

Revolutionary Communist Youth NEWSLETTER

Number 9



October-November 1971

IN WAKE OF ECONOMIC CRISIS:

REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST YOUTH FORMED!

Session of RCY National Conference

The Revolutionary Marxist Caucus held its first national conference over Labor Day weekend, transforming itself into the Revolutionary Communist Youth, the youth section of the Spartacist League. The intersection of the RMC's activities and factional struggles with the major events of world politics made this transformation necessary.

The Growth of the RMC

The RMC had its origins in the 1969 SDS split, where the Spartacist League critically supported the Progressive Labor/WSA forces as a subjectively pro-proletarian wing against their New Left-anarcho-Maoist opponents. The RMC was formally established as a left oppositional caucus in SDS after the New Haven conference in January 1970. Its main focus was opposition to the campus parochialism and social-work approach of the "campus worker-student alliance," then projected by PL as the main strategy for SDS. Against this, the RMC posed transforming SDS into the student-youth auxiliary of a communist opposition in the labor movement. The RMC opposed PL's sectarian policy of assaulting or ignoring other left groups rather than a policy of principled political struggle leading to a regroupment of the genuine proletarian revolutionary forces.

The RMC did not limit itself to internal political struggles within SDS. During the Kent-Cambodia crisis, the RMC actively participated in work stoppage committees, raising the need to transform the student strike into a general strike. The RMC has resolutely defended all left groups against state persecution. We not only defended the Panthers, who were fairly popular in left-liberal circles, but also groups like the much less popular Weathermen. The RMC played an active role in support for the 1971 Newark teachers' strike and in fighting the cutbacks in the California state budget. The RMC intervened in the NPAC conference this summer to expose the alliance sought by the SWP/YSA with the liberal bourgeoisie, which has kept the anti-war movement impotent.

Nixon's War on the Working Class

Since its inception, the RMC has insisted that the central task of revolutionists is the fight for revolutionary socialist leadership of the American labor movement. We realized that the militant strike wave, spurred on by the Vietnam war-generated inflation, would bring the fist of the capitalist state down on the working class. The anticipation of decisive conflicts between the labor movement and the bourgeois state gave strength and purpose to the RMC's struggle against the single-issue, class collaborationist reformism of the SWP, the paternalistic social workism ("serve the people") of PL and various Maoist collectives, and all forms of unreconstructed New Leftism and Third Worldism.

The imposition of state wage control marks the end of a long period of relative class peace enjoyed by U. S. capitalism since the end of World War II, when it emerged as the pre-eminent capitalist power. Acquiring a world empire, U. S. capitalism could tolerate an unusual degree of labor movement independence.

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YOUTH, CLASS AND PARTY

"Youth" in itself is neither revolutionary nor a class. The "youth" consists of young workers, future petty-bourgeois technocrats and administrators, members of the ruling class, as well as radical intellectuals and future communists. Hitler, Trotsky, Mao and Nixon were all young once. The currently popular notion of the "Red University" and all forms of youth vanguardism reflect a conscious adaptation to the theory that students (youth) are somehow a revolutionary social group. The youth conference held at Essen, West Germany over July 3-4, sponsored by groups affiliated to the International Committee of the Fourth International (IC), also reflected an adaptation to this idea of the undifferentiated youth as inherently revolutionary.

Youth and the Working Class

The present period of economic crisis and resulting heightened class militancy requires absolute clarity on the relation of youth to the revolutionary movement. First, one must differentiate "youth" into its social components. While they share certain generational problems affecting all youth, nevertheless young workers see their interests as primarily tied to those of the working class as a whole. Particularly in America, where there are only vestigial traces of an apprentice system such as the European one, young workers tend to be integrated directly into the working class. There are, however, specially oppressed layers. Black youth, for example, because of their extreme economic dislocation, which freezes many of them out of the labor movement, are an essential layer of American society which the communist youth movement strives to reach directly. In other circumstances, too, young workers may be open to direct recruitment as youth by the communist youth movement; for example, where a bureaucratic union freezes out young workers from its ranks, in tightly closed industries, or during periods of mass unemployment which strike particularly hard at young workers, forcing them outside the organized framework of the labor movement.

Youth Radicalism — What Direction?

However, the main arena for "youth radicalism" in America continues to be the campuses. Students overwhelmingly reflect petty-bourgeois aspirations and ideas. Despite a certain interpenetration of working class and petty-bourgeois youth in junior and community colleges, the higher education system is primarily a training ground for the future technocrats and administrators of the capitalist state, cultural and scientific institutions, and corporate bureaucracies. As Trotsky pointed out in his analysis of the rise of fascism, the petty bourgeoisie is not an independent class and thus cannot pursue its own class politics but is forced to choose between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Students, as the most volatile section of the petty bourgeoisie, will play an active role in all "radical" movements, whether of the left or right. The Nazis were vastly stronger in the German universities in the '30s than either the communists or social democrats. Moslem students in Indonesia butchered thousands of communist workers and peasants. Today one sees certain implications for the "worldwide radicalization of the youth" in the rise of the right-wing, repulsive phenomena of the "Jesus freaks" and the Jewish Defense League.

As Trotsky pointed out, "... under conditions of capitalist disintegration and of the impasse in the economic situation, the petty bourgeoisie strives, seeks, attempts to tear itself loose from the fetters of the old masters and rulers of society. It is quite capable of linking up its fate with the proletariat. For that, only one thing is needed: the petty bourgeoisie must acquire faith in the ability of the proletariat to lead society onto a new road." (*The Only Road for Germany*, 1932). The petty bourgeoisie can break from its origins and ally its interests to those of the proletariat. But for this, decisive leadership must be taken by the working class and its highest organized expression in struggle, the revolutionary vanguard party.

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RCY CONFERENCE GREETINGS

Greetings were presented to the first national conference of the Revolutionary Communist Youth from the Spartacist League, the Communist Working Collective (Los Angeles), the Mass Strike Organizing Committee (Boston), the New Zealand Spartacist League, and the Anti-Stalinism Study Group (a West Coast organization in solidarity with the Japanese Revolutionary Communist League, Kakumaru faction). At the Spartacist League Plenum following the Revolutionary Communist Youth conference, the Communist Working Collective, an ex-Maoist group, consummated a fusion with the Spartacist League, and the Mass Strike dissolved to form a joint study circle with SL members. We reprint below some of the greetings delivered to the RCY conference.

New Zealand SL:

Comrades! I bring the warmest greetings from the New Zealand Spartacist League to this Conference of Communist youth in America. Today we celebrate an event of the most profound and international importance: the emergence of an organization of young revolutionaries in the very heart, the rather diseased heart, of world capitalism. This development gives great encouragement to the immature and isolated Marxist movement in New Zealand.

As an essential component of the Trotskyist movement your organization must play a large role as we move towards the world socialist revolution. One small and immediately useful aspect of your international work will derive from the value of your publications for communists working among the youth in Australasia. In fact, the work of the Revolutionary Marxist Caucus has already had some use in our struggle there to build a revolutionary party.

Internationalism, however, is more than this. The Transitional Programme, which is the Marxist programme of our era, cannot be fulfilled until a party of that programme has the leadership of the proletariat internationally. Above all else, this organization must if it is to carry out its revolutionary role, back up the Spartacist League of the United States and its co-thinkers abroad in the struggle for the rebuilding of the Fourth International.

Anti-Stalinism Study Group:

The Anti-Stalinism Study Group expresses its profound gratitude and appreciation to the Central Committee of the Spartacist League for the kind invitation extended to us to attend the founding conference of the Revolutionary Marxist Caucus and the Spartacist League Plenum in New York. If these congresses had been held on the West Coast, we would definitely have been able to attend them, but because of the immense distance we regret that we are unable to travel to New York at this time, and we are therefore unable to take advantage of this opportunity to join with you and to familiarize ourselves in greater detail with the congress.

However, we take this opportunity to send our warmest greetings of comradely solidarity to your congress, which we regard as being of great importance in the development of the American working class and communist movements. We sincerely hope that your congress will be a success in every way and that it will lead to a period of rapid and steady advances towards your goal of building a revolutionary party in this country based on the ideas of revolutionary Marxism and proletarian internationalism.

RCY NEWSLETTER

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Richard Kramer, Reuben Schwartz

The RCY Newsletter is published by the Revolutionary Communist Youth, formerly the Revolutionary Marxist Caucus. We seek to build a revolutionary socialist youth organization which can intervene in all social struggles armed with a working-class program, based on the politics of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky.

We are sure that the Japanese comrades of the Revolutionary Communist League, Revolutionary Marxist Faction, as well as the many thousands of revolutionary workers and students affiliated with the Anti-War Youth Committees and the Zengakuren (chairman Horata), would wish to join us in sending these greetings, and we know that the Japanese Revolutionary Marxist movement will be keenly interested in knowing the results and achievements of your Plenum when they are made known. Like us, the Japanese comrades are deeply convinced of the need to build a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary vanguard party in this country to lead the American working masses forward towards the overthrow of imperialism and Stalinism and towards the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Once again we express our hope that the work of your Plenum will be successful and will lead to a new period of revolutionary advances in the communist movement in this country and internationally.

YOUTH, CLASS AND PARTY

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The radical intelligentsia, primarily campus-based in America, can play an essential and valuable role in the building of the revolutionary party, once broken from its class origins. Gramsci wrote: "One of the most important characteristics of every class which develops toward power is its struggle to assimilate and conquer ideologically the traditional intellectuals." It is to this struggle that the RCY is dedicated. We seek to develop young radicals into lifetime communist militants, through socialist education and struggle, and to organize and link them, through the vanguard party, to the working class. The European Young Communist Leagues of the early '20s, while struggling to become mass organizations of working-class youth, made their primary contribution in the full and all-sided training of young communist cadres. We follow in this tradition.

Youth and the Revolutionary Party

The RCY stands in the tradition of the first four Congresses of the Communist International, which worked out the full Leninist conception of youth-party relations. The leadership of the working class, the only class with the social power to smash the capitalist state, is decisive. The organized framework of proletarian struggle is that of the revolutionary vanguard party. Any conception of a youth movement as independent of this struggle is a capitulation to petty-bourgeois illusions.

The struggles of all oppressed sections of society, and all opposition to imperialism, must be linked to this driving force of revolution if they are to be successful. To cut the revolutionary youth movement off from the party, which embodies the historical experience of the revolutionary proletarian movement, is to cripple it and doom it to flounder in a classless swamp. But each generation comes to socialism in its own way, as Lenin said, and must work out its own ideas. For this an arena must be provided

for the freest and fullest discussion of all political questions. Political education also involves the experiences of decision and action, so the revolutionary youth must have the organized means to carry out its program in practice.

These considerations--the need for young communists to explore the burning questions of the socialist movement and acquire the experiences of decision and action, and the need to link this struggle to the highest form of revolutionary organization, the vanguard party--resulted in the concept of the relation of the revolutionary youth movement to the party as "organizationally independent and politically subordinate." The revolutionary party as the vanguard of the working class is also the leadership of the revolutionary movement as a whole. Since we as a communist youth organization are also a part of this revolutionary movement, we must necessarily place ourselves under its common discipline, in order to achieve the necessary unity in action.

The Spartacist League

At our first national conference over Labor Day, the RCY voted to become the youth section of the Spartacist League.

The Spartacist League is the nucleus of the revolutionary party in this country. The politics of the Spartacist League uniquely embody the communist program for working-class revolution--Trotskyism, the modern development of Marxism-Leninism. We base ourselves on the traditions of the early Communist International and on the experience of the American Trotskyist movement. Our development into a revolutionary youth organization has been made easier by the experiences and working out in practice of the Leninist conceptions of youth-party relations in the founding of the YSA. The degenera-

tion of the YSA, after the expulsion of its original leadership, into a reformist front-group of the SWP was the result of a long process of political disintegration on the part of the SWP. The SWP lost faith in its ability to lead the working class, and substituted tailing after Third Worldism, youth radicalism, etc. This inability to struggle against revisionism led the SWP to organizationally strangle the youth, being unable to lead it politically.

Internationalism

Youth-Party relations have international implications, since the overriding task of the revolutionary movement in all countries is to struggle for the rebuilding of the Fourth International of Trotsky. Youth organizations would function essentially as auxiliaries to the particular national sections of the world party, the Fourth International. A youth international would reflect on an international scale the same relationship the national youth organization has to its national section of the world party. This conception has nothing in common with the "Revolutionary Youth International" proposed by the Essen conference, which is to be unaffiliated to any party formation and whose politics are to be explicitly "non-Trotskyist" so as not to alienate "radical" petty-bourgeois youth.

Crisis of Leadership

"The world political situation as a whole is chiefly characterized by a historical crisis of the leadership of the proletariat." (Transitional Program, 1938). The task of communists is to build and develop this leadership. The historical choice posed before humanity is indeed that of socialism or barbarism. The RCY as the youth section of the revolutionary nucleus, the Spartacist League, will devote itself to preparing the cadres for the day when we can help lead the battle for world socialism.

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Marcus and the Labor Committee: CRACKPOT SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY

To call Marcus an obscurantist is an understatement on the order of calling Hitler mischievous. But there are more serious things wrong with Marcus and the Labor Committee. We find that the membership of the Marcusite Labor Committee is subjectively alien to revolutionary socialism, and therefore have not written much on them previously. But the fact that they are acting as a pole of attraction for ex-PLers and other young radicals indicates that a deeper analysis of this group is necessary. The Marcusites generally possess a wise-guy operator quality which prevents them from becoming Bolsheviks. If the average ISer tends to be a dilettante, the average Marcusite tends to be a hustler. Despite enormous political differences, we respect Progressive Labor because of the strength of their proletarian revolutionary impulses. As Trotsky said of some French Marcus types among his erstwhile followers, "Revolutionaries may be either educated or ignorant people, either intelligent or dull; but there can be no revolutionaries without the will that breaks obstacles, without devotion, without the spirit of sacrifice." In a certain sense, a lack of revolutionary will and dedication can be more decisive than formal political and theoretical differences, although such attitudes also inevitably manifest themselves in the sharpest political differences.

Marcus — Self-Proclaimed Genius

Marcus, after spending time in the SWP as an inactive right-winger, joined Wohlforth after the latter had left the SWP to form what is now the Workers League, and became the principal theoretician of the Wohlforth tendency. Marcus and Wohlforth, during their collaboration in '65-'66, claimed they were in the Iskra period, by which they meant they should act as brain-trusters for the rest of the left. This concept is a consistent pillar of Marcusism, the contention that his claim to leadership rests on his being smarter than everybody else. Marcus uses Marxian economics the way Wohlforth uses Marxian philosophy, presenting it in a deliberately obscurantist manner, claiming it represents the key to the American revolution and only he and his disciples have mastered it. On a formal level, Marcus (like Wohlforth) is a rational idealist maintaining that if one understands reality one can control it, independent of the actualities of social power and interests: the perfect philosophy for an enlightened advisor to bureaucrats.

After the break with Wohlforth, Marcus joined the Spartacist League for a brief period, breaking with it over unanimous opposition to his position that the trouble with the Castroites was that Castro didn't know enough Marxian economics to maneuver successfully in the world market. This is the exact opposite of the truth--it is precisely the pressure upon a weak and isolated workers' state to adapt to bourgeois world hegemony that provides the impulse for Stalinism.

The Marcusite "United Front"

After breaking with organized Trotskyism, Marcus set up organizations which used the magic slogan "united front" as a short-cut to expected miracles of political organizing. Despite grandiose goals, the West Side Tenants Union, the Garment Center Organizing Committee and so on came to nothing except passing out a lot of paper.

The LC's "United Fronts" have usually taken on a thoroughly dishonest front group character. The Marcusites have proven they will split from any "united front" if they don't like its program. When we organized a strike support action with the LC, along with the International Socialists and some Columbia U. independents, the LC simply pulled out its forces, because they feared our demands against the persecution of the Panthers, against the war and for a workers' party would alienate the liberal bourgeoisie they wanted to pull in. A united front is only a bloc of organizations to achieve a particular end, preserving the right to criticize one another and raise one's full program. By transforming a united front into a single issue organization, the LC can plausibly impose its lowest common denominator, economist politics in the same manner as the SWP.

"Socialist Reconstruction"

Until recently, a characteristic aspect of the LC's propaganda was "socialist reconstruction." They insisted that policies directed at improving the efficiency of the American economy (usually through some crackpot fiscal gimmick) were necessary because a) people were hostile to socialism because they didn't think socialism could run the economy constructively and b) people would not support the demands of particular workers for fear that it would reduce their own incomes. The first proposition is inane and the second fails to see that workers can be won to supporting social struggles they are not involved in out of a sense of elementary class solidarity and hostility to the ruling class rather than out of calculated consumerist interests. The postal wildcat had widespread sympathy among large sections of the population, who were not worried about the price of stamps. It is important that the labor movement not be held responsible for the health of the economy and that the ruling class not be allowed to blame workers' militancy for unemployment, inflation, etc. We are in favor of socialist reconstruction in a socialist society. To even imply that economic policy under capitalism can be part of a socialist reconstruction policy legitimizes all forms of state interference.



The Strike Support Coalition

The LC's strike support coalition is merely a more sophisticated version of PL's "worker-student alliance." From the IWW and the Socialist Labor Party to Marcus, attempts to establish outside organizations which will substitute for the existing unions have been utopian. They have also been utopian in that they offer an attractive, apparent short-cut to the hard job of fighting for leadership in the unions. The LC's politics are strongly motivated by its cadres' desire to maintain petty-bourgeois life styles while enjoying the illusion that they can lead large numbers of workers.

The Marcusites claim that unions, because of their particularist character, are structurally incapable of organizing the outside support needed to win a strike. This is inverted syndicalism, seeking an organizational solution to a political problem. In most major strikes (e.g. the GM and GE strikes) the union has enough bargaining power to win the strike. It is the union bureaucrats whose social position forces them to compromise the interests of the workers. If the union leaderships wanted to bring in other workers or students, they could organize that far better than any outside group.

"Outside support" is so vague a term as to be practically meaningless. The most effective outside support is secondary strike and boycott action by other workers. But to organize a wildcat on behalf of workers in other unions requires an extra-ordinary level of class consciousness and effective union organization. What the LC really means by outside support is merely good public relations. The LC literally presents itself to the left bureaucrats as public relations men promising to present their case so that it appears sympathetic and beneficial to the "public." The LC refuses to attack imperialism, racial oppression or the Democratic Party because this would threaten their "respectability" and compromise their role as union public relations men.

Outside groups can only engage in effective strike support with the cooperation of the workers' leaders. Since most strikes are firmly controlled by union bureaucrats, who will not cooperate with reds who attack them, genuine revolutionaries are usually limited to outside propaganda unless they have comrades in the striking unions. The LC has sought to win the cooperation of union bureaucrats by not fighting them. Their high point thus far was in the Newark Teachers' Strike, where they ran around chaperoning Orrie Chambers, the NTU organizer, from campus to campus. The NTU leadership made a de facto alliance with the Imperiale forces, a group of anti-Black vigilantes with real proto-fascist tendencies. Two members of the Revolutionary Marxist Caucus were physically assaulted by Imperiale supporters, while six members of the LC stood by!

Blacks and Women: "Dog Liberation"?

In a leaflet satirizing the SWP, the LC likened the black liberation movement with "dog liberation" as if the treatment of blacks in American society should be of no more concern to socialists than the treatment of animals. By consistently failing to oppose the oppression of blacks and women, the LC is openly catering to working-class backwardness.

The Marcusites have systematically overstated the degree to which black nationalism and anarcho-Maoism could contribute to American fascism. Tony Pappert wrote a polemic against Mark Rudd in the pages of New America, the paper of the CIA-supported, pro-war Socialist Party. By continually identifying the ultra-New Left with fascism, the Marcusites bear some of the responsibility for the repression against them.

Marcus has recently moved well to the right, abandoning his "socialist reconstruction" rhetoric and limiting himself to purely defensive postures on the grounds that fascism is imminent. The Socialist Labor Committee split is to the left of the LC's current line, reflecting the academic-technocratic socialism of the earlier Marcus.

The Marcusites do not deserve any respect or serious consideration from anyone considering himself a revolutionary. Their cadre tend toward personal hustlerism, lacking the will and dedication required of communists. Marcus' world-view is technocratic rationalism, a form of idealism particularly well suited to intellectuals desirous of advising men in power; their conception of leading workers through outside propaganda and organizations alone has been well proven historically bankrupt; and by deliberately catering to racism, chauvinism and other reactionary attitudes within the working class the Marcusites have forfeited any claim they may make to being any sort of leadership in the struggle for socialism.

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A new offset pamphlet presenting a comprehensive view of the politics and organization of the RCY--including the program and perspectives statement adopted by the RCY National Conference, "Youth, Class, and Party," and the RCY organizational rules.

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CLASS STRUGGLE SHARPENS — PL-SDS PARADES

The August 21 SDS 'March Against Unemployment' in Washington D. C. only "demonstrated" PL's continued lack of a strategy for SDS. Since winning the leadership of SDS at the June 1969 convention, PL has systematically squandered SDS's potential for becoming a mass, non-exclusionary, pro-working class revolutionary youth organization. The continuing crisis of U. S. capitalism and the sharpening of the class struggle finds SDS still busy in the campus cafeteria "building" paternalistic, social-worker case-book "ties" to campus workers. Or else SDS builds SMC-like, single-issue parades "Against Unemployment" which relate to the unemployed solely by the plaint that goes up at every SDS parade for bystanders to "join us."

Under the straw-man excuse that "students cannot tell workers what to do" PL supporters in SDS tried to keep the August 21 march as empty of political content as possible. The real reason for not raising programmatic demands on August 21 was that PL was calling a demonstration in its own name the following week where, supposedly, by PL's logic, workers would be told what to do. By raising the demand "30 for 40" (lifted out of Trotsky's Transitional Program), PL shows it has begun to realize that endlessly shouting "Fight Unemployment" is not enough, but their realization has barely scratched the surface. The obligation of revolutionaries is to show how to fight unemployment, racial oppression, and imperialist war, in such a way that these workers' struggles mobilize and prepare the class to fight for socialism. The program for waging this fight must be based on Trotsky's Transitional Program which speaks to the felt needs of workers and raises demands which incorporate these needs while expressing them in a more developed political form. These demands pose the questions of state power and the irreconcilable class antagonisms between the bourgeoisie and the workers.

Program for the Economic Crisis

The following demands were raised by the RCY at the August 21 demonstration and SDS meeting.

1. For a Shorter Work Week with No Loss in Pay to End Unemployment ("30 for 40"); For Strikes Against Layoffs: This is the real way to make jobs available to everyone, and it places the cost of ending unemployment on the bosses, not the workers. Blacks and women,

especially, suffer drastic unemployment and underemployment. Whereas the current economic crisis has hit at both white and black workers rather evenly, black workers have always been concentrated in lowest-skilled and lowest-paying jobs. In the struggle for "30 for 40," workers must fight for an end to racial divisions within the labor movement and to all job discrimination. Employers must be forced to upgrade black workers and to embark on black recruitment programs. Unlike the idealistic, anti-class, reformist demand of "Preferential Hiring" this approach attacks divisions within the working class and will weld the class into the homogeneous political force necessary to defeat capitalism.

2. Control Prices, Not Wages: For a general strike against the wage controls! The policy of wage-price controls is designed to deprive workers of the right to fight their exploitation. Government control over the unions, compulsory arbitration, anti-strike laws must be opposed. We want to fight inflation, but at the bosses' expense, with rent control, free quality medical care and price controls on consumer goods.

3. For a Workers' Political Party: The Democratic and Republican Parties stand more exposed and hated than ever, but workers, seeing no alternative, vote for the "lesser evil" or not at all. Clearly, workers need a political party to represent their interests, in which the competing policies of working-class leaders and misleaders can be argued and tested in practice. The needs and interests of working people cannot be won and protected by economic militancy alone. We need political action by the labor movement to fight for workers power.

4. For Strikes Against the War: Millions of workers oppose the Vietnam war, but the union fakers channel this discontent into empty statements and weekend demonstrations. Students all over the U. S. closed down their schools after Cambodia--workers can do far more to fight Nixon's war policies by closing down the factories themselves.

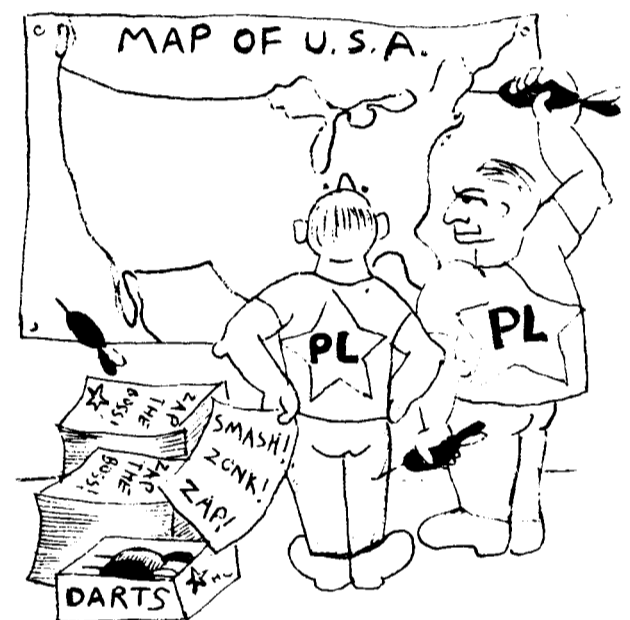
For a Revolutionary Socialist SDS!

In addition to the Saturday march, PL called a Mayday-type demonstration on Friday where they brought 50 SDSers into an "illegal" section of sidewalk in front of the White House. This

was quickly smashed by the cops. On Sunday, PL held a "mass SDS meeting" which was attended by about 150 people, less than half the number participating in the Saturday march. All resolutions except those authored by PL-supporters were excluded from discussion, including our proposals. Instead of plenary discussion, time was taken up by pep-talks given to the handful of members present on how SDS was getting even bigger and the unreadable New Left Notes even better. This was followed by workshops where PL supporters attempted to suppress genuine political discussion by limiting discussion to "concrete campus struggles."

PL's incorrect political approach and their vacillation between liquidating SDS and turning it into a PL youth group while giving lip-service to non-exclusionism has served to strangle SDS.

The formation of the Revolutionary Communist Youth does not conclude our struggle within SDS for principled revolutionary proletarian politics, but looks to an intensification of that struggle. We continue to demand that SDS constitute itself a non-exclusionist, pro-working class, socialist youth group that will approach the pressing tasks posed by the economic crisis in a serious revolutionary socialist manner.



"Okay, our next unemployment demonstration will be in..."

RCY FORMED

Continued from Page 1

With the collapse of the dollar as the international currency, the capital of the American victory in World War II has been spent. To compete successfully with the other capitalist powers, the U. S. ruling class must now impose a sharply heavier burden of discipline on the American workers.

Nixon's offensive was met by total capitulation from the labor bureaucracy, who have shown themselves for the umpteenth time "the labor lieutenants of capital." All wings of the union bureaucracy have jumped to Nixon's whip--not only conservatives like Meany, but "progressive labor leaders," like the Woodcock machine in the UAW. The response to the wage controls has demonstrated not only the utter swinishness of the labor bureaucracy, but also their ability to cripple the power of the working class. Many radicals, enthralled by recent wildcat strikes and other instances of labor militancy, concluded workers can achieve their aims despite the existence of a conservative bureaucratic leadership. The response to state wage control should destroy that illusion. State wage control cannot be smashed through atomized shop floor actions, but requires the coordinated economic and political power of the entire labor movement--the former leading to a general strike, the latter leading to a workers' party. Any strategy which either ignores the union bureaucracy or relies on a section of it is a recipe for defeat. In the last analysis, the struggle against the exploitation of the working class is the struggle against the traitorous leadership of the labor movement.

State wage control also marks a qualitative decline in the stability of bourgeois legality and democracy. This crackdown on the unions shows the movement of the ruling class away from seeking to appease aspirations among the masses by legalistic reforms towards suppressing them with naked state power. The Attica massacre demonstrates this even more sharply. The bourgeoisie prefers to rule by "democratic" ideology rather than naked force, but in periods of acute economic crisis leading to sharp conflict between organized labor and the capitalist state, the ruling class will back fascist-type anti-union gangs and the emergence of a genuine fascist movement seeking to channel middle-class discontent against labor militancy.

And World War III

In addition to seeking to intensify the exploitation of the U. S. workers, the ruling class has launched powerful economic attacks on the other capitalist powers. Through competitive devaluation and protectionism, the American recession is pulling down the rest of the capitalist world, particularly Japan, by closing the vital U. S. market. The powerful contractionary effects of U. S. policy on other countries will lead to mass unemployment, intensification of the exploitation of their own working classes and imperialist thrusts into other markets.

Renewed and open economic conflicts between the major capitalist powers are setting the stage for a third major inter-imperialist war. Because of their narrow, nationalist bureaucratic regimes, the deformed workers' states of the Sino-Soviet

area would be swept in, as witness the diplomatic rapprochement between the U. S. and China with its clear and ominous anti-Soviet intent. Mankind faces the classic choice of socialism or barbarism by nuclear destruction. Unless the workers of the world stop the drive toward war by overturning the imperialist-capitalist system, the world will be swept into nuclear catastrophe. The need for proletarian internationalism has never been more urgent.

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