

Special Report on SWP Convention

Bulletin

OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

Vol. 2, No. 15

Sept. 20, 1965

10 Cents

Dominican Republic, Algeria, Cuba: Disarming the Armed People

Also in This Issue:

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issued jointly by the American Com-
mittee for the Fourth International
and Spartacist

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WHAT THE STEEL SETTLEMENT SETTLED

Dominican Republic, Algeria, Cuba:

DISARMING THE ARMED PEOPLE

Events in the colonial world are taking an extremely ominous turn. Almost simultaneously, in the three key countries of Algeria, Cuba, and the Dominican Republic, steps are being taken to disarm the armed people.

One of the key provisions of the deal to set up a provisional government in the Dominican Republic was that calling for the disarming of the civilians--that is the disarming of the workers in the Rebel Sector of Santo Domingo. The same deal postpones the removal of U.S. troops to some unspecified future date. It should be clear that once the rebel workers are disarmed the interests of U.S. imperialism will be safe and the revolution will in effect be defeated.

In order to get the collaboration of the Rebel chiefs in this counterrevolutionary action, the United States has been forced to remove General Wessin from the country. It did this with great fanfare and an immense display of military strength in order to make it clear that while the individual was removed, power still lay in the hands of the U.S. Other agents will quickly fill the role played by Wessin.

As we go to press the Rebel leaders are under great pressure from the armed masses who rightly do not wish to give up their arms while reactionary generals are still in control of the powerful Dominican Army. Thus these rebel leaders are insisting that more of these generals be sent abroad and are protesting the influential foreign post given to Wessin.

But even if all the wellknown reactionary generals are sent out of the country, the army itself remains, and the American troops remain. Under these conditions the willingness of the Rebel chiefs to collaborate in the disarming of the people clearly shows their counterrevolutionary role and their own fear of an armed people.

The Boumedienne regime, which came to power in Algeria with the full support of the Chinese, is now in the process of disbanding the 30,000 man popular militia set up by Ben Bella in a futile attempt to set up a counterbalance to Boumedienne's army. This action of Boumedienne, which follows shortly upon the signing of new accords with France guaranteeing imperialist exploitation of Algerian oil, is a clear sign of the counterrevolutionary character of the Boumedienne regime. The political support given to Boumedienne by the Chinese and their supporters, including Progressive Labor here, is clearly a criminal act under these circumstances.

In a report on this development in the September 6th issue of the Militant, a reference is made to "Boumedienne's resistance to organizing a militia in the example set by the Cuban Revolution." However, this paper has published not a single word on the latest developments in Cuba. These develop-

ments indicate that it is not a matter of Boumedienne failing to follow the example of Cuba. Rather Cuba is showing every sign of following the example of Algeria.

In late August the Cuban Government issued "Preventive Notice No.2" entitled "All Combat Arms Must be Handed Over." We publish the complete text of this order as it appeared in the August 20th issue of HOY, a Havana publication generally associated with the Cuban Stalinists. We have also heard reports that Che Guevara is under house arrest.

Clearly the petty bourgeois leaderships of even the most radical movements and governments in the colonial world are showing themselves to be transmission belts for imperialist influence. Everywhere they are utilizing their prestige to aid the imperialists in disarming the people. Clearly the need of the day is for a revolutionary working class leadership. Clearly those radical groups, like the Socialist Workers Party and Progressive Labor, who apologize for these leaderships are doing a great disservice to the working people and colonial peoples as a whole.

HOY: August 20, 1965 Havana, Cuba

PREVENTIVE NOTICE No. 2

ALL COMBAT ARMS MUST BE HANDED OVER

As consequence of the war of liberation and of the different mobilizations that have taken place in our country, above all in the first years after the triumph of the revolution when we had not yet reached the level of organization and control that today we possess, a great quantity of combat arms were distributed throughout the country, some of which are preserved as souvenirs by the guerillas that participated in the War of Liberation and others were given to comrades who by the character of their work required them.

Today conditions have changed. The majority of these arms are in bad condition through lack of adequate maintenance. The struggle against our enemies demands from us a rigorous control of all combat armaments existing in the country. Constantly new units of workers, peasants and students are being created that form part of our growing reserve and it is necessary to predict, reorganize and maintain correctly the armament with which we will combat in case of aggression against our country. For these reasons, we ask all citizens to pardon the bother that may be occasioned them and that they give the fullest cooperation in carrying out the following:

It is resolved:

First: That from today and until the first of September of this year all civilians, members or not of reserve units and of Popular Defense must deliver to the Unit of the DOP closest to their home, combat arms, deposits, ammunition and accessories of the same that may be in their power.

Members of the Ministry of the Interior and soldiers that lend active service in Units of the FAR, will hand over combat arms in their power and which are not registered through their respective headquarters. In all cases, a document will be made of the delivery of weapons, a copy of which will be given to the interested party as proof.

Second: The arms of combat which are effected by the present disposition are the following: hand grenades, guns, machine guns, machine gun rifles, carbines and sub-machine guns of any make, type, calibre, and nationality, and also military binoculars. Side arms, shot guns and hunting rifles are excepted.

Third: No criminal responsibility will be made against civilians that deliver their combat arms in accord with existing laws.

Fourth: Those citizens who because of the characteristics of their work believe that they should possess a weapon suitable for combat in their car or home should formulate the corresponding written request to the Minister of the Interior through the provisional delegate of this Ministry, who in accord with the alleged reasons will extend authorization if these are approved. The same procedure can be used by functionaries of the Ministry of the Interior.

Members of the FAR can request through the MIN FAR, through the chiefs of the Army or the Chief of the General Staff.

Dispositions, orders, circulars and authorizations previous to the present disposition are cancelled.

MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR * MINISTRY OF THE FAR

WHAT THE STEEL SETTLEMENT SETTLED

Never in the history of American Labor and collective bargaining has a president been so closely identified by the press and the White House P.R. apparatus with the engineering of a contract settlement as was LBJ when it was announced that "the great man" had "masterminded" a new steel pact. Never before when the U.S. was technically not at war was there such an attempt to avoid a strike on the basis that it would be unpatriotic--a low blow at "our boys fighting in the jungles of Vietnam," etc.

While Johnson, his P.R. staff and the press took great pains to give the appearance that the President was being equally tough with both labor and management, it is clear that it was up to USW president I.W. Abel and not the Company negotiators to back down by accepting a considerably smaller (in terms of the estimated value per hour of the package) than he had promised when he campaigned against former USW

president, David MacDonald. Not only was the 3.2% increase smaller than the one promised, but it fell below the 4.1% increase in the Aluminum industry, recently negotiated by the same union, and was considerably smaller than the recent UAW contract.

Such figures however, can be misleading because they don't reveal whether the union has won any gains which counter the attrition of the labor force which has been proceeding apace since the mid fifties in the steel industry. Gains such as a reduction in the work week at no reduction in pay, a real Guaranteed Annual Wage, etc., could conceivably serve as a basis for a relatively small wage increase.

But in the case of this particular settlement, there appears to be no progress toward the avowed, professed USW goal of "Total Job Security". In fact, the previously mandatory (for some steel workers) 13 week vacation (over and above regular vacation) which had been instituted as an attempted job saving device by the last contract was partially reversed; the new contract gives the company the right to offer, and the worker the option to accept pay in lieu of regular vacation in excess of 2 weeks and for up to three weeks of their 13 week extended vacation. This may possibly be of liking to some of the higher seniority workers, but it really is a blow against most of the steel workers who face the threat of elimination of their job before they ever have a chance to gain the seniority that will give them job security. It is entirely possible that most of today's steel workers will not survive the 30 years service criterion which has been won by the union as a basis of retirement. It is hardly surprising that the companies were particularly insistent on acquiring this greater control and flexibility in the scheduling of vacations. Nor is it surprising that not only did the companies get significant concessions in this area but really gave fewer concessions and more innocuous ones than even they might have expected.

Abel Is MacDonald's Heir

We are not surprised, because underneath Johnson's talk of "fairness" is the reality that he used every resource to get a settlement that was acceptable to the moguls of high finance who we know are more and more concerned about increasing the competitive position of American industry and doing so at the expense of the working class. Of course, in these efforts, Johnson had to take into account that Abel had 'come to power' on the basis of a campaign to solve a backlog of local issues, to match the aluminum contract and to generally "return the union to its elected district directors and local officers from the hands of lawyers and staff technicians into which he said it had fallen."

But Abel is truly MacDonald's heir. He was more worried about being on the outs with Johnson who might publicly impugn his patriotism and support of the Vietnam slaughter

than of the possible dissatisfaction he might have to face in selling the contract to the Wage Policy Committee. In such an activity Abel is of course helped immensely by that very same top heavy bureaucracy which MacDonald helped perfect and which serves to insulate him from the rank and file. And of course Johnson's "suggestions" for final settlement may indeed have "represented a way for both sides to back off gracefully from hard and fast bargaining positions," as the New York Times puts it. What the Times is really saying is that Johnson was pretty clever in making it as easy as possible for Abel to accept a sell-out.

THE MEANING OF THE TEACHER'S PACT

The settlement which averted a teachers' strike this September was accepted by the United Federation of Teachers in a five to one vote and was generally considered a victory for the union. The issues in the settlement were mainly salary and welfare benefit increases which will amount to an average of \$800 per teacher. The Board of Education will have to get \$3 million more from the city to meet this increase.

Among the demands the union made were many concerned with working conditions. Decreases in class size was one of the most significant demands. The union originally asked for a maximum of 30 pupils to a class, and 20 pupils in special service schools (schools in the ghetto, which do not necessarily have 'special' enough services to meet the educational needs of the children). The settlement, however, proposed maximum class sizes of 33 to 36 pupils. In this very crucial respect, the contract doesn't represent a big advance.

The New York Times reported that there will be more preparation time for teachers during the school day and improved grievance procedures, though it wasn't specific on this. However, no significant changes were made in the actual working conditions.

The basic conditions in the schools, especially those in the ghetto, will not change. The board will still use only a fraction of its budget for those concerned with education directly, the pupils and teachers, in salary increases, and improvements in working conditions, facilities, textbooks, etc. The bulk of the money will be going for more supervisory and administrative staff, business machines, and for more staff at bureau and district headquarters. This year the Board received its greatest budget increase in history--over \$100 million. Before the settlement, the Board planned to use only \$8 million of the \$100 million for education directly.

The struggle for better schools has not, of course, been won. The school crisis is part of the overall crisis of capitalist society and the ills it fosters in the urban centers. If there is an organized and conscious struggle, reforms can be achieved. If there is to be even a start, class size must

be reduced significantly. Incentives must be made to get experienced teachers into the special service schools, where they are most needed. Textbooks and other facilities need to be greatly improved, so that children can learn, so that teachers can teach.

Interest in fighting for better schools has been shared by the parents and teachers alike. Parents boycotted the schools last year for better quality education. The struggle would have been more effective if the United Federation of Teachers supported the parents in their effort. In the same way, it is up to the teachers to reach the parents, gain their support in their struggle, and unite the interests of the parents and teachers. How much more effective a strike boycott would be against the Board!

The union must realize something else. The teachers won this victory not out of the good graces of the Board, but out of their determination to fight, to strike. In November they will have to decide whether to support the very Board of Education which they have had to fight against, the very Board that is more concerned with supervisory and administrative staffs and office machines than with real and better education. The UFT, together with the minority groups and the civil rights and union movements, should work towards the formation of an independent labor party, which would act in their interests and not against them.

SPECIAL REPORT ON SWP CONVENTION

How Trotsky's 'Heirs' Celebrated the 25th Anniversary of His Death

On August 20, 1940, Stalin's assassin struck Leon Trotsky from behind to still the pen of one of the greatest revolutionaries in history. Now, at the just past Labor Day weekend convention, the leadership of the Socialist Workers' Party celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of Trotsky's assassination by repudiating Trotskyism and the party's honor at a single blow.

While the convention heard and gave overwhelming support to the leadership's purely tactical proposals on anti-war work, the only political proposal adopted by the body was a draft resolution entitled "The Organizational Character of the SWP". This document, which repudiates Trotskyism and democratic centralism point-by-point, received the overwhelming majority of discussion time and decibels under every item of the agenda.

While the convention voted down each of the minority political lines of three represented political tendencies, the leadership and its supporters failed to advance a single programmatic analysis or proposal on any of the urgent issues of current world and national politics.

On the international question, the convention voted for the Hansen report that everything was hunky-dory--flaunting the shattering of the Ceylonese organization and the crushing defeats given the United Secretariat in Belgium and elsewhere in the past months.

While every financial publication, finance minister and head of state in the capitalist world is publicly occupied with the threat of a new "1929", a leadership which calls itself Marxist confidently declared itself incompetent to make head or tail of the current economic situation. Such declaration of its own ignorance did not deter this leadership from assuring Johnson and Wall Street of economic stability for an indefinite period to come.

While Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson have repeatedly insisted that the present world program and perspective of Imperialism is for a period of "managed social revolutions", the leadership declares that it is silly to suggest that the Imperialists have such a policy.

While the SWP resolved to plunge head-first, head-over-heels and so forth into anti-war work, not a single leader or majority supporter of the leading clique's line had a single word of analysis on the whys and wherefores of Imperialist intervention into Vietnam nor a single programmatic proposal on the party's work in the peace movement.

While the SWP convention was sitting, every newspaper carried into the hall bore headlines on Johnson's line in the Steel strike, yet the party leadership had not a word to offer on the perspectives facing the American working class.

On the Negro question, the party leadership continues its tired, actually Jim-Crow line: Socialism is for Whites Only; "inferior" groups like Negroes must be Black Nationalists.

In sum, a party which calls itself the leadership of the American Socialist Revolution has no program to offer even to its own members except that of following movements founded, led and built by others. The only note of honesty struck by any majority supporter was Breitman's proposal that the party no longer call it self Trotskyist.

The End of Democracy in the SWP

The organizational resolution itself implies that hereafter there will be no political democracy in the SWP.

In line with its continuing degeneration, the SWP denied the expelled "Wohlforth" and "Robertson" minorities their constitutional right of appeal to the 1965 convention. A motion to grant each group ten minutes in which to state their case was defeated by a narrow margin. Despite considerable sentiment among the delegates to adhere to the constitutional rules, the leadership - in keeping with its abandonment of democratic centralism opposed this "Formalistic democracy."

If there could have been previous doubt of this meaning, such ambiguities were entirely removed by these proposals put to the convention: (1) Put branches and locals led by minorities into effective receivership; (2) empower the leadership to censor all internal discussion material, to remove any serious political criticism of itself from pre-convention discussion; (3) It was proposed and voted that this resolution meant that majority factions in branches had been given the go-ahead to clean house after the convention.

These organizational proposals are highlighted by one included motion introduced at the request of the organizer of the New York Local. That organizer went before the convention to ask for explicit advice on how to proceed against minorities in New York. He proposed that some special category of "sympathizer" be authorized by the convention which would help him deal with the suppression of minorities and the problem of weeding out "loyal" older comrades.

Kerry replied with the following proposal adopted by the convention. A special category of "Active Sympathizer" will be established. Those comrades reduced to the rank of "Active Sympathizer" will make regular financial contributions and will be under the political discipline of the party, but will be denied both voice and vote in all party proceedings.

Reasons for Kerry's Grotesque Maneuvers

Observers may ask: "If the majority wished to rid itself of these political minorities, why didn't it simply force a split at the convention, rather than tying itself up in such an involved, grotesque drawn-out organizational maneuver?" The history of the SWP shows that Cannon was a past master at engineering splits whenever he really desired them; his students, Dobbs & Kerry, had all the means for pulling that off this Labor Day weekend. To answer that question, we must examine the SWP and its leading group much more closely.

It would be correct to class the Dobbs-Kerry group with the Communist Party leaders and the trade union bureaucrats along the same lines that Trotsky showed the nature of Stalinism and trade union bureaucrats. In this vein, it would be more or less correct to characterize the Dobbs-Kerry group as "counter-revolutionary," in the same sense that Stalin was counterrevolutionary. Such generalizations, truisms, are sometimes unavoidable and useful, but they may equally well prove to be nothing but disorienting when they are applied too glibly to actual parties and leaderships in the concrete.

There are several interrelated reasons why the Dobbs-Kerry group has been compelled to follow its present course. In order to appreciate that concrete fact and its practical implications for us, we must consider: (1) The political nature of the Dobbs-Kerry group itself; (2) The tactical and financial problems of the SWP as an organization; (3) The accelerating conflicts, in several dimensions, between the remaining "old Trotskyists" in the party and the new layer of youth who have come to outnumber them in the past two years; (4) the present

role and tactical position of the SWP in the US radical movement as a whole.

It would be too easy to describe the Dobbs-Kerry group as a centrist gang determined to crush all political opposition in the party. This would be equal to the error of saying that Johnson is in Vietnam simply because he is against colonial revolutions or because he hates China. We leave such nonsense to the pseudo-Marxists who reduce everything to a simple mechanical formula.

It is indispensable to begin with Farrell Dobbs as a human being--a concrete human being, and to trace the historic lines in which Dobbs, as a concrete human being, rose to his present position of unchallenged leadership of the SWP.

The outstanding feature of comrade Farrell Dobbs is the fact that he, the leader of the leading radical party in the United States, has never made a significant political contribution to that party, and, in fact, may be said to own an absolutely third-rate political mind: politics -- real politics -- actually confuses him. Yet, at the same time, Dobbs is one of the best administrators to appear in the whole history of American radicalism. It is this quality, combined with personal courage, which gave Dobbs his important role in the Minneapolis movement and his famous personal contribution to the building of the Teamsters' Union. Perhaps no American radical party, past or present, has enjoyed the solvency which the SWP enjoys today, largely as a result of Dobbs' work, without the "angels" which many of the SWP's competitors have enjoyed. Because of Dobbs, the SWP is the best credit risk in the American radical movement.

People of greater political and less administrative talents than Dobbs naturally incline to undertake work beyond the real financial and other material resources of the party. Ambitious publishing ventures, risky tactics involving the problem of treasury-draining defense cases, etc. sometimes can create crippling problems for a party. A party without the resources to get leaders out of the "hoosegow" may find itself demoralized and disoriented. Dobbs unfortunately carried a sound principle of party administration to the point of political conservatism and abstentionism. This is not to imply that corporations should run bidding for Dobbs' personal services as chief financial officer; Dobbs, to the best of our first-hand knowledge, is as confused by the subtleties of finance as he is by real politics. But as an extraordinarily talented pragmatic administrator, Dobbs has proven himself competent to have been even the head of the American Labor Bureaucracy today. If he had not, in fact, abandoned a promised vice-presidency of the Teamsters for the SWP, he might well have been head of the AFL-CIO or a mighty good contender for that post, at the very least.

James P. Cannon long ago recognized Dobbs' extraordinary abilities to this end, and made him his heir-apparent for the organizational side of party life.

Cannon appointed two "heirs." One was Dobbs; the other Murry Weiss. Where Dobbs had administrative and organizational abilities that even Cannon conspicuously lacked, Murry Weiss was the only leading member of the SWP who ever approached Cannon-the-revolutionary-orator as a political tactician. Cannon's will was more ill-fated than Charlemagne's. Murry Weiss's talent for political intervention in the world outside the SWP came into inevitable conflict with the organizational conservatism of the apolitical Dobbs. When Weiss moved into a leading role in effecting the 1953 50-50 split of the "Cochranites" from the SWP, there began the most vicious anti-Weiss clique fight, which continued for a decade under a polite veneer of collaboration between those aligned behind Cannon's principal "heirs."

This ten-year anti-Weiss campaign came to a head at the 1961 convention of the SWP. A sharp political difference between Weiss and the leadership of the Trotskyist youth over Cuba gave the anti-Weiss group the objective situation in which to make its move. Murry Weiss' illness and the death of comrade Dan Roberts, the leading theoretician of the party after Weiss, precipitated the decisive blow of the anti-Weiss group toward exclusive power in the party. Even then Weiss's superior political talents would have sufficed to give a crushing defeat to the Dobbs' anti-Weiss group. However, Weiss despite his tactical ability operated according to political instinct. He had style rather than a real comprehension of Marxist method. Because he lacked a political program to counterpose to the anti-Weiss group, he steeped back from forming a "military" faction against Dobbs and contesting the party leadership.

Weiss, being more political than Dobbs, thought through to the end the political line that Dobbs was really carrying out. He came to the conclusion that Cochran was right after all and the party was no longer needed. Rather than fighting for these views he quickly left political activity.

Without Weiss, the apolitical Dobbs by himself was absolutely incapable of leading a political party-- even one which had moved so far from real Marxist politics as the SWP. Dobbs required a "prime minister" who could supply him with the theory and certain other services essential to the maintenance of his regime. That "prime minister" was Tom Kerry, who, together with Joseph Hansen, is the closest approximation of a political mind in the present leadership. It is Kerry who supplies the political arguments, who engineers the cover-up of internal swindles and relieves Dobbs of the duty of some of the dirty-work necessary to keep the regime in power.

This combination consolidated its power originally with the support of a section of the old party trade union cadre which had grown politically soft and organizationally conservative through the years of reaction and isolation--a social formation in the secondary leadership and rank and file called the "party squirearchy", old radical labor-movement fighters who had generally moved into better-paying jobs and comfortable

homes, a social layer which reflected the backward tendencies of their age-level in the American labor movement. The Dobbs-Kerry leadership gave this "squirearchy" both the promise of an easier life for its advancing years and the illusion of being the real revolutionary vanguard in the U.S.A. The Dobbs-Kerry group gave this conservatized old layer the admixture of organizational ease and the consoling images of "Fourth-of-July Trotskyism."

In this way the rise and character of the Dobbs-Kerry group in the SWP parallels the rise and consolidation of power in the trade union bureaucracy. In fact, the Dobbs-Kerry leadership is the projection of the social tendency of the CIO bureaucracy into the domain of revolutionary politics. Dobbs-Kerry is to Trotskyism what Walter Reuther today is to the CIO militancy of the Thirties.

What was really needed in the "dog days" of reaction was not just a conscientious administrator, but a political leadership which realized that the most precious possession of a revolutionary party is not its dues but its theory.

(To be continued in the next issue.)

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Correction of the Joint Statement on the Elections, which follows:

Substitute for the sentence beginning: "As long as it remains an independent party..." the following sentence:

"Because it is a partly independent movement with mass support, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party has a potential of developing as a genuine expression of the Negro people."

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PLEASE NOTE CHANGE OF ADDRESS

The new address of the BULLETIN OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM AND THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL is:

339 Lafayette Street
Room 305
New York, N. Y. 10003

STATEMENT ON THE FORTHCOMING ELECTORAL CAMPAIGNS

Issued jointly by
The American Committee for the Fourth International and
Spartacist

The approaching New York municipal and state electoral contests provide the labor movement and Negro and Puerto Rican communities with an opportunity to utilize towards the development of a workingclass political movement, independent of the bipartisan political structure of American big business. Although appearing in many different forms (appealing to different social strata in various areas), the Democratic and Republican parties are structurally and programmatically the political organizations of the American ruling class. As such they are the class enemy of the civil rights and labor movements, and are committed unswervingly to maintaining the oppression of the Negro and Spanish-speaking people, improving business profits at the expense of the wages and conditions of American workers, and butchering workers and peasants in other countries to safeguard capitalist interests abroad.

Bosses' "Clean Up" Operation

The withdrawal of Wagner (whose reputation, like ex-Police Commissioner Murphy's, has become a liability) and the entry of untainted "reform" candidates such as John Lindsay and William Fitts Ryan are fairly obvious indications of an important shake-up within the local capitalist political structure in an effort to keep the masses tied to the Democratic and Republican parties. Even the "Liberal Party", mainly a coalition of cold-war academicians and traitorous union bosses, has emerged in perhaps its most important role since its creation to fulfill its task of drumming up support for big business candidates.

"Militants" in the Democratic Party

Spartacist and the American Committee for the Fourth International caution labor and civil rights militants against falling into the trap of supporting "reformers" or phony "militants" such as Jesse Gray, Major Owens or Gilbert Gerena-Valentin, who are running as "independent" Democrats of one variety or another. The "Freedom Democratic Party", which is sponsoring Owens' candidacy in the Democratic primary, is basically an attempt on the part of certain leaders to pursue their aspirations inside the national DP. The FDP has been concocted to capitalize on the mass hostility against the racist practices of the Democratic Party and at the same time prevent a break with it by perpetuating the illusion that the DP is, contrary to appearance, really a "peoples' party" and can be "reformed". No matter what base of support such leaders have constructed, the first responsibility of anyone with serious ambitions inside the Democratic Party is to the big

business machine bosses who compose and control that party. The efforts of these leaders to tie their followers to the foremost political agency administering the racist system in the interests of the American ruling class constitutes nothing less than direct sabotage of the goals of the civil rights movement, and a betrayal of their people. It is incumbent upon real militants to repudiate such treachery. A certain distinction must be made however, between the Brooklyn FDP and the Mississippi FDP. While the Mississippi FDP is in serious error in its attempts to enter the DP, the circumstances in Mississippi force it to remain outside the DP. As long as it remains an independent party with mass support, it has greater potential of developing as a genuinely independent expression of the Negro people. To achieve real independence it must break from the national DP which is clearly against the interests of the Negro people.

Build a Labor Party

The foremost need of American workers and civil rights militants is to build a political movement with a program geared to their own interests, which can combat capitalist reaction in its "liberal" or any other form. To this end, the capitalist governmental machinery can be taken advantage of in two ways in the upcoming elections:

I. We call upon labor and civil rights movements to run independents in opposition to all Democratic and Republican candidates. While it is often not realistic to expect such independents to defeat their opponents, these campaigns could have immense value in winning and building supporters for workingclass politics. In this way a small but definite core of Negro, Puerto Rican, and labor militants can be consolidated which could begin to construct a base in the ghettos and other areas, leading toward a nation-wide, militant, workingclass party.

II. Where such independents do not run, the various socialist parties should put forward their own candidates for the offices in question, with the aim, not of "taking office" in capitalist government, but of opposing the capitalist parties and encouraging black and white workers to break with them by voting for independents and socialists.

Support Socialist Candidacies

SPARTACIST and THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL declare in advance our intention to support all such developments while making clear any criticisms we have in regard to them. Accordingly, we endorse the candidacies of: Clifton DeBerry for Mayor, Paul Boutelle for Borough President of Manhattan, Lynn Henderson for Manhattan Councilman-at-Large, Peter Camejo for City Council President, and Hedda Garza for Comptroller, on the Socialist Workers Party ticket; and of William Epton for State Senator in the 21st Senatorial District on the Progressive Labor Party ticket. We have the following observations however, in regard to these campaigns:

Sectarianism

The SWP in endorsing Epton's Senatorial campaign has broken from its sectarian attitude of 1963 when it avoided taking a position on Epton's candidacy for Councilman-at-Large. The PLP which refused to support DeBerry's presidential campaign in 1964 has so far taken no position on the SWP candidates. Such sectarianism can only confuse those to whom these campaigns are addressed. The need for independent workingclass political action must be brought out, and in order to do this, it is imperative that ALL efforts in this direction be supported. In "Challenge", the organ of the PLP, Jesse Gray's entry into the swamp of Democratic politics is termed an error. Gray has not erred, he has betrayed his followers and this must be brought out.

"Civilian Review Board"

While proclaiming the right of Negroes and other minorities to defend themselves, both DeBerry and Epton have not clearly differentiated themselves from the liberals and "respectable" civil rights leaders such as Farmer and Wilkins who are calling for a "civilian review board" as the answer to police brutality against Negroes and Puerto Ricans. This fraudulent demand has as usual been put forward in an attempt to channel mass outrage against the oppression of minorities back into "peaceful coexistence" with the racist status quo, by means of a device essentially acceptable to the power structure and in no real way endangering the functions of their police. Where such "review boards" of "respectable citizens" exist, such as in Philadelphia, they have proven to be no more than fig leaves designed to conceal, in an especially effective manner, the systematic brutality of the cops who proceed as usual about their grim, dirty business.

People's Police Control Board

While DeBerry simply echoes the liberals, Epton presents the more radical proposal that the review board should consist only of "Negro, Puerto Rican and White workers to be chosen by the people in their communities." Control of the Police Department by the working people is essential. They must have the right to discipline and dismiss police officers and the right to inspect all police department records at any time. However it contributes to a dangerous illusion to put forth the idea that control boards can make the police responsible servants of the people. The police department is an apparatus of the bourgeois state and as such, its main functions are strikebreaking, the protection of private property and the suppression of protest directed against the ruling class. The main role of the police apparatus must not be obscured.

"Federal Troops to the South"

Again we must censure the SWP for its treacherous call for "Federal troops to the South." Indeed, DeBerry continues to insist that US special Forces now endeavoring to crush the liberation movement in Vietnam should be sent to the American South, where we are led to believe they will "protect" a similar struggle. This deception not only supports a false illusion of the ruling

class and its army but contains an element of national chauvinism as well. We again call upon the SWP to renounce this demand and to affirm that the masses can look only to themselves for protection against racist violence, North or South.

"Dismiss Murphy"

Epton's call for "dismissal of police chief Murphy" prior to Murphy's resignation indicates a tendency on the part of PL to orientate toward the power structure rather than solely toward the masses oppressed by it. Indeed, to call upon the ruling class to remove a "dirty" functionary--and (it is assumed) replace him with a "clean" Police Commissioner who will not have the liability of the record Murphy earned after years of dutifully performing his job--misleads and disarms those PL attempts to reach, because it suggests that such a change of capitalist personnel would be a serious gain for the masses. It compares with the SWP's call for the "removal" of J. Edgar Hoover. The fact that PL made this a major slogan indicates the seriousness of this error. Epton has subsequently come forward with the proposal of "making the office of Police Commissioner an elective position." Again, this is simply another instance of pressuring the bourgeoisie to "reform" their state instead of pushing demands upon the masses to organize the irreconcilable opposition to it.

Need for Transitional Demands

SPARTACIST AND ACFI urge the SWP and PLP to raise transitional demands in the course of the campaign, which they have not done so far. These are demands which will appeal to the present state of consciousness of the workers in such a way as to increase that consciousness and lead them to question the capitalist system itself. The PLP program states that "only when the people own and control the factories, houses, banks and schools and when they rule themselves for themselves can we all say we are secure and free." This is a very fine sentiment but the program does not provide the links necessary to show the way to this goal.

Civilian Patrols

We call upon the SWP and PLP to encourage and aid workers in organizing tenant and block committees and in organizing civilian patrols to get the police out of their neighborhoods. The rent strike experiences, the "Deacons for Defense", show that the idea of organizing outside the power structure is already in existence. Implicit in such demands is the idea of dual power; independent organization which eventually can call into question the very existence of the bourgeois state.

Vietnam

Both the SWP and the PLP issue clear demands for withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. They must hit hard at the potentially explosive issue of the draft affecting tens of thousands of working class youth. They must make the links between the right of the Vietnamese people to defend themselves against foreign aggression and the right of the "Deacons for Defense" to organize defense squads for protection against

racist violence. In this way they will broaden the struggle here at home.

Need for a Revolutionary Party

By raising transitional demands, many of the more advanced workers can be won to a revolutionary perspective. This is essential if a revolutionary party is to grow which can develop theoretically and give the leadership to mass struggles necessary to win socialism.

For Independent Political Action

These campaigns of the SWP and PL, in spite of the weaknesses touched on above, deserve the active support of all labor and civil rights supporters struggling against oppression in New York City and the United States. These campaigns can be particularly effective in strengthening opposition to U.S. capitalism's murderous war against the people of Vietnam. In addition, it is the responsibility of such militants to expose the maneuvers taking place within the capitalist political structure in New York, to point out that such turnovers in personnel will only tend to strengthen oppression, and to put forward truly independent candidates and support all those already running. We of SPARTACIST and THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL hereby announce our own intention to do our utmost to enhance the success of these candidates by working as enthusiastic supporters of these independent campaigns: DeBerry for Mayor, Boutelle for Borough-President, Camejo for City Council President, Henderson for Councilman-at-Large, Garza for Comptroller, and Epton for State Senator!

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