960s. The rise of the Vietnam war—with the new awareness that it gave to millions of people concerning the implications of American imperialist world policy—coincided with a change in the underlying conditions that had sustained the long post-World War II world capitalist boom. This is outlined in the resolution.

These contradictions of capitalism lie at the roots of the radicalization.

These contradictions underlie another important thing we've discussed. The tools that American imperialism has used in the past to dampen radicalism—anti-Communist red-baiting, foreign military adventures to whip up patriotism, war spending to generate prosperity, selective legal harassment to attempt to silence protesters, racism, sexism—today produce outrage, not just intimidation, and have the effect of feeding the radicalization. Far from decisively setting back the radicalization or reversing it, they heat it up. This appraisal, that repression and reaction spur radicalism rather than cripple it, is very different from what most of our opponents say.

2. Mutually reinforcing struggles

A second point relates to the stage the radicalization has reached. As the radicalization has advanced, a new factor has come into play. That is the cushioning effect of new struggles, new sectors coming into battle, new forces coming into motion, when forces that have been involved get tired, suffer a partial defeat, pause, or step back to reflect. The radicalization is too broad to be dependent upon any one sector or one set of struggles—it is not just the antiwar struggles, not just the women's liberation struggles, not just the student struggles, not just the Black and Chicano liberation struggles.

This aspect of the depth of the radicalization is important for the party's activity. This was evident in the past period, after the May 1970 upsurge, when a temporary slackening of the antiwar movement's capacity to mobilize coincided with the big upsurge in the women's liberation movement, in which we demonstrated our ability to participate, make gains, and affect the consciousness of the movement. As the university and college campuses went through a pause, there were new flare-ups in the high schools. As a relative quiescence continued in the Black liberation movement, a new level of struggle and new forms of organization developed in the Chicano liberation struggle.

We can't predict the exact characteristics of the unevenness as the radicalization develops. The important thing is that

a pause or a setback in a single sector of the struggle doesn't stop or decisively reverse the radicalization as a whole. Rather, the continued eruption of new contradictions and new forces in action cushions these pauses and setbacks.

3. Far-reaching demands

The resolution draws attention to the character of many of the demands being raised by the movements that are evolving. In the *Transitional Program*, Trotsky pointed out that in the death agony of capitalism it was not only the far-reaching demands of the workers, but even the serious demands of the petty bourgeoisie and other oppressed sectors that cannot be met by the ruling class within the bounds of capitalist property relations and the bourgeois state. We can see this in the kinds of demands and issues that the women's liberation movement has raised, for example. They raise demands and pose problems whose solutions require more than the reform of capitalism. The problems they pose point to some of the needs of humanity that can be met only through a socialist revolution.

We're seeing two things in this radicalization which are occurring in a quite different way than in the Russian Revolution. George Novack made the point yesterday that it took the February revolution—Trotsky said that if it had done nothing else it would have been totally justified by this alone—to awaken and bring into struggle the oppressed nationalities in Russia. And it took the victory of the October Revolution, with the workers coming to power under the leadership of the Bolsheviks, to begin raising and grappling with some of the problems that are being raised today for example by the women's liberation movement and the demand for just treatment of homosexuals put forward by the gay liberation movement.

In this radicalization, we are seeing the rise of the self-conscious struggle and organization of America's oppressed nationalities and the beginnings of movements whose demands are so basic that they can only begin to be met by a workers' state—and we are seeing this *prior* to the large-scale participation by the working class in the radicalization, let alone a revolutionary upsurge. And the questions of alienation; of the hierarchical relationships necessary to capitalist society which foster and rationalize oppression based on class, race, sex, age, etc; the questions of who controls one's life and work—all being raised by one or another movement—become generalized and begin affecting the consciousness of the vast majority—including the working class—that directly faces all these problems.

We also see a process occurring which is important in any radicalization and can eventually be a key factor leading to a revolutionary situation. That is the gradual decay of the moral authority of the rulers, their representatives, and their institutions, and the shift of that authority in the process of struggle, in the eyes of growing numbers of people, from the rulers and their apologists to the movements fighting against the evils of capitalism. This is one of the important characteristics and effects of things like the broadening radicalization in the army, the rebellions in the prisons, the rise of the gay liberation movement, the deepening of the women's liberation struggle, the pride of the militants of the oppressed nationalities.

The Cubans said, in the *Second Declaration of Havana*, "For this great mass of humanity has said, 'Enough!' and has begun to march." That captures part of the spirit of this radicalization. There is no layer too oppressed, too prejudiced against, too repressed, too denigrated as an outcast by capitalist society to stand up, to assert is humanity, to demand to be treated as fully human, and to demand an improvement in the quality of life. This American capitalism cannot grant.

4. How revolutionists relate to the mass movements

There is a fourth general point that runs through the resolution. That is the importance and implication of the fact that we *act* as revolutionaries in the way we relate to emerging movements as the radicalization develops. We first talked about this at the 1969 convention as we discussed the evolution of our understanding of Black nationalism. We did not have to wait for the codification of our position at the 1963 convention to act as revolutionists in the Afro-American movement. We are not able to instantaneously develop a total understanding and rounded analysis of, and put in the right framework in our program, each new movement against the oppressions of capitalism at the beginning of its rise. The key thing is that as the radicalization deepens, as new movements arise, as new sectors come into struggle against the antidemocratic bias of capitalism, against the oppression of capitalism, against the inequities and inequalities of capitalism, that we champion the progressive demands of these movements, and that we act as revolutionists toward them and in them. Then, as long as we're clear about our political principles, we should find no insurmountable obstacles to coming to grips with these new movements, analyzing them and incorporating generalizations and demands flowing from them into our program.

There's a section in the resolution that deals with this. It says our job is to champion the movements of all sectors of the oppressed that rise in struggle against the oppression of capitalism. And, over time, we add to our transitional program—our program for the socialist revolution—those demands flowing from these struggles which fit into the strategy of the *Transitional Program*. We do not see these struggles—regardless of their current leadership or limitations—as something separate from or alien to the SWP.

The revolutionary party wants to be connected with the genuinely progressive goals of every movement of the oppressed. An example of this process was the development of our *Transitional Program for Black Liberation*. Another example, in relation to the student movement, was the development of the red university resolution. We are also beginning to grapple with the question of demands and strategy in the women's liberation movement and Chicano liberation movement. We will repeat this process in relation to other movements.

To us, the key fact is that these movements, these upsurges, these protests are dealing blows to the assumptions of class collaborationism and reformism, and breaking up the conservative, anti-political-action atmosphere that dominated this country for so many years. These movements are affecting the consciousness of broad layers of people and are paving the way for the advance of the radicalization.

There is another important aspect to our embracing these movements and acting as revolutionists in them and influencing them. We used to hear in the antiwar movement, from the faint-hearts after each action, "Well, once the action is over, where do people go? They go home and that is it. Fred Halstead, the big marshal, he organizes a million to come out and march in D. C. Big deal. The next day they're back home, watching TV," etc. We've effectively answered this sort of pessimism many times in relation to the fight against the imperialist war. But there's an additional reason why this kind of argument is wrong: it expresses the false idea that the effects of actions in raising consciousness, in involving people, disappear when the "crowd" goes home. The truth is that thousands upon thousands of Americans have been affected, their consciousness has been permanently changed, by participation in mass actions.

Thus, in addition to everything else, the process of radicalization breeds layers of militants who are different people than they were before it began. They may be politically quiescent for a period of time, but seeds have been planted. They have gone through events that have changed them. This process is

part of the radicalization; it produces layers of people who have new attitudes toward struggle, new attitudes about and less confidence in American capitalism than they had beforehand, and who later enter different struggles.

There is no pure spontaneity. Spontaneous mass actions come forth from an interaction between layers of people who have gone through some political experiences with those who haven't. Our projection of an independent, mass-action perspective in the emerging movements accelerates this process. This can be seen in the antiwar movement, where our participation has been instrumental in maintaining a mass-action perspective, and has thus had a profound impact on the development of the whole radicalization.

5. Applying the transitional program

A fifth point is the unique approach that we take to the radicalization and to these independent movements. Our approach is that of the *Transitional Program*. Part of the Communist Party's "analysis" of the SWP and YSA is contained in an article in the September 1970 *Political Affairs* called "YSA: Trotskyist Roadblock" by Mike Zagarell. Almost half of the article is devoted to transitional demands. When it comes to transitional demands, the *Transitional Program*, and the transitional approach, Zagarell is at a total loss. He says this is the worst thing about Trotskyism and that the Trotskyists can't get rid of it unless they denounce Trotsky because he was the fountainhead of this whole transitional concept. Zagarell says this transitional approach, these transitional demands, are what prevent unity in the peace movement, unity on the electoral front, unity in the struggle against racism. He says it's this transitional approach that the SWP used to "torpedo" support to the King-Spock ticket and prevent it from getting off the ground, and that makes capitalist "peace candidates" the SWP's main target. He lists the things that this transitional approach does—all of which channel and orient independent struggles away from political collaboration with capitalist parties and policies, away from popular frontism—which horrify him.

This approach—the connection of our day-to-day work, involvement in and championing of the struggles of all layers of the oppressed, with the socialist revolution, through the fight for demands leading to the overthrow of capitalism—is uniquely ours. The single-issue character of the mass mobilizations that we've been involved in organizing, the united-front approach, the principle of nonexclusion, are all part and parcel of the transitional approach.

What is involved most basically in this orientation toward the mobilization of mass struggles is our understanding of and confidence in the capacity of the working masses to mobilize themselves. Ultimately, while a revolution must have leaders, it is the masses themselves that make the revolution. Independent, increasingly self-confident mass struggle that is not channeled toward class collaboration or derailed by ultra-leftism is the road the struggle for power itself takes. And by saying this, we're not simply repeating by rote something we've learned from the past. The richness of the *Transitional Program* lies not only in the demands and principles that have come down from past struggles, but in the guidance it gives for applying it to situations that have not been seen before.

There has been a recent development that verifies what we've been saying for some time about the question of alliances and independence. The April 24 mass action has more independent components than any antiwar mobilization we've yet seen. There's a Black task force, there's an attempt to organize an independent Chicano component for the West Coast march, there's a women's contingent, there's a gay task force, there may be a GI or vets task force, certain unions will march as unions. There is a series of components of April 24 which are organized independently but which will come together in a powerful single mass mobilization against the war.

6. Difference between a radicalization and a revolutionary situation

The sixth point I want to mention is the difference between a radicalization and a revolutionization, the distinction George Breitman developed in his Oberlin speech.³ This is one of the keys to understanding the radicalization and our approach to it; and it is something which our opponents don't grasp. We have had to think it out and become more precise about this as the radicalization has deepened.

I remember, during the May events, a discussion I had with Al Hansen about the depth of the May events, what they represented for this country, how the events were demonstrating that the radicalization was the deepest the country had ever seen. Al made the remark that there was something about all this that bothered him—he could see the evidence for our description of the radicalization, but compared to the thirties

3. "The Current Radicalization Compared with Those of the Past." This talk by George Breitman was delivered to the Socialist Activists and Educational Conference held in Oberlin, Ohio, August 9-16, 1970. It was published in the October 1970 *ISR* and reprinted in *Towards an American Socialist Revolution* (New York, Pathfinder Press, 1971).

there was one big difference: the forces that actually can settle the issue, that can pose the question of which class shall rule, that can overthrow capitalism, are not in motion in large numbers, as they were during part of the 1930s.

So how do we fit these seemingly contradictory observations together: that this is the deepest, broadest, and most promising radicalization in American history, on the one hand; and on the other, that the forces that can pose the question of power and reorganize society on a new basis, that were politically involved in the thirties in large numbers, are not now on the march to the same degree?

The decisive question for us in analyzing the depth and promise of the radicalization is not whether the working class self-consciously and in very large numbers is at this point involved. That does not settle this question. It does not belittle the radicalization to point out that the working class has not yet intervened in this manner. In fact, it indicates to us how powerful the radicalization will become with the large-scale involvement of the working class and the potential speed with which a prerevolutionary situation could arise when that happens.

In his analysis at Oberlin, George Breitman made a very strong case that this is the deepest, broadest, and most promising radicalization ever. In relation to this, we should think more about the importance of the fact that the movements and forces that compose this radicalization are *not* led by the Stalinists. One of the speakers at Oberlin, to draw attention to the difference between us and the Stalinists, made this remark: "Just think what would have happened if the Stalinists had been in the leadership of the student movement, if the Stalinists had been in the leadership of the nationalist upsurge, if the Stalinists had been the leadership of the antiwar movement, if the Stalinists had been the leadership of the women's liberation movement."

As I thought about it, what immediately came to me is that there could not have been any antiwar movement as we know it. There could not have been any student movement as we know it. There could not have been any rising women's liberation movement as we know it, or Black or Chicano movement. All this could not have happened. That is a crucial historic fact. Every mass movement the Communist Party led in the 1930s and 1940s it directed into the dead end of Democratic Party reform politics, where it withered and died.

As the radicalization deepens, the Communist Party has neither automatic hegemony in the mass movement nor a preponderant edge over us as to who is going to develop the

cadres that will begin recruiting the decisive section of the politicalized and radicalized workers as that becomes possible.

The inability of the Stalinists to take the leadership of these movements so far is one of the key factors explaining the depth of the radicalization and its continuing character. In fact, this is one of the preconditions for a radicalization of this kind. It was necessary for history to erode the power and relative position of the Stalinists to lay the basis for a radicalization which can develop and drive forward and not be blunted or capped at an early stage.

After the political resolution clarifies the difference between a radicalization and a prerevolutionary or a revolutionary situation (which are impossible without decisive sections of the working class being radicalized and mobilized), we get to another very basic question: how the radicalization of decisive sectors of the working class will occur and what its relationship will be to the American revolution. This dialectical process is also a mystery to our opponents.

7. Effects of the radicalization on the working class

The resolution outlines, analyzes, and gives examples of the direct effects of the radicalization upon the working class today. The militant "into the streets" attitude of the radicalization has had one of the biggest effects. The degree to which direct action, street action, mass action, is central to the radicalization is indicated by the importance of the slogan "into the streets" to each new sector that radicalizes. I noticed one of the signs, I think it was a photo in *The Militant*, carried in a demonstration on International Women's Day, which said "Out of the kitchens and into the streets!" Out of your narrow day-to-day concerns and into the streets. The initiating slogan of the gay liberation movement was "Out of the closet and into the streets!" This concept of direct mass action, of "into the streets," affects the mood of the entire population.

At the same time, it's clear that if you really want to get into the streets over an issue that is important to you, your basic concern isn't who is in the streets with you. In this sense, the Des Moines demonstration against Nixon⁴ was something of a harbinger of the future. Part of the elitist idea that so many of the reformists and sectarians have of the workers is the false concept that—unlike any other human being who has decided to organize, demonstrate, and fight over an issue important to her or him—the first question workers will ask

4. On March 1, 1971, construction workers joined farmers and antiwar students in Des Moines, Iowa, in a street demonstration protesting a visit to the city by Nixon.

is "who else is out there?" before they demonstrate. There will be all kinds of frictions, all kinds of problems of organization as different sectors unite in struggle, but when people decide to struggle and engage in mass action in the streets they are not hesitant about others who are out there. The key question is who is really willing to fight the common enemy. I looked very closely at the front-page newspaper picture of the demonstration in Des Moines where students, women, construction workers were massed together in protest. I don't think that demonstration could have taken place in that way ten years ago.

In the political resolution, we look at the direct effect on the workers of the issues that are being raised and the struggles that are being launched, like the struggle over pollution and the environment. At the last plenum, we discussed the fact that pollution of the environment directly affects workers in the factory itself, beyond the ways it affects anyone else.

The rise of feminism, the rise of Black nationalism, the rise of Chicano nationalism, the rise of nationalist consciousness and militancy among the Puerto Rican people and the other oppressed nationalities, the anti-imperialist consciousness being bred by the antiwar movement, the prison revolts—all of these things directly affect the women, the Blacks, the Chicanos, the Puerto Ricans, the antiwar veterans, veterans from Vietnam, ex-students, former convicts, etc., in the working class.

Any component of this radicalization, any sector of the population that for its own reasons begins to struggle and begins fighting, affects broad layers of the American working class. That is why we keep hammering away in our propaganda at the necessity of getting rid of a notion that dominates large sectors of the radical movement, that is, the image of a "worker" as something like a wrench, or a rivet gun with a blue collar. Workers are human beings with a special and unique relationship to the means of production, but human beings capable of being influenced by the political and social issues and struggles occurring in society. Indeed, if they were not, socialism would be a utopia.

The resolution looks at the changes in the working class, the infusion of young workers, the growth of the number of Black workers, the estimates from the census of the growth of the percentage of women workers, etc. In talking about this, we're not talking about a "new working class" that some New Lefters look for, that stretches the definition of the working class beyond any plausible point so that the category loses its scientific foundation and strategic value to the revolutionary movement. But being conscious of the changes in

the working class makes it easier to understand concretely the effects of the radicalization on it and its various components.

Far from decreasing the strategic power of the workers, the degree of sophistication, automation, and mechanization of an advanced capitalist economy increases this power many-fold. The strategic power of the working class, especially its key sector in the industrial working class, increases as the division of labor deepens and the interdependency of different sections of capitalist industry develops further. And there is increased receptivity to our explanation of the capacity of the working class itself to build and run a new society.

8. The coming attack on the workers' living standards

In addition to the growing direct effect of the radicalization on the consciousness of sectors of the working class and the working class as a whole, the resolution analyzes a second factor: the necessity, flowing from the evolution of the world capitalist economy, for the ruling class sooner or later to attack the wages and living standards, the conditions on the job, and eventually the economic organizations of the working class, the trade unions.

It is important to note that the workers will not involve themselves in decisive numbers in mass political struggles solely through the steady influence of radical attitudes on them by the political and social struggles that have characterized the deepening radicalization; nor will this occur solely through economic struggles. It is going to come through a combination of the two.

And here we can't give any blueprints or predict the timing of exactly when or how this will occur. We can't predict the exact relative weight of these two influences. But we do know that there will be a combination of resistance to attacks on the workers by the capitalist rulers with changes in the workers' consciousness caused by the struggles of the radicalization as a whole. It will be this combination that will give a historically concrete and unique physiognomy to the radicalization and revolutionization of the mass of workers, as large numbers of workers begin to involve themselves in struggle.

Our opponents take one or the other aspect of this process and concentrate on it in a one-sided manner. Some say that the unions are not and cannot become involved in the radicalization, that the only effect on the workers is going to be an accumulation of the effects of the political and social struggles that have characterized the radicalization so far.

On the other hand, some "theoreticians" who see the workers only as unionists, and only as wage earners and food eaters, believe that economic attacks on them as such are the only things that can radicalize them.

The big error is to miss either side of this process, of this combination. This understanding highlights the importance of the observations in the *Transitional Program* about the necessity of constructing independent organizations for mass struggle outside the unions, as part of the struggle to transform the unions and to lead a mass radicalization; and the key importance of the democratic councils as decisive instruments to organize the revolution.

9. Building a left wing in the unions

Unlike our opponents, we don't look back on the past through dogmatic lenses. We look back on the period of the thirties with an accurate eye and we also look back on it as a specific and historically unique radicalization. It doesn't bother us that much of the action of this radicalization, and maybe even some of the most important action of the coming revolutionization, may be outside the unions. We'll make the most of it either way.

It is within this framework that we wanted to include in the resolution our immediate program for organizing a left wing inside the union movement. We wanted to put our demands in the union movement in the framework of the objective development of the radicalization and contradictions of American capitalism. These demands are not something we sucked out of our thumbs or a simple repetition of demands we raised in the unions in the past. They are demands whose roots lie in the key areas of confrontation between the ruling class and its organizations, as outlined in the political resolution's analysis of the objective contradictions facing American capitalism.

We wanted to put this program in the context of the burgeoning social struggles of the current radicalization, to make sure the newer comrades understand, and to make it clear to the entire radical movement that we see the union movement, and our program in the union movement, as part and parcel of broader social struggles. We don't see struggles in the unions as a stage in the radicalization in which, when reached, other independent struggles will decline or disappear. Rather we see intensifying union struggles as a component of a further and higher stage of the radicalization.

Ultimately, of course, the *Transitional Program* itself is our full program for the union movement because the decisive

question as the struggle progresses will be the fight to transform the unions into instruments of revolutionary struggle. We hope the resolution makes it clear that this perspective of struggling to transform the unions is not an optional matter, a question of debating: well, yes, it is wise to struggle to transform the unions, and others say, no, it's not wise to struggle to transform the unions.

The struggle to transform the unions is a *necessary* part of our strategy for the socialist revolution. And it is based both on the necessary struggle to defend the unions *and* on the struggle to transform as many unions as possible into fighting instruments of the class that go far beyond struggles for simple union demands. Both of these aspects of the struggle will be intimately tied together in the course of the struggle for power. The unions will either be transformed or they will be crushed by the government, or totally tamed, with no independent value to the working class.

We can get a slight preview of the kinds of future strategic problems and roles of revolutionaries in the unions if we look at the teachers' struggles occurring right now. Serious unionists in the teachers' union, those concerned about the growth, development, and the power of the union, have to think about a few other factors, today and not tomorrow, in order even to defend and advance the union. They have to think about Black control, Chicano control, and Puerto Rican control of their communities, and about the necessity for the union to support these struggles and involve these forces as allies. They have to think about the growing radicalization and the growing demands and consciousness of the high school students for their rights. How can the union champion these demands and make these students allies? These are not questions for the far-off future—not questions we will eventually raise if we do some union work for a long time in the teachers' union. They are in the center of the work of revolutionaries in the teachers' union today.

We also wanted to make it clear that we place our union program in the political context of party-building. We see all of our work, in all sectors of the mass movement, in this light.

10. An ultraleft idea

We wanted to draft the resolution so that it refuted a wrong idea creeping into the radical movement through some ultra-lefts. That is the idea that the more proletarian a country, the less need there is for a centralized combat party, unlike a backward country where there are large nonproletarian lay-

ers, a giant peasantry, where a centralized workers' party is necessary.

Just the opposite is true. That is, the more proletarian, the more advanced the country, the more the divisions in the working class—the geographical, religious, racial, national, sex, age, craft differentiations—become important tools of the ruling class, at the same time that they breed radicalization and rebellion by oppressed layers. To overcome these divisions, to coordinate these different layers in a combined struggle for power, requires a centralized, combat party.

The struggles of different oppressed layers are intimately connected with and often led by sectors of the working class itself. The clearest example is the Black struggle. One of the things that we have always said about Black nationalism and the rise of the Black nationalist movement is that it is a nationalist movement that is overwhelmingly proletarian in composition, and Black nationalist consciousness is a form, a special expression, of class consciousness.

None of our opponents clearly see the central importance of independent struggle instead of class collaboration, the role of independent mass mobilizations, the capacity of the workers to transform themselves, to lead the broader social struggles, to take power, and to continue the revolution after that.

The reformists of all stripes have quite a different view. The Stalinists' objective is not to *lead* mass upsurges in order to establish a workers' state and open the way to the socialist transformation, but to *control* mass upsurges. They do not think it out consciously, but the logic of the Stalinists' and social democrats' approach to the working class—assuming the defeat of the ruling class (which they cannot bring about)—their maximum ultimate program, is a grossly *deformed* workers' state. A state with nationalized industry which they direct and control, that is their maximum goal. That is their great vision for humanity in this period of ascending radicalization! A series of deformed workers' states with people like Gus Hall on top. That is the logic of class collaboration, that is the logic of their petty-bourgeois program, that is the logic of the petty-bourgeois layers which both the social democrats and the Stalinists ultimately represent. That reveals the limits of their confidence in the working class to transform itself and transform society.

11. No shortcuts in building a revolutionary party

Finally, on the key question concerning the construction of the party and the stage we're at in building the party, we

know there are no gimmicks or substitutes for the construction of a party. No bureaucrats, no tactics, no technical or military discoveries, no shortcuts will substitute for the party. It must be a party with the perspective to lead the working class, and its allies, in massive revolutionary mobilization around a principled program, not to control and dampen the mass struggles to keep them within the bounds of class collaboration, or attempt to substitute itself for the working class and the oppressed masses. It must apply the method of the *Transitional Program* in championing all the progressive struggles that erupt; and it must answer the social questions that are raised by the revolts and movements that develop against capitalist rule. These answers point toward workers' power and socialism.

It must be a mass revolutionary socialist combat party on the Leninist model, and it must be proletarian in composition as well as in program. That is our orientation, that has always been our orientation, and that remains our orientation. But one small question comes up. How do we get there? And how do we get hegemony in the socialist movement on the way?

Not only are they wrong on perspectives and program, but the reformists, ultralefts, and sectarians are wrong in their answer to this question. This was the focus of their attacks on the Trotskyist movement at the YSA convention. This is a problem of long standing to us. This has been the task since the founding of American Trotskyism. How do we build a cadre? How do we get together individuals to make a Trotskyist cadre? By a cadre, I mean a leadership cadre. Gather together the human material, the leadership nucleus of the mass revolutionary party.

There's no blueprint for this. The resolution outlines some of the steps we've taken in this direction in the past—entries, fusions, splits, regroupments, selective colonizations in various promising politicalizing sections of the mass movement—there are probably some others we left out, and there will probably be some in the future that we haven't yet tried, and there will probably be repetitions of things we have done in the past. As the radicalization deepens and brings in broader layers of the American people, including decisive sectors of the working class, what will be crucial is what in this preliminary period we were able to accomplish in constructing the nucleus, a leadership cadre, of the future mass revolutionary workers' party.

We begin with one central fact—we are not yet a mass party or anything approaching it. There are two possible confu-

sions that can arise about this. One comes from the fact that we act like a mass party in certain ways. For instance, the way we run election campaigns, and answer the problems that face the mass of the people, not limiting ourselves to the problems of some small sectors of the population or the radical movement alone. We are a nucleus—but one that intends to become a mass party. And our activity helps make this clear.

A second possible source of confusion lies in the fact that our activity goes well beyond propaganda in its solely literary meaning. We are involved in, and are part of the leadership of, large-scale actions that take place.

But neither of these two things should be allowed to blur the fact that we are not yet a mass party in the Leninist sense of the term. Neither in our size, our geographic distribution, nor our effect on and cadres in the mass organizations of the working class, the oppressed nationalities, and other oppressed sectors of the American people, do we meet the criteria of such a mass party.

There is an objective fact about the radicalization and its pace: the mass of the working class is lagging behind the radicalization. This *objective* contradiction cannot be disposed of and solved by the *subjective* action of a handful. Neither we nor any of our opponents have massive forces, whose effect, in and of themselves, can alter this objective situation. This is one of the key blunders continually repeated by our opponents. They act as if they dispose of massive forces. Of course, just because they make such pretensions does not mean they affect events as mass parties do.

Our path is quite different. We make no pretense to be at this stage a mass party that can affect the mass movement like a mass party. We want to spread no confusion about this. Rather we reconfirm that we are going deeper into these movements as they arise. We're going to champion every progressive struggle as it arises. We're going to fight to keep them independent, to keep them heading in an anticapitalist direction, to battle our opponents in the struggle, and to recruit from these struggles militants that can be trained as Trotskyist cadres. These are the real political struggles we face; this is the real stage of the rise of anticapitalist consciousness in this country. And this orientation is the source of the necessary experience, the testing of program, and the recruits indispensable for the construction of the cadres of the revolutionary party, the decisive nucleus without which there will be no mass Leninist party.

Our opponents, in their leaflets to the YSA convention and

the harangues in their press, all counterposed to our perspective what they must think is a new discovery. Their strategy for party building is what the CP calls an "industrial concentration," what the IS calls "workers work," what Wohlforth modestly calls his "proletarian orientation," what Progressive Labor calls the "colonization of selected key plants," etc. There are different names for it. But what they all come down to are subjective and arbitrary shortcuts by a handful aimed at bridging the objective gap between the pace and characteristics of the radicalization of the decisive sections of the working class and the growing radicalization of other oppressed sectors of the population. They ultimately come down to a gimmick substituting for a Leninist strategy of party-building.

There are many rationalizations used and justifications raised by our opponents. One is what I call the "miss the boat" theory. That is, if we don't take this step now of sending large numbers into the factories, we'll miss the boat. But the problem of the revolutionary proletarian boat is more complex than that. What we must build is a large enough cadre, politically homogeneous, with collective experience in leading real social and political struggles, who have gained a reputation in the fighting mass movements and who will thus be able to attract politicalized and radicalized workers to their party. That's the boat not to miss. There's no danger of missing the boat, any more than there's the danger of our not responding if there is a real opening where we can do political work in industry, where we can recruit some cadres, where we can make some political gains. No problem at all. We have been doing so; we intend to continue.

The second justification is what we call the "class composition" justification, that is, the idea that the central problem of a small group of cadres trying to increase their size and build the nucleus of a mass party is its class composition. This problem is "solved" by telling everyone to get a job in industry. In other words, this is an attempt to solve the problem of building a proletarian party through taking a small group of cadres and substituting a transformation of the social composition of these cadres through colonization in industry, for the construction of a cadre that will be the necessary nucleus of a fighting mass proletarian party.

The third justification is the "rooted in key plants," or the johnny-come-lately version of the "miss the boat" theory. It was this that the PL members hammered away at in the corridors at the YSA convention. YSAers would ask them two questions and would not get very satisfactory answers. One is, "Which are the key plants?" There are hundreds of thousands

of plants in this country. If you can tell us today what the key plants will be, then at least we'll begin to listen.

Then, second, "What do you mean by 'rooted' in the key plants? Does the 'rooting' in and of itself give you authority?" This is a serious question. We know from experience that a militant in the leadership of a major struggle in a section of the mass movement maintains a significant amount of authority during the next period. But simply being in a factory for a number of years, working there, doesn't automatically lead to political authority especially among militant young workers who are no different from the rest of their generation all over the world in rejecting authority on the basis of seniority alone.

The answer to the "key plants," johnny-come-lately argument is the same as that to the "miss the boat" theory. The problem is the construction of a large enough cadre to be able to attract and recruit radicalized workers as the radicalization deepens, to be able to turn to real openings as they develop.

The approach of our opponents is *not* just an organizational error. It flows from their mistaken analysis of the radicalization, the class struggle, and the application of the *Transitional Program* to American politics. It is not just a tactical or organizational difference with us, but a different political road that leads to a dead end.

The CP now has the Young Workers Liberation League oriented away from the campus and toward the plants. We know what they hope to do in the plants: link up with what they think is the wave of the future—the secondary layer of the bureaucracy which is going to collaborate with them and revive their heyday of the thirties and forties through their control of "progressive" sections of the union movement. They also want to avoid politically confronting the YSA on the campuses and high schools.

RYM II⁵ colonized themselves completely out of political existence.

Wohlforth established the nucleus of the labor party, which he calls together now and then to pass resolutions in favor of the immediate construction of the labor party — NOW!

The SP and the IS are colonizing themselves to become education directors of some social-democratic-led unions. That's

5. Revolutionary Youth Movement II. The third of the major factions into which the Students for a Democratic Society shattered in June 1969. Although probably larger at one point than either the Weatherpeople group or the Progressive Labor-dominated "Student-Worker Alliance" SDS, RYM II rapidly declined, undergoing a series of further splits in the process.

not a slander, if you watch how they evolve and how they work. It's a fact.

What happens when some phony industrial-concentration policy is substituted for a revolutionary socialist strategy for cadre-building is usually one of three alternatives:

1. The colonizers simply drop out of politics over time because being in industry does not solve the political problem they expected it to. That happened to a layer of this generation of radicals.

2. They can become adventurist, that is, they convince themselves that the level of consciousness of the workers is what theirs is. Then they try to light the spark that will release this energy; they pass out leaflets, form artificial caucuses, launch premature power fights; and they get booted out of the plant, or become isolated and discredited in the eyes of the workers.

3. They can become professional left-wing union politicians. This is the worst of all variants. Some of our former members are unfortunate examples of this. And they have usually lectured the party on its lack of a proletarian orientation before they left to apply their talents.

Finally, all of our opponents attack the YSA for its campus orientation. In some ways, I don't think we should answer our opponents on this. Maybe our public stance should be, "You may be right. You keep all your young people off the campus. You ignore the social weight and potential of students. You forget the high schools where you won't find any workers. And you focus all efforts on your industrial concentration."

Of course, we offer no promissory notes. All we know is what stage the radicalization is at today, what the principles of our class-struggle program are, and the importance of applying them. By looking with eyes not clouded by dogmatism, by not repeating formulas by rote, by being active participants in the struggles that arise, and recruiting out of these struggles, we propose to attract and train the key Trotskyist cadres that will become the nucleus for the kind of party we must build.

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