



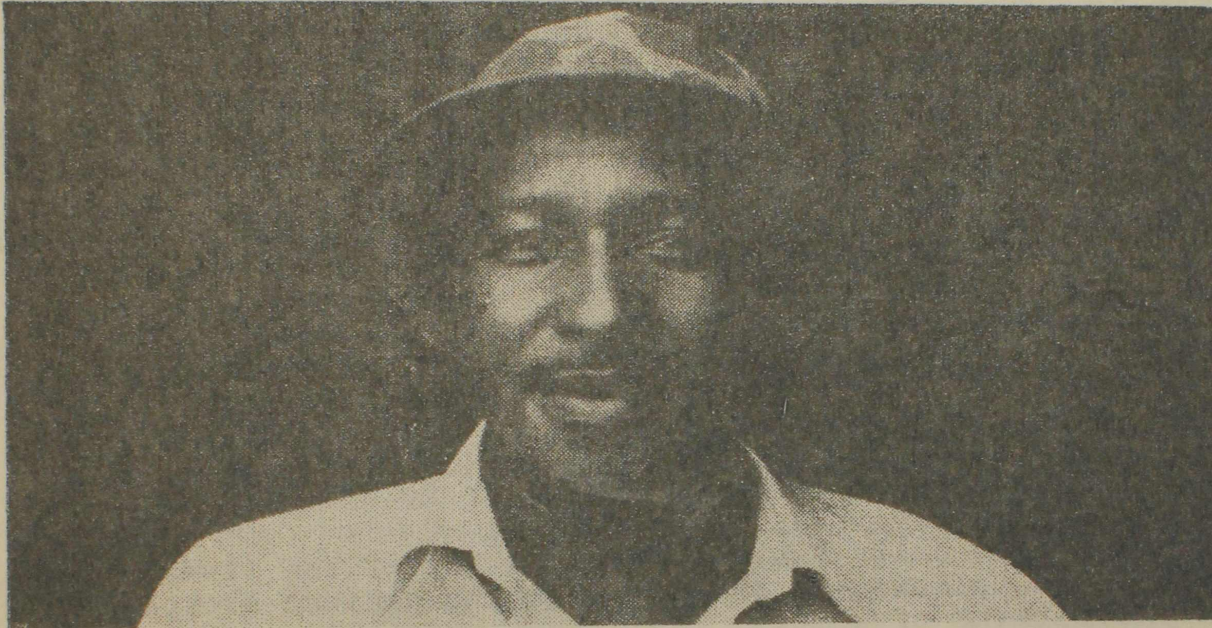
# Bulletin

OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

Vol. 1, No. 7

Dec. 7, 1964

10 Cents



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since the murder of Patrice Lumumba, but the struggle to exterminate resistance to imperialist domination among the stubborn Congolese people continues. The Congo tragedy is one of the clearest expressions of the savagery and brutality the "enlightened" West is capable of in times of crisis.

In another issue of the Bulletin (Vol. 1 #2) we reviewed the hypocritical reversal of State Department policy which led to close alliance with the former "secessionist" and "rebel," Moise Tshombe. So severe had the Congolese crisis become that the imperialist powers, previously feuding over who was to dominate the Congo, united behind the only man who had shown that he was fully at their disposal and was ready to do whatever was required. The unity behind Tshombe was followed up by the recruitment of white mercenaries, primarily from Southern Rhodesia, with some from South Africa and Belgium, to provide the backbone of the imperialist-backed struggle against the Lumumbist rebels. Cuban counterrevolutionary refugees supplied pilots and the U.S. supplied the planes for the mercenary air force. The mercenaries were certainly an embarrassing addition to the scene for the State Department, alert as ever to the need for cultivating a liberal image. A real sign of weakness, the mercenaries were at first referred to very cautiously by the daily press and news media. Soon, however, these "resolute anti-communist fighters" began to achieve some successes, and, perhaps because these developments were such a welcome contrast to the news from Vietnam, the mercenaries began to receive more open acknowledgement.

#### The Mercenaries Were Essential

A New York Times Magazine article of November 15 gives a picture of the mercenaries and their role. The correspondent tells the story of the battle for Lisala, a city in the northwest area of the Congo. Fifteen mercenaries took the city against more than four hundred

#### YOU KILL A LOT OF RABBITS

##### ON A RABBIT HUNT

"As a mercenary I found myself taking part in the indiscriminate slaughter of innocent women and children," stated Geoffrey Munn, a British mechanic who deserted the mercenary army in the Congo, in an interview in the London Daily Express.

After one of the mercenaries was killed in a rebel ambush, this is what happened: "As a reprisal we simply went to the nearest village where we were ordered to kill every man, woman and child and then set fire to everything." After all one white man is certainly worth a village of "rabbits."

"A lot of the time we were fighting against groups of these young kids wearing death masks. They were quite without fear," Munn commented. No wonder our "brave" mercenaries met with a certain amount of success.



rebels, of whom at least 150 were killed. The rebels were extremely inexperienced at warfare. The Katanga and Bakongo troops of the Tshombe regime were, at least until very recently, extremely undisciplined and uninterested in the fighting. The mercenaries were not simply accessories. The correspondent says, "Without them, (the mercenaries) Leopoldville, not Stanleyville, would now be the rebel capital."

This frank statement explains a lot, including the desire of the imperialists to clean up the whole affair while they could and as quickly as possible. So the stage was set for the final move on Stanleyville. The easiest pretext in which to cloak the real reasons for a quick move on Stanleyville was seized upon, the danger to the white hostages. The imperialist powers began painting a picture of imminent danger to the "Christian" missionaries and other whites. These whites, whether for "unselfish" religious motives or because they were more directly involved in the imperialist plunder of the Congo, chose to remain in the country after their respective governments had begun in earnest to help in brutally denying to the Congolese people their elementary right to self-determination.

In any case, it was not mentioned that the danger to the whites would be removed if the imperialists would leave the Congolese to settle their own struggles. Nor were the brutal indiscriminate murders of Congolese women and children by the mercenaries mentioned. The fact is, that although the Western powers undoubtedly value the life of one white many times more than the life of a Congolese, they were quite prepared to see the slaughter of the white hostages as part of the overhead cost of their action. Unidentified sources in Washington were actually reported in the New York Times to have frankly stated that the crushing of the rebel forces was a "pleasant by-product" of the action in Stanleyville. The entire blame for the deaths of the whites, which it must always be remembered is only a tiny fraction of the suffering of the Congolese people this year and for all the years since colonization, must rest on the imperialists themselves. The crocodile tears of the State Department are simply a part of their campaign of hypocrisy and lies.

The airdrop on Stanleyville itself was fairly straightforward. A German priest was reported to have stated after his rescue that the behavior of the mercenaries was if anything more brutal than that of the rebels. As anyone should know, especially those who dropped the bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, many people who are not involved and who only want to remain uninvolved lose their lives in war. Yet the Belgian and U.S. governments, their hypocrisy knowing no bounds, explain that their action in Stanleyville was not military, but "humanitarian." Why did they not save the innocent Congolese women and children, no doubt numbering into the thousands, who were slain by the mercenaries?



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### The Social Democrat As Butcher

Paul-Henri Spaak, Belgian Social-Democratic Foreign Minister who made the decision to send the 600 Belgian paratroopers into Stanleyville, announced that it was "the gravest decision of my career." Perhaps the Belgian workers will soon punish Mr. Spaak for his crimes against humanity, and will hesitate even less than he did when his record of mass murder in the interests of capitalism is examined.

The readiness of the Western powers to rely on Fascist-minded elements in their desperate drive to crush any resistance to their domination is one of the main lessons of the latest events. They know they must pay a certain price, the tarnishing of their reputation in certain quarters, but they are quite prepared to pay this price if they have to. Although of course no simple analogy can be made, and brutality, no matter how cruel, is not simply another word for fascism, we can say the following: any regime, like "democratic" Belgium or the U.S., which is guilty of what these two governments did in the Congo, is obviously capable of paving the way for Fascist rule at home as gracefully as it was done in Germany 30 years ago.

As at the time of the Cuban invasion and in many other instances, when the situation gets a bit too delicate, the imperialist powers bypass the United Nations and simply "report" to it. Thus the U.N. functions as a very useful tool most of the time, and in those cases where it must be ignored, this is not considered at all unusual. As the world crisis of capitalism deepens, it is inevitable that the imperialists will be relying on the United Nations less and less in their "keeping of the peace."

### Where Were the "Non-Aligned" When Butchery Began?

The belated calls for U.N. sessions by government spokesmen in the Soviet bloc and the "non-aligned" world merely point up the control which the U.S. and its allies continue to hold over the power of the U.N. to act, and even to discuss and expose the imperialist role. Socialists and class conscious workers the world over certainly have the duty to ask where the Soviet bloc countries and the "left wing" African and Asian states were while the Congo massacre was being prepared. Were they respecting "international law" while the capitalists were flouting it? Were they placing faith in the U.N. while the capitalists were ignoring it? And where were the working class movements and parties all over the world, which should have been protesting and staying the hand of the imperialists? There is no "international law" above the class struggle. The United Nations, notwithstanding the concept that it is "above classes," has to function in the interests of one class, the capitalist class, on a world scale.



# LABOR

# SCOPE

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PROSPERITY, CAPITALIST STYLE: "Top government economists doubt that the unemployment rate next year will drop below 5%---except perhaps temporarily.

"Privately, some predict that the rate will climb as high as 6%.

"The chief reason for the unemployment advance: gross national product is expected to gain only 3%. An increase of twice that amount would be needed to cut into the jobless total." ---(NEWSWEEK, Nov. 30, 1964)

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DOWN THE DRAIN GOES 63,401 JOBS: "...a pair of plastic yellow chicken feet were hung from a sign that read: 'This is all that the New York Naval shipyard will be able to afford for Thanks(?)giving.'" (Martin Tolchin in the New York Times, Nov. 20, 1964.)

In a decision worthy of the best 'minds' of General Motors, Lyndon (war on poverty) Johnson and Robert (the Ford whiz kid) McNamara placed a cloud of uncertainty over the lives of some 63,000 employees at 95 military installations. The workers involved, many of whom voted for Johnson are justifiably angry over this cynical move by an administration which very recently was demagogically promising to build the 'great society.' Workers at the Brooklyn Navy Yard recalled Johnson's campaign junket through Brooklyn where, at a rally he pointed to a banner which read, "Save the Brooklyn Navy Yard", and said, "That's another reason why you should vote for Robert F. Kennedy."

All the talk by Rockefeller, Wagner and other assorted political windbags about conferences with McNamara and Johnson aimed at reversing the decision is no more than a smokescreen. No one can really take them seriously.

Likewise, when Admiral McQuilken, Commander of the Brooklyn Navy Yard says, "Perhaps this and the other military closings can be taken to mean that our common goal of peace on earth is a step closer." --- we say, "Tell it to the marines." This is not a peace move. It is pure old fashioned big business economy which our millionaire turned Defense Secretary expresses when he says, "We...could easily pay the bills," but "it's just sheer waste and there is absolutely no excuse whatever for doing so when we have

no peacetime or wartime requirement." This same McNamara is the architect of the war in Vietnam which the administration is considering extending to North Vietnam.

All of McNamara's talk of re-training, re-location, attraction of new industries, use of closed facilities for schools and parks---this can only be taken seriously by dreamers. The workers who are about to become 'obsolete,' particularly the blue collar workers (welders, electricians, longshoremen, etc.) are not comforted by McNamara's optimism. A great many of the workers at the Brooklyn Navy Yard are family men with many years of seniority and often with specialized skills that cannot be adapted to other industries such as building trades, should it be possible (this is unlikely) to absorb more workers into these industries. Indications are that most of the blue collar workers don't expect to be re-trained or re-located. Even if they are offered relocated civil service jobs, these would involve a severe loss of seniority and lowering of wages. As for finding other work, the Newsweek report on mounting unemployment speaks for itself. In fact, according to Newsweek, although government economists predict a Gross National Product increase of 3% next year, Chase Manhattan Bank economist William F. Butler predicts an actual decrease in the G.N.P. by the end of 1965. But don't worry---it will be worse in New York City where there are currently an estimated 250,000 unemployed workers with more to come. These are the cold hard facts which the Navy Yard workers have to face. Such a worker is Robert Bunbar, 41, a Brooklyn Yard worker who supports his wife, mother and four children on \$125 a week take home pay. Mr. Dunbar wanted to know, "As a Negro, what chance do I stand on the outside after 22 years here?"

\* \* \* \*

MCDONALD SCARED BY STRIKE TURMOIL IN AUTO: United Steel Workers President David McDonald showed his anxiety over the possibility that the forthcoming contract negotiations with the steel companies might result in a rash of strikes over local issues as in the auto industry in the last few months. At a recent conference of 700 union local officials, McDonald was faced with complaints by some local leaders that they were without the power to strike over local issues of working conditions, production standards, etc. McDonald is being challenged for the presidency of the union by the Secretary Treasurer, I.W. Abel. Abel is gaining support as a result of the widespread feeling that McDonald is too far removed from the rank and file at the local level. As in auto, the steelworkers may give both McDonald and Abel plenty of headaches before the new contract is finally settled.

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THE OTHER NEW YORK: Referring to "this mounting misery,"



New York Times correspondent Martin Arnold reports that the number of persons (including children) receiving welfare in New York City is increasing by nearly 5,000 per month. Presently, 6.2% of the city's population receives some sort of public assistance. New York Welfare Department officials feel that the \$900 million plus authorized under the administration's anti-poverty program is only a small drop in the bucket.

In a recent talk in St. Louis, Michael Harrington author of The Other America felt that the present war on poverty program in itself will eliminate hardly any poverty, and that what was needed over the next ten years was at least \$100 billion. Harrington, a prominent 'left' supporter of the Johnson Administration who once dabbled in socialist politics, while making some progressive proposals for public works programs, felt that the present anti-poverty program was a good beginning. We are inclined to think, however, that this program is a fraud, a deception designed to create a 'liberal,' 'pro-labor' image for the administration. Mr. Harrington, for all his "expertise" on the question of poverty doesn't understand that a millionaires' government (whether Democratic or Republican) cannot combat poverty without wrecking the capitalist system which breeds increasing numbers of impoverished and pauperized persons. A government such as this cannot be expected to commit suicide.

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LIFE ON THE RAILROADS: "The average railroad man has no protection from the union, or from Congress, or from the White House, or any place else. As a worker, why does he vote? What have they to vote for?" So said John Hitt, an unemployed Negro freight handler in New York, as reported in Challenge, Nov. 17, 1964. Mr. Hitt, who has had an average annual income of \$2500 over the last ten years as a railroad worker, faces permanent layoff if the railroad companies succeed in their plan to 'contract out' freight handling work to non-union contractors on Manhattan's West Side. Such action by the companies will lay off 2,000 men by Jan. 1, 1965. Mr. Hitt is Vice-President of the Railroad Workers Unemployment Council, a rank and file workers group which is organizing to fight against such layoffs. The council was formed originally to fight for severance pay for 800 freight handlers laid off by the B. & O. Railroad last year.

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THE TEACHERS LEARN: The recent contract demands made by the United Federation of Teachers, the New York affiliate of the American Federation of Teachers, amount to an increase of \$300 million more than is now being allotted to schools in the budget. The present NYC two-year contract expires June 30, 1965. The demands are primarily concerned with

improvement of working conditions and educational standards, and only secondarily concerned with salary increases and benefits. The reduction of class size and relief of non-teaching duties are the major demands posed by the union. This would mean an increase in the number of teachers necessary to staff schools, and would necessitate the construction of more schools and classrooms, and an overall improvement of educational standards.

UFT president Al Shanker put these demands before the Board of Education. However, even if the board approves of them, the board must appeal to the city, state, and federal governments for the necessary funds.

Throughout the country teachers have shown militancy in conducting strikes for higher wages and improvement of conditions. In many cases they have had the support of students. The New York contract demands are a part of this rising militancy.

In Catoosa County, Georgia teachers walked out because their November salaries were not guaranteed for lack of funds. They were, however, eventually paid. Teachers in two Oklahoma Cities took "professional holidays" when a referendum to increase teachers' pay failed to pass in the election. Their present salary starts at \$3800 a year. Teachers walked out in Louisville, Kentucky demanding a pay rise which wasn't endorsed in the election. They had substantial student support and schools were forced to close. There was a four day walkout by teachers in East St. Louis, Illinois over salaries. This also had great student support (7,000 out of 22,500 attended classes--the rest honored the picket lines). Students also supported a six-day walkout by teachers in Pawtucket, Rhode Island over pay increases.

For a long time teachers' struggles have been contained by the powers that be. They have been told that teaching was a profession and one must maintain "professional standards." Joining labor unions and, of course, striking are considered "unprofessional" in this light. These recent struggles and the increasing number of teachers joining unions reflect a greater militancy and awareness of teachers as part of the labor movement than heretofore. Teachers can be looked to for more and more militant struggle and leadership potential as they enter the labor movement.

The demands of the U.F.T. are far reaching. The union realizes that they are necessary to meet minimum educational needs and standards. These necessary demands, or even only a part of them, can only be gained through a long, hard struggle. Teachers must be aware of this and realize that they must not give up the fight because the Board or government says they are 'unrealistic.' These demands are minimal compared to what is needed educationally, though the capitalist government can be expected to find

even a small fraction of the military budget is an intolerable sum if it is to be spent on schools.

It is important that teachers gear their struggle in such a way as to involve others also concerned with quality education--those who benefit least (or not at all) from our present educational system--especially the Negro and Puerto Rican minority groups in the cities as well as poor whites throughout the country. Thus the labor movement and civil rights movements can find a common ground on which to struggle.

In the recent past there had been a slight link between the civil rights and labor movements in the school boycotts last winter and spring. Though the "official liberal" leadership of the UFT didn't support this, much to their discredit, some teachers within the union fought for such a policy and organized themselves in support of the boycott.

If the U.F.T. does put up the fight for such a contract and does try to link it up with the civil rights movement by getting the strong support from the Negro and Puerto Rican communities and by seeking to fight with them on a common ground--i.e., the improvement of education through the attainment of quality education, the participants will, through the course of struggle, become increasingly aware of one thing. They will see the startling contradiction in capitalist society as it exists; it is unable to provide even the minimal requirements for a decent education for all. Only when this is realized can they, along with the rest of the labor movement and civil rights movement, see the necessity of struggling against the system. It is the job of radical and militant teachers to therefore take these demands seriously, try to approach the parents especially in the minority communities to struggle on a common ground, and work uncompromisingly for the attainment of a decent education for all.

#### CIVIL RIGHTS: A MOVEMENT IN SEARCH OF A PROGRAM

#### Negroes Must Break With Two Parties and Seek Unity

#### In Action with Working Class as a Whole

The civil rights movement has been kicked in the teeth at the Democratic Convention by the Johnson-Humphrey team; it has faced the guns and bombs of Southern racists while the Democratic administrations' FBI, Justice Department, and judges have stood idly by; and it has been jailed in the North for demonstrating and protesting against segregated conditions. Still, the major leaders of the civil rights movement have somewhere found the nerve to write a letter to Johnson congratulating him on his "magnificent triumph."



One must wonder why they don't congratulate themselves instead, for it wasn't Johnson's greatness that resulted in the vote he received but rather the efforts of these "leaders" of the civil rights movement along with those of the labor beaucracy that delivered the votes that Johnson needed to win.

In their letter to the President these "leaders"



(James Farmer, Jack Greenberg, James Forman, Dorothy Height, Martin Luther King, Roy Wilkins, Whitney M. Young, Jr.) said that they along with the Negro people of the U.S. would like to work with him in creating the "Great Society" that he spoke of during his campaign. Thus they continue the illusion that

the present rulers of the country can possibly create a society in which there is no poverty.

Perhaps these leaders think that such a thing is possible because of their own position in society. One can well understand that those, with the possible exception of James Forman, who have for years lived a life of middle class comfort do not see this society with as dark a view as do the minority peoples who live in the slums and hovels or those that work from sun-up to sun-down for four and five dollars a day. At the same time one can also understand the unwillingness of these people to rock the boat too severely since that might result in the kind of recriminations against them that would put an end to the mode of living to which they have no doubt become accustomed.

Of course there are some, even among the leaders, who live anything but comfortable lives and who risk their very lives every day. Jim Forman, for example, a signatory of the horrendous letter quoted above, lives the simplest of lives right in the thick of the battle in the South. Many is the night he spends sleeping on top of a desk in some small Mississippi town.

#### Needed: A Working Class Program

None the less such admirable personal and organizational traits are not in themselves sufficient to end the problem of segregation and its accompanying problems of



poverty. What must be understood by the militants in the rights movement is that segregation is not simply some moral factor, but rather that it is rooted in the nature of the profit system itself. Just as slavery was a means of accumulating great wealth and of depressing the income of free white craftsmen, so segregation today is a means on the one hand, as the Negro well knows, of obtaining cheap labor in marginal service industries and on the other hand serves to depress and hold back the wages and working conditions of white workers. The color question itself is a unique contribution of U.S. capital but the question hidden behind it is the same as that lying behind any question of discrimination in the capitalist world, that is, a question of class. The one set of circumstances that are common to the vast majority of Negroes are also common to a huge section of the country's whites who remain unorganized or members of bureaucracy-ridden unions in the mass production industries.

It is no accident that the South, where color discrimination is strongest, is also the open shop South to which there has been underway for some years now a vast exodus of industry from the North. Here it is quite obvious the capitalist class has utilized the race question in order to profit through splitting the working class along color lines in order to prevent them organizing in their own self interest.

An investigation of ownership of capital holdings in the South would definitely indicate that the major financial interests in the South are of Northern origins and are among those that have supported Johnson and before him Kennedy. Indeed the chief stockholder in the Mississippi Power and Light Company which employs few Negroes and those in unskilled jobs, when one sorts through the chain of holding companies involved, is a major "liberal" educational institution in the North that has played a prominent role in "liberal" Democratic politics.

PORTRAIT OF A FINK

I have nothing but sympathy for this man who has served his country so well.

-- Reverend Martin Luther King on the Honorable J. Edgar Hoover.

The first thing that militants in the civil rights movement have to understand is that they have to be rid of the phoney leaders of the King, Farmer type who continuously seek to deliver the movement into the hands of the Democratic Party. This sort of fight cannot be waged simply on the basis of an internal power struggle. Militants who come to understand the need for this must



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also understand that the only way to build the forces amongst the Negro population for this kind of struggle is on the basis of a program that corresponds to the needs of the vast majority of the population. This program, must in addition, be tied to a program of independent working class political action. As far as the average man on the street is concerned getting down on one's knees and begging from the Administration is out, not only because it is undignified, but simply because it is unavailing. At the same time direct action as a tactic by itself will not gain support because that, too, has not fundamentally changed anything.

What Negro militants have to understand is that the problem they face is essentially a class problem and that the problem is directly related to the problems of poor white workers. The rights movement must once and for all time break with those who make them an appendage of the Democratic party. They must form their own party so that they can present a series of programs that will win for them the following of those hundreds of thousands of the Negro people who are fed up with the situation as it is but, willing to fight, see no way at the present time to do so. At the same time such action tied to a working class program can begin to win for the civil rights movement some adherents amongst white workers who begin to see the connections between their problems and those of the Negro. That is it will serve as the impetus of a broader part of the working class as a whole.

One of the problems faced by the Negro people is the question of jobs. A political party that says it stands for the institution of a thirty hour week for forty hours pay in order to create more jobs is sure to have a fresh sound. In addition if it calls upon trade unionists to see that their leaderships make it a strike issue in contract negotiations and pledges the support of the party and its followers on any picket lines that may result will win some of those white workers to their side because white workers also face a problem of unemployment. In the same manner a party that calls for and promises to institute a program of public works projects is bound to get support amongst white and Negro who would benefit from the jobs thus created.

Housing conditions, as everyone in the rights movement knows, are a problem North and South for the poor white and Negro. A party that stood for the nationalization of all slum housing in order to organize its clearance and replacement ould also rally around it both white and Negro poor. In New York City the rights movement found that when it tried to force the slumlords to improve the housing they owned through the medium of rent strikes it was the Democratic city administration and courts that lined up with the slumlords. How can a civil rights movement hope to organize Negroes around itself if they continue to support national and local leaders of such a party?

ON EDUCATING THE YOUTH YSA STYLE

BULLETIN Supporter Suspended on Eve of Pre-Convention Discussion

The Uptown local of the Young Socialist Alliance sent the following statement of charges on October 27th to a supporter of the American Committee of the Fourth International and its publication the BULLETIN OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM:

"Acting upon reported violation of YSA discipline, the Uptown New York YSA Executive Committee on October 21 passed a motion that: 'the Executive Committee investigate reports about YSA members of the Wohlforth tendency selling Bulletin of International Socialism, Vol. 1, No. 3 which publicly attacks YSA policy, such action being contrary to discipline.

"Investigation by the Executive Committee established that Fred M. was seen by YSA members on the evening of October 9 outside the doorway of 116 University Place, before the scheduled Militant Labor Forum, selling Bulletin of International Socialism, Vol. 1, No. 3 to the public.

"Both of these sales were made without prior consultation with the Uptown YSA. At both meetings, participating YSA members were to sell the first issue of the YS magazine, and at the rally they were to also distribute leaflets for the East Coast Conference. Fred M. did not sell the YS nor distribute the Conference leaflets at either meeting.

"The section of Bulletin of International Socialism No. 3 in question is found on page 11 of that issue and is entitled 'The Death of a Socialist Youth Newspaper.' This article: (1) Publicly attacks the YSA Plenum decision to change the YS format from a newspaper to a magazine, calling it, '...a major step backwards for the YSA.' (2) Publicly criticizes the new public organ of the YSA, (3) Publicly attacks the YSA as a whole, stating that the YSA is in a 'political crisis.' (4) Discusses internal YSA matters in a publication sold to the public. The Uptown New York YSA local Executive Committee charges that the above actions are deliberate violations of YSA discipline and policies."

The Uptown YSA met on November 14 and as was expected indefinitely suspended Fred M. We reprint here Fred M.'s answer to the charges brought against him not because we are interested in the technicalities of the suspension itself. It is rather because we feel this answer clearly contrasts a serious principled political approach to the solution of the deep crisis now eating away at both the Socialist Workers Party and YSA to the organizational approach of the leadership of both groups which seeks through suspensions and expulsions of oppositionists to "cure" the political malady. One can excommunicate those who point out your nakedness but this action in no sense puts clothes on one.

November 8, 1964

Dear Comrades,

In replying to the charges brought against me, let me first say that I do not deny selling the issue of the Bulletin of International Socialism which has been mentioned.

There are, however, certain important factors which should be noted, and which the YSA leadership has chosen to ignore. At a membership meeting several weeks ago I specifically presented before the organization, as well as to several leading members individually, certain problems posed by my association with the American Committee for the Fourth International, considering the clear political differences between the American Committee for the FI and the YSA. I made clear my wish to remain in the YSA, and urged that some clarification of this problem be attempted. I was ruled out of order at this meeting. Although one leading comrade later assured me he would try to have the National Executive Committee of the YSA take up this matter with me, I never heard anything further.

It seems to me that the YSA leadership itself laid the groundwork for this incident, intentionally refusing to confront this problem which was honestly raised by me. They preferred instead to allow some incident to arise on which they could take disciplinary action if they so desired. It cannot be said that I acted behind the back of the organization. I want it understood that I did not set out to violate YSA discipline, but that I realized problems involving different political lines between the Bulletin and the YSA would arise and tried beforehand to have the matter discussed.

Furthermore, lending credence to the view that the leadership simply is seizing on a pretext for disciplinary action, I was never told by any leading YSA members to cease selling the Bulletin on the instances involved. If the violation was so flagrant, I would suppose that it would be logical to be asked to stop. Also, I was never asked to take a specific assignment such as selling the YS, which I would willingly have accepted. The fact that I did not sell the YS is used against me, although I was never asked. As recently as 6 months ago in a somewhat similar incident, several members were specifically asked to sell the YS and only after they refused was disciplinary action suggested. Why was the same procedure not followed here? Were the comrades afraid that I would accept the assignment?

In threatening me with disciplinary action at this time, the YSA leadership is, first of all, placing a question mark on my participation in the pre-convention discussion just beginning, thus giving the impression that they are afraid of political discussion and controversy in the YSA. At the very least any action preventing me from participation in the discussion should not be considered until the convention or after.

In addition, the way the matter has been raised shows again a tendency to solve political problems by strictly organizational means. One incident is raised, not my entire activity, the political line of the Bulletin of International Socialism,



its position on the Negro question and a series of other points. The leadership wants to avoid any clarity on the political reasons for this trial.

I am a founding member of the national YSA, and have been a member of the local organization for 6 $\frac{1}{2}$  years, longer than any present YSA member that I can recall. This is my entire political life, of course, and I do not take membership in the YSA lightly. I want to remain in the organization, precisely to struggle within it for the method of Marxism, because only in this way can we prepare for the next American revolution.

If by being in effect expelled from the SWP, with which the YSA is in political solidarity, if by associating myself with the American Committee for the Fourth International, I am making it impossible for me to remain in the YSA--if that is your opinion, then say that, explain it, and take political responsibility for that decision. Otherwise, give me assignments, give me an opportunity to remain in the YSA, draw the line on activities you consider it impermissible for me to engage in as a YSA member while also a supporter of the Bulletin of International Socialism, and we can at least see if dual membership of this sort can work. This latter course is what you would follow if you were not simply interested in disposing of me. Your present course is politically dishonest.

As I have tried to indicate, the basic issue is of course a political one, the course followed by the SWP and YSA and my opposition to it. As my tendency has explained in the past, we believe the basic problem to be the turning away by the SWP-YSA from the Marxist method and the embracing of a different method, the method originally developed and used in the world Trotskyist movement by Michel Pablo, the method of empiricism.

Under the objective conditions of the past two decades, disorientation and even the loss of older revolutionary cadres was inevitable. The problem was that the SWP was increasingly isolated from the mass movement in this period and unable to develop Marxist theory at the same time, which would have held such disorientation and shrinkage of the movement to a minimum. Thus the movement succumbed entirely to the pressures of the objective situation.

The SWP is thus no longer geared towards changing history, but merely towards observing, contemplating and accepting it. Because it could not absorb and develop the Marxist method, it began looking to other forces and other classes which would provide a short cut to revolution. Thus, not only did the SWP majority adapt to Castro, refusing to call for workers' democracy and refusing to criticize the Stalinists until Castro himself spoke out, but it followed this with the most unabashed adaptation to Ben Bella and a host of other "revolutionaries" in the colonial world. Even more revealing, here at home, the movement has for the last several years moved further and further away from a proletarian orientation, with the SWP leaving this field to such new groups as Progressive Labor and gradually sliding into an orientation almost indistinguishable from that of the YSA, towards student and radical circles entirely.

In line with the empiricist outlook of seeing events only as they are and not as they will become and are becoming even at the moment, the workingclass has been forgotten, has been left out as

the leading force of the socialist revolution. We are no longer interested in the workingclass itself, in the rank and file, in Cuba, Algeria, Great Britain, and even here at home. Rather there is an orientation towards the leaders who are now, it seems, in control.

This is the general course--the inability to develop Marxist method, the development of a crassly empiricist outlook, and the development of a deeply revisionist political line. This course is shown in many current developments; I will refer to several of the most important ones. I feel that YSA members should consider these issues at the convention itself to the extent it is possible. The future of the Trotskyist movement depends upon it. (In making these criticisms, I will refer to positions of the SWP and/or the YSA, since I consider us part of the same overall movement, and the destiny of both organizations is closely intertwined.)

1. On the Negro question, we continue to take a completely abstentionist line while refusing to criticize such nationalist spokesmen as Malcolm X, and criticizing even the respectable old leaderships too little and too late. Leading YSA members have even proudly stated that we are consciously tailending developments in the Negro movement because of its national character. The national element is present, but it is no excuse for abdication. Meanwhile, Malcolm X rewards our tailending faith by absenting himself from the struggle at home for many months, and making statements which show an increasing dependence on the bourgeois and petty bourgeois leaderships in the newly independent nations.

Even more revealing, the SWP has advanced the slogan of removing federal troops from South Vietnam and sending them to Mississippi. The disastrous nature of this demand, which falls into the category of Social-Democratic minimum demands rather than revolutionary transitional demands, is so apparent that no one on the left or in the working class or Negro movement but the avowed reformists, the middle class Negro leaders and the Stalinists have advocated or defended it. The situation is such that Progressive Labor and even the centrist Shachtmanite YPSL have correctly called the SWP to order on this.

2. On Progressive Labor - While the Progressive Labor Movement has deepened its work among the Negro and Puerto Rican workers here in New York (and has, by the way, taken a far superior line on the Negro struggle to our own), we have taken an extremely sectarian attitude instead of seeking out ways of working together with them. What is so healthy about P.L. is precisely what we lack more and more--an interest in the workingclass and in working in the mass movement. You cannot write this off as romantic adventurism while you yourself do nothing. If P.L. is adventuristic, we have the duty to work with them and show how it should be done. But we don't because we are totally uninterested in this kind of work, which can and should be done while maintaining a campus orientation. We should be continuing to reach students on the campus, but we should be giving those we reach some direction towards the workingclass, and they should then reach other students on this more conscious level. Next to our abstentionism, P.L.'s work, with its mistakes, looms large and significant. YSA members should ponder the way in which P.L. has taken the initiative in the radical movement which we used to think we held, the way in which many of the sincere, revolutionary-minded, newly radicalized young people are being attrac-

ted to P.L. where P.L. is active. The SWP and YSA's lack of proletarian orientation and completely routine propaganda-type activity have undoubtedly played a part in giving the initiative to P.L.

3. On the world Trotskyist movement, we have ignored the disintegration of the "reunified" world organization grouped around the Unified Secretariat in Paris. A minority led by Pablo has been suspended from the international organization, and a large majority of the Ceylonese Lanka Sama Samaja Party has supported a coalition government with the bourgeoisie and split away from the International. Together this amounts to the majority of the forces of the reunified group. The reunification, which was condemned at the time by the International Committee, but supported by the SWP, took place just a year ago. You must reconsider the arguments against reunification without political discussion which were presented by the Socialist Labor League of Great Britain at that time. Haven't they been borne out by the developments? And mustn't we see a direct and organic connection between the open capitulation to reformism of Pablo and the Ceylonese ex-Trotskyist Perera and the political line of the organization which nurtured and sheltered these capitulators for years, which refused time and time again to struggle against the developing centrism in its ranks and adopted some of the revisionist policies of Pablo and Perera for its own? How about drawing some lessons before there is nothing left to salvage of the Unified Secretariat? We should reconsider our attitude toward the SLL which has continued to expand its influence among the British workers and which is today the largest and most proletarian in composition of any Trotskyist group in the world. YSA members must surely have heard of the march of 3000 Young Socialists in London behind the banners of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, calling for Labor to power on a socialist program, fighting the Tories and exposing the agents of the Tory system in the Labor Party bureaucracy. Does our movement support the youth fighting behind Keep Left, or does it give support to the rival newspaper, Young Guard, organized by a group of state capitalists in league with the tiny handful of Pabloite youth in England? This latter centrist group takes an equivocal stand on the critical test of the witchhunt against Trotskyist youth. Which group do we solidarize ourselves with? Also, YSAers should question why the latest issue of the International Socialist Review slanders the SLL as not supporting the Labor Party in the British election or the SWP effort in the US election when just the opposite is true in both cases.

The building of a revolutionary movement cannot take place if theoretical development and criticisms are complacently ignored. I ask all YSAers to do the following:

Explain how the line on the troops slogan and our "faith" in Malcolm X have advanced the Negro struggle.

Explain the rapid disintegration of the Unified Secretariat.

Explain the continued growth and vitality of the SLL.

Explain how P.L. has taken the initiative in all spheres of activity in the radical movement.

These explanations, I submit, are more warranted and more important than any organizational action taken against me. My tendency poses no threat to the majority, other than a political one. Answer our political charges--or bear the political consequences!

Comradely,

Fred M.



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