Instead of building a coalition based on action, on the mobilization of masses of people around the demand of immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Southeast Asia, PCPJ attempted to pose as a leading organization in the Black struggle as well as an antiwar organization.

But those who agreed with PCPJ on the basis of fighting the war did not necessarily agree with its vague, ineffectual program for "fighting racism." For example, there are many forces in the antiwar movement who believe that a program for fighting racism must include unconditional support for the right to self-determination of Blacks, Chicanos and Puerto Ricans.

The result of PCPJ's "multi-issue" strategy was that the only time it was able to mobilize any significant numbers of people was when it tied in with antiwar actions called by NPAC.

There is another aspect to the attempt to draw African-Americans into the antiwar movement by forming an organization that purports to fight racism as well as the war. Such an approach fails to realize that the leadership for the Black struggle will emerge out of the Black nationalist movement itself. The basis for the appeal within the Black community of the antiwar movement's demand to bring all the troops home now is that the racist U.S. aggression in Vietnam is against the interests of that community. The antiwar movement cannot substitute itself for the leadership of the Black movement, which can only come from within the Black community.

## Unions and the antiwar movement

Davidson's logic leads in a similar direction if applied to the need to draw labor into the antiwar struggle. The way to involve trade unionists in the antiwar movement is by showing how the war is contrary to their interests and is responsible for deepening the inflation. The antiwar movement cannot lead the struggle of the trade unions or any section of the union movement—that's the job of the unions themselves. Such an attempt would only succeed in derailing the antiwar movement by narrowing it and deflecting it from its central job of organizing mass actions against the war.

Without question the problems facing American workers cry out for the building of a left wing in the union movement to mobilize the ranks in struggle in their own interests against the capitalist class. Such a class-struggle left wing will be characterized not only by its opposition to the war but by a whole program designed to facilitate the participation of the union membership in the affairs of the union and in politics in generala program to fight inflation, unemployment, the war, and for the formation of an independent labor party. It will of necessity not directly involve many of the forces currently active in the antiwar coalition since it will be built in the unions by union members. In fact, such a left wing will surely be directed against some of the same labor officials who currently support the antiwar movement.

This is in no way an argument against the involvement of labor officials in the antiwar movement. It is important that all forces opposed to the war be involved in the antiwar movement in order to build the broadest, most massive actions possible.

Another reason for soliciting support from labor officials is that the majority of union members still look to the union bureaucracy for leadership. Because of these illusions, endorsements from labor officials help provide opportunities to go to union members either individually or at meetings with the facts about the war and information about antiwar actions.

While the antiwar movement cannot build a class-struggle left wing in the union movement from the outside or substitute itself for such a left wing, it has already influenced the thinking of many workers. The political impact of the mass actions the antiwar movement has organized has been felt in every union in the country and has begun to change the thinking of millions of workers. As the antiwar movement explains the relationship between the war, the rising prices, and the wage controls to more workers, the impact will deepen further.

Seen in this context, the proposals continually made by sectarian grouplets on the fringes of the antiwar movement that the antiwar movement call for general strikes or labor marches are clearly attempts to substitute the antiwar movement for a left wing in the trade unions—and to some extent for the trade unions themselves.

The antiwar movement must continue its work of organizing massive demonstrations around the single issue of the Vietnam war and around the demand for immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces. Endorsements should be obtained from as many labor officials and unions as possible and a special effort made to reach the ranks of the unions. This is the task that is before the national antiwar convention meeting in Cleveland Dec. 3-5.

## SWP greetings to Socialist Party of Puerto Rico

On Nov. 28 Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, flew to Puerto Rico to attend the rally at which the founding of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) was publicly announced. The new party was formed at the eighth national assembly of the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence (MPI) Nov. 19-21.

Over 5,000 members and supporters of the PSP gathered in Bayamon for the rally and heard speeches from MPI General Secretary Juan Mari Bras and Puerto Rican Independence Party Secretary Ruben Berrios. Greetings were read from many organizations and individuals, including the following from Linda Jenness. The translation is by The Militant.

Compañeros y Compañeras, comrades, I bring revolutionary greetings from the Socialist Workers Party, which is struggling in the United States within the heart of the monster, Yankee imperial-

The founding of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party at this eighth assembly of the Puerto Rican Independence Movement (MPI) has enormous significance for the struggles of all the peoples of the Americas.

The founding of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party means that when the people of Puerto Rico, when its working masses and all its allies, prepare to take power, they will have the indispensable tool for transforming society and for founding the socialist republic of a free and sovereign Puerto Rico.

I also wish to let you know that within the heart of the monster you have allies. Not only that part of the Puerto Rican people who have been exiled but also the masses of Black people who are fighting for liberation; the youth who are rejecting a materialist and alienating world and seeking a world and society with justice; the masses of Chicanos who are organizing and fighting for their national liberation; and the movement against the war in Indochina, which will not rest until all the troops of imperialism are withdrawn from Vietnam and the heroic Vietnamese people have achieved their right to be sovereign. There are also other sectors awakening and beginning to challenge the power of the bourgeoisie in the United States.

Long live the Puerto Rican Socialist Party!



Puerto Rican Independence march Sept. 12, 1971

Photo by Miguel Rivera/Clarida

## Puerto Rican Socialists ally with struggles in U.S.

The following resolution directed to the people of the United States was adopted at the eighth national assembly of the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence (MPI), which founded the Puerto Rican Socialist Party Nov. 19-21. The translation is by The Militant.

In this past year the exploitation to which the North American workers are subjected at the hands of the center of capitalist power has increased. The measures decreed by President Nixon freezing wages have thrown the total weight of the economic crisis of the United States on the shoulders of the workers. This crisis is a result of the imperialist adventure and genocide of the Yankee government in Indochina as well as internal contradictions of capitalism itself.

Tens of thousands of the sons of the exploited have lost their lives and hundreds of thousands have been physically and mentally incapacitated by the aggressive war carried on by the imperialists against the people of Indochina.

This oppression is manifested in an ever-growing way against the racial minorities and nationalities of that country. It is the Blacks, Chicanos, Native-American Indians, and those of Asian lineage who are the first victims of the powerful blows of capitalism and imperialism of the military-industrial power in the United States.

Racism is the institution fostered and maintained by the North American bourgeoisie to divide the exploited from each other in order to prevent their unity against the exploiters.

The colonial governor of Puerto Rico, Luis A. Ferré, joins the insulting and inhumane internal oppression and, in his role as puppet, allies himself with the governors who represent the most racist, backward and reactionary section of that country, the South. Luis A. Ferré joins the racism

of George Wallace when he allies himself with him for segregated schooling.

Despite the humiliating position suffered by the North American workers, the people—particularly the Blacks, Chicanos, the Indians and the Asians, and the other ethnic and racial groups of North America—demonstrate more each day their will to struggle against the system of capitalist exploitation. They demonstrate their aim to end the Yanqui presence in Indochina and to live in peace with the other people of the world.

For these reasons, the eighth national assembly of the Puerto Rican Independence Movement (MPI) and founding convention of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party resolves:

1. To aid all efforts of the progressive people of the United States to free Compañera Angela Davis, a living symbol of the cruelty practiced by the capitalist system against those who rebel.

2. To fully solidarize ourselves with the battle of our brothers the Blacks, Chicanos, Indians, Asians, and other national and racial minorities who struggle for their liberation and self-determination

3. To urge all progressive organizations to redouble their efforts to force their government to quickly end the aggression and genocide against the people of Indochina.

4. To repudiate the racist actions of the colonial governor of Puerto Rico, the puppet Luis A. Ferré, ally of the most neanderthal sectors of the United States.

5. To acknowledge the solidarity manifested on diverse occasions by the people of North America for the people of Puerto Rico in its struggle against imperialism and Yankee colonialism.

6. To fully solidarize ourselves with the struggle of the people of North American against exploitation and racism, and for world peace.