



Bulletin

OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

Vol. 1, No. 2

Sept. 28, 1964

10 Cents

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This is one part of the picture of American politics, 1964-- the dominant side. It is the other part of the picture which seems so out of joint with the confident Johnson and the complacent America he represents. No other election in the United States in the last two decades has been so torn asunder by signs of social unrest and conflict. This is the essential significance of the Goldwater nomination and campaign.

The Growing Crisis

Underneath the prosperity of America and the complacency it breeds is the growing crisis of American imperialism internationally and at home. The international crisis is plain for all to see. For all the bloody bluster of Johnson's air raids on North Vietnam territory everyone realizes that the United States is essentially on the defensive in Southeast Asia. Certainly this political game of musical chairs in Saigon, as Goldwater correctly labels it, illustrates this. The weakness of the United States in Vietnam is not a military weakness. It is caused by the decay of the capitalist system in the colonial areas of the world. When one adds to this the increasingly divisive competitive situation within the capitalist camp one begins to get some idea of the scope of crisis the United States faces internationally.



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Domestically the Negro struggle illustrates the growing internal social crisis. The murder of Chaney, Goodman and Schwerner in Mississippi has been followed by profound revolts of the Negro masses in the vast ghettos of the Northern cities. The most modest school integration steps in New York City are countered by demonstrations of hundreds of thousands of whites. In the trade unions (it seems no longer fashionable for socialists to concern themselves with union developments) the growing restiveness of the rank and file workers is illustrated by the developing opposition within the United Mine Workers Union and the wildcat strikes that have already hit Ford during Reuther's negotiations.

Goldwater represents essentially a petty bourgeois reaction on the right to this growing crisis. His main support does not come from big business. The responsible heads of American industry, having failed to get Scranton nominated at the Republican convention, are now rallying to Johnson in phenomenal numbers. Rather it is the small business man in the Middle West, combined with sectional -- not national -- capitalist interests in the South and Far West, which support Goldwater.

Goldwater represents the frustrations of a petty bourgeoisie which seeks to "solve" the growing social crisis by "acting tough" and flaying out irrationally in all directions. It is not an image of real strength which Goldwater projects but rather one of bluster which seeks to cover up weakness. Goldwater reminds one of an encircled animal on the edge of a precipice which "courageously" flings itself over the edge, flaying madly at the air all the way down. Needless to say, despite its futility -- or perhaps just because of it -- such an animal is dangerous.

Big Business Rallies to LBJ

The dominant sections of American capital do not see themselves in as futile a position as Goldwater. American capitalism, despite the growing crisis, still has tremendous resources. Just as important, throughout the world the enemy of capitalism, the working class, is confused and lacks a clear revolutionary leadership. These capitalists feel that by combining the real economic power and political strength they still maintain with the assistance of the false leaders of the working class they can retain their control in the United States and their world dominance for some time to come. This is what they aim to do and this is why they spurn Goldwater and rally to Johnson.

Internationally they are banking on coming to terms with Krushchev and with Krushchev's aid maintaining as best they can an admittedly unstable status quo. Within the United States they are banking on the aid of the petty bourgeois Negro leadership and the labor bureaucracy to rally the masses of the people behind their continued rule. Both aims can be accomplished only through Johnson. A Goldwater victory would

impede a deal internationally and would aggravate the social crisis at home.

Whom Should We Support?

Does this mean that socialists wish for Goldwater to win as we understand the Chinese Stalinists do? Not at all. If the majority of the American people were to vote for a Goldwater it would be a sign that a vast stratum of the petty bourgeoisie and undoubtedly a whole layer of the more privileged workers were rallying to a reactionary rather than progressive attempt to solve the growing crisis.

Then should we not rally to Johnson the lesser of two evils? This would be equally foolhardy. This would mean we wished to stave off the growing crisis in the United States through bolstering big business control over the U.S. government. Those "socialists" who urge support for Johnson are showing that as the crisis grows in the United States they are rallying to the aid of the ruling class rather than seeking to give leadership to the working class and Negro people.

Should we do nothing this fall? No. We must step up our struggle to develop the independent class political action of the working class and the Negro people. We must point out to all workers and Negroes we can reach the extreme importance of struggling to create a new party of the working people in the United States, a party which breaks from the big business complacency of LBJ and the petty bourgeois reaction of Goldwater. As part of the educational process we must urge support for Freedom Now Party candidates like Paul Boutelle who seek to infuse a working class content into their electoral activity and for a socialist protest vote through the Socialist Workers Party electoral campaign.

REUTHER, COMPANY, JOHNSON PLEASED WITH CHRYSLER PACT

But What About the Workers on the Assembly Line?

As expected, the mutual desires of Walter Reuther and the Chrysler Corporation to avoid a strike came to fruition as Mr. Reuther ebulliently announced the signing of a three-year contract with Chrysler. Before pointing out the inadequacies of the contract for Chrysler workers and its implications for all the auto workers, it must be acknowledged that at least on paper this is a settlement with important gains for the workers in the industry. Not only did the union get almost exactly what it demanded in terms of a pension plan and fringe benefits, but Chrysler (very reluctantly) gave in on 12 additional minutes of paid relief time bringing the total relief time for 20,000 assembly line and machine operators to 36 minutes.

Reuther can claim a 4.9% overall increase for the workers and the company cannot really maintain that this seriously

hurts its profits. The 4.9% increase can easily be absorbed by an industry whose annual productivity increase is far above the national average of 3.2% and which is racking up record profits.

All indications at the moment are that Ford will accept basically the same contract. G.M., as we shall see, may be another story. On the surface it almost looks like the class struggle is non-existent and that we are entering a new period of "industrial harmony." The only fears that LBJ and other spokesmen of big capital express is that such a rich settlement might be demanded and fought for by workers in industries where the companies supposedly cannot give this much without "having to raise prices." But Wall St. is fairly confident that any future strikes can be fairly easily stymied with the help of their man, LBJ.

A Deal Is Made

However appearances, in this case, are more than usually deceiving. It is necessary to look more deeply beneath the surface. First, it is clear that a "deal" was made by Reuther to facilitate the settlement. A Sept. 9th New York Times dispatch reports that among other gains by the company, Chrysler "... won concessions from the union that will sharply reduce the proportion of union representatives to workers. Mr. Leary (Chrysler negotiator) said the concession on union representation which he would not spell out, was the most important gain won by the company." (our emphasis).

Gains for the corporation on the question of union representation which are "not spelled out" are, we suspect, very bad news for the workers. More than likely this will mean even less control by the workers over conditions at the point of production. While this is serious enough at Chrysler (it gives the company a better chance to take back in increased production with one hand what it gives the workers with the other) it would be, if allowed, far more serious at GM where the union has a huge list of grievances over bad working conditions.

The signs are all around that in the industry as a whole the workers are deeply dissatisfied with on the job conditions. A "juicy" contract with Chrysler doesn't change these conditions and could even worsen them. As of Sept. 15th, despite tremendous pressure from Reuther, some Chrysler bargaining units had not ratified the contract due to unresolved grievances. Interestingly all these holdouts are assembly-line units where the speed-up is the worst. It is important to keep in mind that Chrysler conditions tend to be better than Ford and Ford better than GM.

Wildcat Strike Hits the Rouge

A wildcat strike at the huge Ford River Rouge plant on Sept. 15 idled half the hourly day workers and was bitterly

denounced by Reuther. The Wall Street Journal reported that pickets passed out leaflets saying, "The Chrysler Pact will not be acceptable at Ford" and "the leaflets demanded more gains on several working condition issues."

At G.M. the company is reportedly preparing for a battle over acceptance of the union demands. At the heart of the issue is the fact that Reuther must demand greater improvements in conditions than at Chrysler and Ford. G.M. owes its position as the giant to the fact that it has always held down the conditions of its workers and thus maintained a superior "competitive" position. Although a strike would be costly for G.M., in the long run it cannot afford to lose this competitive advantage without a struggle.

The grievances of the G.M. workers include: filthy and dirty locations; fumes, dust, smoke and heat which constitute a health danger; refusal to purchase special uniforms and gloves for particular dirty work; oily floors; dirty toilets. Doubtless a G.M. worker could list more items of this nature. In addition the union complains about inequities of wages and working conditions from plant to plant.

The Speed-up at G.M.

But the biggest gripe of G.M. workers is that work standards are too high. This "speed-up" reached an all time high with the recently completed models, according to a union spokesman quoted in the Sept. 10th Wall Street Journal. According to the same article, G.M. of course denies the charges and "regards its power to set work standards as essential to its ability to run its own business; it is sure to resist any attempt to get work standards lowered as, in effect, a bid to put the union in charge of its plants." There is the real bone of contention, the substance of the class struggle which Reuther would wish away.

We can safely predict that Reuther will not face the issue like a lion but rather like a cunning fox with the heart of a lamb. Very possibly Reuther will get a "deal" on union representatives such as was made at Chrysler in return for some paper concessions on working conditions. In any case, wildcat strikes, which Reuther denounces as "sabotage," are to be expected.

RACIST SCHOOL BOYCOTT IS SERIOUS CHALLENGE

Meaningful School Integration Seen as Part of Struggle for Jobs and Decent Housing for Both Black and White Workers

The two day boycott of New York City schools called for September 14 and 15 points up the continuing crisis in public school education in the metropolitan areas all over the country, although the crisis is now sharpest in New York. The boycott, called to protest the pairing of schools by the

Board of Education, kept a total of about 31% out the first day and about 26% out the second. Although the boycott turnout fell far short of the 464,000 who stayed away at the time of the first civil rights action earlier in the year, it is clear that a significant number of white parents kept their children home as called for by the Parents and Tax-payers organization.

The Board of Education's school pairing proposal is actually extremely modest. It represents a significant move back from the broader integration plans proposed earlier this year. The pairing plan hardly makes a dent in the de facto segregated school pattern in New York, yet the established Negro organizations have given it at least partial support. One immediate consequence of the latest boycott is to encourage the notion that the school board is in some way fighting for integration.

Eight schools in Queens and Brooklyn, involving some 13,000 pupils, are being paired this year. Three of the four pairings involve a maximum of 7 blocks walking distance, the fourth involves 14 blocks, with the bus transportation being offered for those who wish it. In bending over backwards to placate "neighborhood school" advocates, the Board of Education removed any element of "long-distance" busing, although the PAT spokesman continue to claim that the precedent set opens the door to the busing of children all over the city.

The PAT argument is of course thoroughly dishonest and hypocritical, since very few objections are ever raised or ever will be to busing which involves transportation to superior high-prestige schools. The "neighborhood school" concept itself is a relative one, determined by zoning and other factors. Some such neighborhood schools have been artificially created in the past on fringe areas of Negro and white neighborhoods to insure continued all white and all Negro schools. Of course no hue and cry is ever raised about this type of gerrymandering.

It is, of course, the prospect of having their children attend school together with "lower-class" Negroes in what they regard as an inferior educational setting, against which the white parents are rebelling. These whites, including both middle class and the upper layers of the working class sections of the population, see the Negro as threatening their newly acquired prosperity or the prosperity they hope to acquire in the future.

Ruling Class Fosters Racial Antagonism

This white backlash, including many workers threatened by automation and unemployment, is being used by the capitalist class in the North, as well as the South. While the virtues of equality and integration are spouted by the hypocritical liberal bourgeoisie in the North (and even some areas of the "New South"), this same bourgeoisie is fostering prejudice

and race hatred through its control of both the mass media and the job market. The "blood brother" fabrication in New York City, various sensational stories and crime scares in the newspapers (including the New York Times, of course), all played a part in the growth of the white backlash.

Racial antagonism, reflected in the latest school boycott, aids the capitalists in this country in the same way as it does in Cyprus, Ceylon and many other areas of the capitalist world. Growing automation and economic stagnation is creating a situation in which job security for millions of workers is weaker than ever. Naturally the ruling class would rather have the white worker feel that the Negro, rather than the system itself, is threatening his job security. And if the Negro can be encouraged to see the white worker as a major enemy, so much the better. Racial antagonism as well as an army of the unemployed are necessary requirements to keep the system afloat.

From the Supreme Court on down, it has been said that integrated schooling will improve the quality of education. While this is no doubt true, the fact remains that the entire system creates, through employment and housing, a segregated school pattern which is most sharp in the urban ghettos. This segregation is the basic fact, and it is utopian to propose to change by starting with the effect, not the cause. It is not possible to achieve full integration or equality by stages. It is generally acknowledged that the segregated all-Negro schools are inferior academically and statistics bear this out in terms of the high percentage of Negro high school dropouts. The environment of the ghetto is, needless to say, not very conducive to learning.

The Class Roots

Underneath the surface of racial conflict, the school dispute shows its class roots. Instead of attacking the problem from the class basis, many integration leaders as well as liberal spokesmen claim that school integration can solve the basic housing and job problems of the black ghetto. Rev. Galamison himself, militant leader of last spring's second school boycott, upholds this view.

But school integration schemes, whether they involve school pairings, rezoning, new schools, or long-distance busing, are no panaceas for the basic problems. The Negro civil rights fighters will meet frustration and defeat if they allow themselves to be diverted from the major question. It is necessary to link up the struggle for integrated quality education with the struggle for jobs and housing.

The average Negro parent is not interested in school integration or any other kind of integration as an abstract goal. He is interested in integration as a means of putting a stop to the cycle of poverty, unemployment, and degradation in the ghetto. The struggle for better schools must be worked

into this overall struggle. This means fighting for integrated quality education, for better schools for all, through decreased class sizes, special attention to slower students, and rezoning and pairing of schools. Negro and white parents together must demand that the school system find the money for a crash program to reduce class sizes by one half. The present school building program barely keeps pace with the influx of new students into the school system. Against this background of scarcity, the fight for integration can become as futile as the fight for job security when there are not enough new jobs being created.

The Negro movement must cut across the prejudice being exploited by the PAT. We must demand that the government of the capitalists find the money, taking some of the huge corporation and real estate profits, to meet the minimum needs of all. Just as we fight for a shorter work week, we must fight for "better schools for all." Only in this overall context of working class struggle does integration take on any real meaning.

LBJ IS A RACIST

We've got to give him credit. When it comes to the good old American school of unprincipled, rotten, double-dealing politics Lyndon B. Johnson excels over everyone. As he rallies the labor vote as the "defender" of the poor he is also counting on the votes and political support of Henry Ford and the leading capitalists in the United States. As a multi-millionaire, business has complete faith in him.

But his hypocrisy does not stop here. Throughout the country Johnson is being trumpeted as the defender of the Negro people who is standing up against the racist Goldwater. Now it is revealed that in 1945 LBJ sold some property in Austin, Texas with a restrictive anti-Negro covenant inserted into the deed even though there was no such covenant in the deed when he bought the property in 1938. Ah yes, LBJ is a true gentleman of the South--not the South of the poor white and doubly oppressed Negroes but the south of the moneyed white Bourbons who can afford a "liberal" facade for the continued oppression of the Negro people.

Vote for LBJ? Not on your life! The trouble with voting for him is that he may win.

TRAGI-COMEDY IN THE CONGO

South African Racists Fight to Defend Tshombe

No other event in our absurd world shows up the complete hypocrisy of the West better than the current events in the Congo. These events have such an Alice in Wonderland character that it is hard to believe that they are really

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taking place. But they are, to the great agony of the Congolese people.

Only a short while ago the liberal press was lauding the efforts of the U.S.-backed United Nations military operation in the Congo. The armed struggle against Belgian-backed Moise Tshombe of Katanga was pictured as an honest-to-goodness effort to rid the Congo of direct foreign domination and to create a genuine national government for the country as a whole.

Today Tshombe, the vanquished of two years ago, is the hero of the day and head of the government he had fought against in the earlier period. Tshombe's return was carefully planned and fully supported by the U.S., this time in concert with the Belgians, the French and the English, the forces which had previously openly or covertly aided the Katanga rebellion against the U.S.-inspired United Nations campaign.

Employment with a Difference

Joining Tshombe in his struggle against rebel forces are none other than the very same white racist mercenaries who had aided Tshombe in Katanga. The bulk of the mercenaries come from the white supremacist countries of Spathern Rhodesia and the Union of South Africa. A recruiting office has been set up in Johannesburg and newspaper ads offer "employment with a difference."

These white supremacist mercenaries are being used to pilot aircraft supplied to Tshombe by the United States. In addition supplies have been shipped to Tshombe's central government by the Union of South Africa as a governmental action.

All this, of course, meets with the approval of not only the U.S., but also the Belgians and French who have large stakes in the mining industry of the country. For some time now the Belgian-dominated mining interests in Katanga have been loyally paying their royalties and taxes to the central government, convinced that this government will be as loyal to their interests as the Katanga government was. The United Nations voices no objections to anything. Tshombe is no longer of concern to this "impartial" body. As long as the central government functions under the tutelage of the United States the United Nations will keep its hands off. What a filthy role those "socialists" play who urge support for this agency of world imperialism.

Use American Negroes?

Perhaps the saddest thing about the whole situation is the report that at least one American Negro soldier is being used to "advise" Tshombe's army. Are American Negroes to be called to give their lives to defend the servant of the

oppressors of their brothers in Africa?

No doubt the rebel forces have a largely tribal character and are confused in many ways. But the strength of these rebels flows from the continued domination of the Congo by the imperialists and the impossible conditions of life that this domination means for the Congolese people.

Socialists must demand the immediate withdrawal of all American aid to the Tshombe regime. We must oppose any further United Nations action in the Congo which would only further the interests of the imperialists. Most of Africa has achieved its nominal independence from the imperialists. But Africa still remains under the economic domination of the world capitalists. The real freedom of Africa will require a socialist working class leadership. Only such a leadership is capable of really breaking with the imperialists.

MINE WORKERS REBEL AT CONVENTION

Fist Fights Erupt on Floor as UMW Bureaucrats Use Violence

To Squelch Growing Dissension in Ranks

The fifteen-day marathon convention of the United Mine Workers Union in Miami Beach was anything but a peaceful affair. It was certainly not the fault of Tony Boyle and the leadership of the UMW. They had done everything they could to prevent dissidents within the union to express themselves at the convention.

The convention was held in Miami Beach, far from the mine fields, rather than the traditional meeting spot of Cincinnati. The extreme length of the convention of 15 days also placed a tremendous burden on rank and file delegates who not only had large hotel bills to pay but missed over two weeks of work. Thus the dissident locals could only afford to send token delegations while the supporters of Boyle were financed in one way or another by the International.

On the opening day things exploded when the insurgents sought to get the floor to protest a seating and voting arrangement which was aimed at further diluting their small support. Delegates' wives were allowed to sit with the delegates and all votes were voice votes thus allowing the wives to chime in and drown out the opposition. The insurgents were physically prevented from reaching microphones by supporters of Boyle and dissident John Stofea of Local 1248, New Eagle, Pa. was beaten right in front of the press box.

Significantly those involved in this act of hooliganism wore hats marked "District 19." District 19 covers the more depressed coal regions in eastern Kentucky and south-

eastern Tennessee. Here most of the union mines have been closed and thousands of miners are on the verge of starvation. District 19 is under receivership of the International. The delegates are appointed by the International and have no connection with the starving miners of Harlan and adjoining counties of Kentucky who have been intermittently striking for two or three years now.

Behind the Rebellion

Behind the rebellion within the union is the decision of John L. Lewis in 1950 to wholeheartedly support the automation of the mines hoping only for increased wages for the few miners remaining on the job. As a result of this policy present employment in the mines is only one third of what it was in 1950 and employment has dropped 28 per cent just since 1958. In the interim profits in the industry have soared to all-time highs.

Extremely significant is the fact that the present rebellion in the union is led by mine locals in prosperous : mines in the Pennsylvania, Ohio and West Virginia soft-coal areas. These miners are generally working a full week and earning at least \$25 a day. However, even these miners-- precisely those Lewis sought to buy off with higher wages-- now are more concerned with holding on to their jobs than with additional raises.

In March and April of this year dissatisfaction with the latest contract was so great that some 8,000 miners conducted wildcat strikes. Prior to the present convention some 70-150 delegates from this region met in Bellaire, Ohio to map joint strategy for the convention. The rebels are also planning to run an alternate slate to Boyle in the coming union elections. This is the first time there has been an anti-administration slate in the UMW for many, many years.

Face Automation

These developments within the UMW are extremely significant for the entire working class. The mine workers face in a more extreme way the problems of the American working class as a whole. Coal mining is a depressed industry under heavy competition from other power sources, oil, gas and now atomically produced electricity. Thus the coal industry feels the present growing stagnation of the American economy particularly acutely. The solution of the coal operators, with the support of the union leadership, is extreme measures of automation to reduce labor costs. As a result hundreds of thousands of miners have been thrown out of work and those miners presently working fear they also will be hit.

Even retired workers no longer feel secure. The Union has been forced to cut down on pension benefits as corporation contributions to the pension plan decrease. In Eastern Kentucky, union hospitals have been closed down. This is

particularly cruel for many miners suffer from incurable diseases because of spending a lifetime in the mines. The bosses profited from this labor but now feel no responsibility for the fate of the workers who produced all that they have.

The present UMW leadership, like the bureaucratic leaderships of other unions, cannot lead the workers in militant struggles against the corporations so that workers will be treated like human beings rather than a commodity to be dispensed with when a machine can do the job cheaper. Conditions are now being prepared in all sections of American industry for the growth of new militant rank and file leaderships in the unions to struggle for control of the unions to turn them into fighting organizations once again. Those who believe the American working class has lost its ability to struggle could learn a thing or two from John Stofea of New Eagle, Pa., or Steve Kochis, Jr. of Bobtown, Pa. or Berman Gibson of Hazard, Kentucky.

NORMAN HILL QUILTS CORE

SPer Seeks to Blunt Negro Struggle by Channelling It Into Democratic Party

Recently, the New York Times reported that Norman Hill, national program director of the Congress of Racial Equality, had resigned in "a split over election year tactics." The report indicated that Hill resigned because he favored "a curtailment of demonstrations and a new emphasis on political action during the campaign." It will be remembered that CORE, along with the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, refused to go along with the moratorium on demonstrations which was called for earlier this summer by the NAACP and the Urban League, and supported by A. Philip Randolph and Bayard Rustin.

The Times apparently considered this story extremely significant, for it allotted three columns to it. A certain receptivity on the Times' part to Hill's views also emerged from this story.

It is not surprising that the Times was pleased with Hill's action. He represents the kind of "responsible" leader the capitalist government prefers to work with. Like Hill, James Farmer, the national director of CORE, supports Johnson for reelection. But Farmer, under pressure from the militant CORE rank-and-file, could not go along with the moratorium on demonstrations. In commenting on Hill's resignation, Farmer said, significantly, "I don't think we can appease this so-called white backlash." The moratorium on demonstrations coincides directly with the aims and interests of the decisive section of the U.S.

ruling class. This means precisely to appease the white backlash, whose growth is not only a sign of a deep and growing social crisis in the country, but also has been encouraged by this same ruling class.

Radical Camouflage

Like his mentor, Bayard Rustin, Hill camouflages his real program behind some high-sounding and even at times radical phrases. He seizes on obvious weaknesses in the Negro movement, and exploits these weaknesses in order to turn as many active and dedicated civil rights fighters as possible towards the Democratic Party and away from militant struggle against the entire system of exploitation and second class citizenship.

Hill says that we cannot ignore the white backlash; we cannot ignore the labor movement; we must do more than simply demonstrate; we cannot ignore politics and political action. In saying these things, he is pointing out real weaknesses: a tendency to simply ignore the white backlash; to concentrate on demonstrations and exclude politics; to concentrate on individual action and "electrifying" the masses through adventuristic actions. This attitude on the part of many Negro militants is understandable, springing from the frustration and desperation in the face of so little having been accomplished thus far, after civil rights bills, marches on Washington, and even rent strikes and school boycotts.

But what does Hill propose? He proposes to appease the white backlash, not to fight it with a revolutionary workingclass program; to make an alliance with the conservative capitalist-minded trade union bureaucracy, not with the rank and file workers hit by speedup, automation, and unemployment; to turn the Negro movement towards Lyndon B. Johnson and the capitalist Democratic Party, not towards independent political action. Thus at every point Hill's and Rustin's answers to the crucial questions facing the Negro movement serve the interests of capitalism, are a complete acceptance of tokenism and gradualism, and lead to disaster and defeat for the Negro movement, and the entire working class movement as well.

Phony Labor-Negro Alliance

Hill's call for a labor-Negro alliance is exposed as phony by the fact that Hill himself has taken a position as part of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy in Washington. Is he boring from within? Exactly what is he trying to accomplish by this approach? He is silent about the treacherous role of the labor bureaucrats in relation to the civil rights movement, in organizing the unorganized, in fighting for jobs for all. Does Hill perhaps expect to convince the union leadership of the need to help the unemployed Negroes or whites? If this is his aim, he can expect very little success.

The fact that he orients to the union officialdom rather than the rank and file unionists, unorganized, and unemployed, shows what he is really after.

Hill makes no secret of his Socialist Party membership. Of course this "socialist" has no qualms about supporting Johnson. This "socialist," like the "communists" of the Communist Party, also advocates that the Negro militants stop demonstrating for fear of further antagonizing "public opinion" and endangering Johnson's election chances. The thought of working for a fighting unity of all workers behind a socialist program, the thought of winning workers to the cause of socialism as a solution in this time of great crisis, is furthest from the mind of Hill, the "socialist." Is it any wonder that many militant Negroes regard socialism and communism with a certain amount of suspicion?

The most dangerous aspect of Hill's program is that he can mislead and demoralize Negro militants while besmirching the name of socialism and the struggle for a real labor-Negro alliance. The task for the militants in CORE, SNCC, and around the various nationalist groups is to repudiate Hill and Rustin, as well as Wilkins and the other middle class leaders, and at the same time develop a genuine revolutionary working class program.

FRENCH TROTSKYISTS GREET BULLETIN

Warmest greetings to you as you launch your new publication. From now on you assume, in the fortress of world imperialism, the difficult and tremendous task of defending the program of world revolutionary communism. American workers and their vanguard will, sooner or later, gather around this program. They will rid themselves of bureaucrats, professional sceptics and petty bourgeois politicians and build a socialist America.

Everywhere in the world conscious vanguard workers are looking towards their American brothers fully understanding that a decisive struggle must be waged there, in the States, to crush imperialism once and for all. Hence you, American Trotskyists, as American workers, have far more than a purely "national" responsibility.

We are proud, comrades, that you, few people, in front of the most powerful bourgeoisie in the world, dare to start struggling once again for the building of a powerful revolutionary workers party in the States, for the building of a new revolutionary international, for the victory of world socialism.

--French Section, International Committee of
The Fourth International

ONCE AGAIN, THE SWP AND CEYLON

(The following editorial appeared in the September 5, 1964 issue of the Newsletter, the official organ of the Socialist Labour League in Great Britain.)

During the latter years of his life, Leon Trotsky devoted a great deal of attention towards the development of the Socialist Workers Party in the United States. Under his guidance it became the largest and most influential section of the world Trotskyist movement. That was 24 years ago--years which have known many difficult periods for the international movement which he founded.

Perhaps the greatest of all of these tragedies has been the political degeneration of the Socialist Workers Party itself. It is no secret that in the early years of the development of the movement in Britain, the leaders of that Party played an important role in the training of the present cadre which is the leadership of the Socialist Labour League. Our organization, which is now rapidly increasing its influence and numbers, will always remember the warm and sincere support we received during those difficult years from the Socialist Workers Party.

If we have to make extremely sharp criticisms today, we do so in order to try to politically save for Trotskyism all comrades we can, who are at present members of that Party. We ask them once again to turn their attention to the appalling development of recent weeks. Well over 650 members of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party of Ceylon, comprising the right and centre groups, support and participate in a capitalist coalition governemtn, which is crashing into ruins, in what promises to be one of the biggest scandals of all time in the history of the island. Only a socialist solution can bring relief to the impoverished masses of Ceylon.

Towards the end of June a handful of young people led by Tim Wohlforth requested the leaders of the SWP for a discussion about these events. Instead of this discussion they were immediately suspended without being even allowed the right to appear before their branch. Tell us, Messrs. Dobbs, Cannon, Kerry and the rest who support you, wherever did Trotsky advocate or carry out such a bureaucratic action as this--just give us one example please.

The Socialist Labour League as an integral part of the International Committee of the Fourth International stands completely opposed to the revisionism of Trotsky's theory which you are today advocating and defending in the United States. We will fight continuously for the rights of all minorities who oppose such revisionism. Tim Wohlforth and his comrades can rely on the Socialist Labour League to stand four-square with them in the struggle for Trotskyist policies in the United States in the years ahead.

It is the present leadership of the SWP which is on trial not these young members. There is no doubt that they would enjoy the same generous support from Trotsky as that which he gave J.P. Cannon in the early years, were he alive today.

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