

Counter-revolution in Indonesia / Where is Cuba heading?

Bulletin

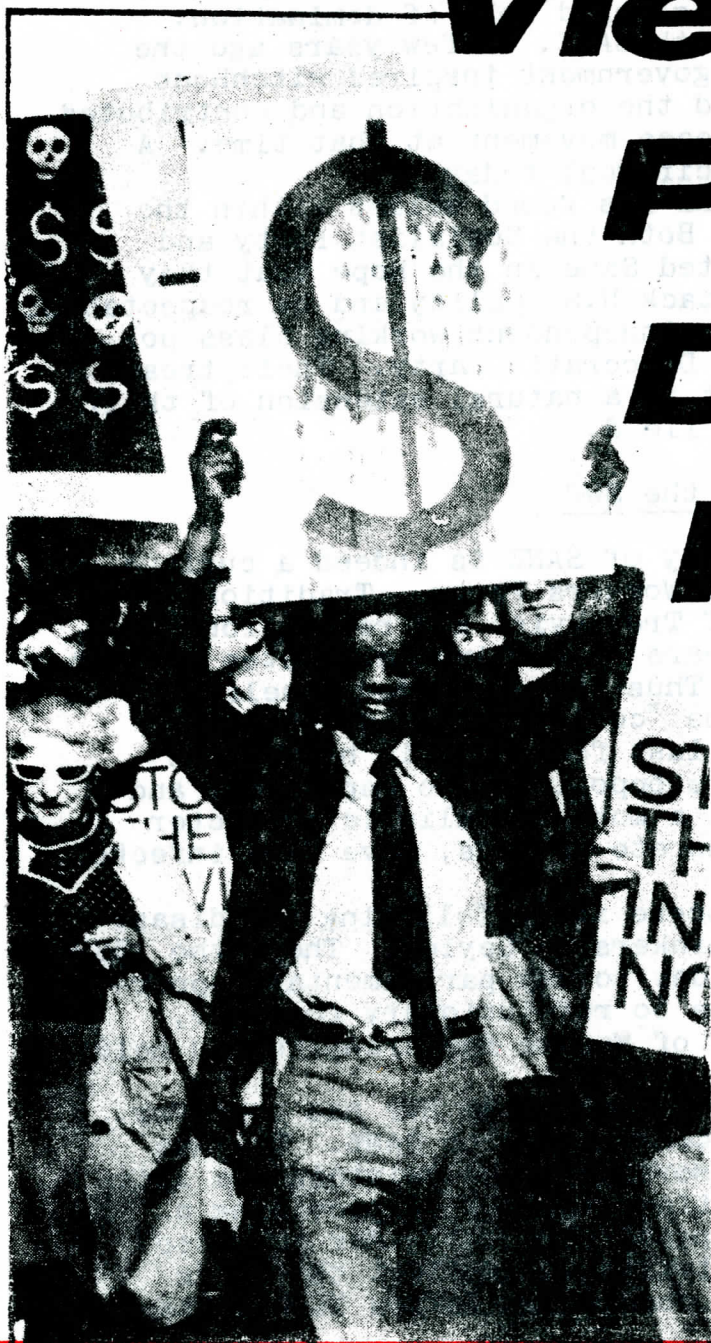
OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

Vol. 2, No. 19

November 15, 1965

10 Cents

Vietnam Policy Debate Rages



Aronowitz vs. SWP

**What About
the SANE March?**

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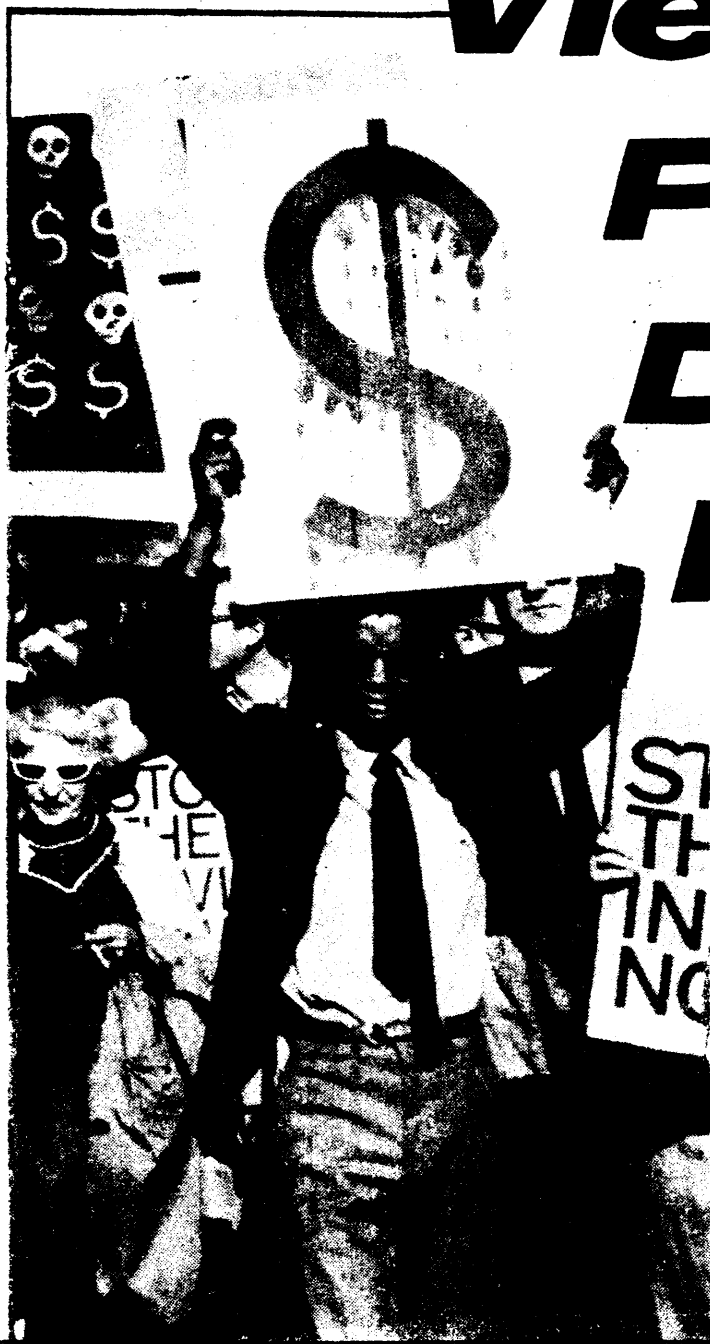
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EDITORIAL:

WHAT SHOULD WE DO ABOUT THE SANE MARCH?

For some time now the anti-war movement has been plagued by the treacherous role of SANE and its liberal and pacifist supporters. Since the beginning of the great demonstrations in this country with the Washington demonstration last April, SANE has sought in vain to gain control of the Anti-Vietnam movement. Its aim is clear enough: not satisfied with being a participant in the struggles it has sought to dominate them and exclude the left wing. It seeks to transform a movement directed against America's imperialist intervention in Vietnam into an establishment organization which condemns "both sides" but in reality bolsters America's world role of domination.

This is nothing new with SANE. A few years ago the SANE national leadership ran a government inspired witchhunt within its ranks which decimated the organization and contributed to the general decline of the peace movement at that time. A similar witchhunt is clearly their goal today.

From the beginning SANE has found allies within the radical camp for its policies. Both the Socialist Party and the Communist Party have supported Sane in the hope that they can at one and the same time attack U.S. policy and be respectable. Both organizations have given up independent working class politics and are supporters of the Democratic Party. Their treacherous role in the peace movement is a natural extension of their "coalitionism" in the political field.

The Role of the SWP

The latest "radical" ally of SANE is indeed a curious specimen. This is the Socialist Workers Party. Traditionally this party has considered itself Trotskyist and revolutionary devoting much effort over the years to running candidates against the two parties of capitalism. Thus it has prided itself in being the leading opponent of the "coalitionism" preached by the CP and SP. However, in the last few years it has become increasingly clear that the SWP's opposition to capitalism and capitalist politics has taken on a more ritualistic character while its real politics, its concrete actions, have been infected by opportunism.

Thus on the American scene it is following the disastrous course of its former co-thinkers in Ceylon. There the LSSP, after years of seeking to cover day to day parliamentary opportunism with ritualistic adherence to revolutionary formulae, joined the capitalist government of Madame Bandaranaike and held down some cabinet positions.

Today within the peace movement the SWP has come forward as the major exponent of a coalition with SANE. By thus insisting that the Anti-Vietnam movement must maintain its links with SANE, despite SANE's ultimatum, the SWP is providing a bridge to "coalitionism" in the peace movement. For instance a recent statement issued by activists who reflect the SWP's position in the Anti-Vietnam war committees in New York states:

"Non-exclusionist committees, based on the single demand of getting U.S. troops out of Vietnam, make possible the broadest unity. They unite people of the most diverse political and philosophical views. The independent committees can unite radicals of all varieties, Democrats, Republicans, pacifists, civil rights activists, trade unionists, even people who are apolitical, around this single issue. People of such diverse views clearly do not, and at this time, cannot agree on a common approach to any other issue. The broadness of the movement is thus made possible precisely by its single and specific objective."

Unity for What?

Thus clearly the SWP and its supporters seek to build a peace movement whose objectives are so vague that it can include "Democrats" and even--"Republicans". But is it not true that Democrats and Republicans who want U. S. troops out of Vietnam also want the Vietnamese people themselves, who have formed the National Liberation Front, to disarm as well? Is it not true that these people favor a negotiated withdrawal based on preconditions which in essence will maintain the domination of Vietnam by the west and the subjugation of the people of Vietnam? Has not Johnson himself come out in favor of withdrawal of U.S. troops on such conditions? Can we build a "peace" movement in common with those who favor the continuation of the war unless a settlement is made on their terms? It is about time the peace movement understood that in the present world context SANE stands for war and not peace. It is precisely this issue that the SWP is seeking to cover up.

The central weakness with the SWP's position is that the SWP for opportunist reasons does not want to face up to the fact that the anti-war movement is, and cannot help but be, a political movement. This is not a matter of some isolated demonstration in favor of girls wearing slacks to classes or boys not cutting their hair. When you confront your own government at a time when it is involved in a bloody war against the people of another country you can have only a political confrontation. You in essence are challenging the central policy of your government. This cannot be done hand in hand with the supporters of your government.

A Firm Stand Needed

The fundamentally contradictory forces which make up the peace movement are coming to a head around the proposed March in Washington planned by SANE. This is a typical maneuver on the part of the liberals. Unilaterally without consulting the major anti-war forces centered around SDS, The National Coordinating Committee, and the Vietnam Day Committee, these people have called their own demonstration, around their own right-wing slogan to be addressed by their own rightest speakers. And now the rest of the Vietnam movement is supposed to meekly follow along under their banners cheering their speakers.

It is about time an end was put to this cow-towing to the liberals. In reality these are people with big names and small forces. Their essential ties are with our enemy. The strength of the anti-war movement does not come from the Rustins, the Thomases, the Harringtons, the Stones, or even good old Dr. Spock. The strength comes from the tens of thousands of militants gathered in independent committees who are committed to the unilateral withdrawal of U.S. troops from a country where they are not wanted and support to the National Liberation Front, the true representatives of the people of South Vietnam.

We must demand of SANE the right to have our own speakers on the platform and the right to hold up our own banners. Should this be denied, we must organize our own march. We can have a demonstration far greater than theirs and the real relationship of forces within the peace movement will be exposed to the public. This cannot but help strengthen the political impact of the movement and clarify its programmatic objectives.

* * * *

ALL OUT FOR WASHINGTON ON THANKSGIVING!

LET US BRING OUR OWN BANNERS AND OUR OWN SPEAKERS!

IMMEDIATE UNILATERAL WITHDRAWAL OF AMERICAN TROOPS!

END THE DRAFT NOW!

VICTORY FOR THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT!

* * * *

VIETNAM POLICY DEBATE

Jack Barnes of YSA-SWP and Stanley Aronowitz of SDS Discuss Central Issues Facing Growing Anti-War Movement

On the eve of the New York City Elections, Oct. 30th, Jack Barnes, national chairman of the YSA and Stanley Aronowitz, national committee member of SDS, held a public debate. "What is Independent Politics--The Meaning of Coalitionism" was the formal topic but the real issues in the debate reflected an underlying conflict now raging within the peace movement in New York City and which cannot fail but have its impact elsewhere throughout the United States.

Aronowitz attacked the liberal illusion that the anti-war movement as it now stands--without connections to the civil rights struggle, the union movement, or community roots can hope to end the war in Vietnam. Barnes disagreed. Accusing Aronowitz of pessimism, he stated that with more and more people joining every day, the protest movement by itself will be a major factor in ending the war.

Barnes's line is to keep the right wing in the anti-war movement at all costs. This follows from his evaluation that a protest movement per se can stop the war if only enough people join. In practice this means only raising slogans and a program

which will be acceptable to SANE and other liberal groups. This line has been taken by YSA and SWPers in the New York Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

They have been opposed by a grouping of which Aronowitz is a prominent spokesman. Several meetings of the Committee were tied up when the YSA-SWP group opposed a rally to be held on Columbia University Campus on November 13. The issue: they felt that the program for the rally was too radical; it would split the movement. The slogans which were too radical--Oppose the Draft, Withdraw American Troops from Vietnam, Oppose Government Attacks on the Anti-war Movement. They lost the effort to prevent the rally which promises to be a significant event in the anti-war struggle. Speakers will include representatives of unions, the civil-rights struggle, and the ghetto as well as student and political groups.

The SWP-YSA group has also urged the Committee to support and organize for a SANE march scheduled for November 27th. Independents on the committee have argued to hold back support unless SANE raises slogans placing the blame for the war squarely on the US government. Here, too, the Barnes group have lost.

The Real Issue

The real issue between Barnes and Aronowitz, the issue behind the scenes during the debate, is the future of the anti-war movement. Will the anti-war movement become an adjunct to state department apologists in SANE, or will it seek to make a serious confrontation with the government. And the only war that such a confrontation can be made is if the anti-war movement develops connections with the ghetto, the civil-rights movement, the trade unions. This is the policy which Aronowitz is fighting for. This is the traditional Trotskyist position. This is the policy which Barnes opposes.

For 45 minutes, speaking in a half-empty hall to an audience made up almost entirely of SWP and YSA members, Barnes engaged in an imaginary debate with Norman Thomas and Bayard Rustin about the dangers of "lesser evilism." He was not debating Stanley Aronowitz. This was immediately clear when Aronowitz began his remarks by stating that he too opposed any support to the Democratic Party.

Much was made by Barnes and members of the audience that Aronowitz feels it to be tactically permissible to run independent candidates in the Democratic Party primaries. This was raised as a principled area of difference. Aronowitz stated that candidates which he supported would have an anti-capitalist, anti-cold war program which would attack the Democratic Party and the whole system of government. He further clarified that he would run candidates against reform Democrats.

Aronowitz's Failings

Yet Aronowitz has failed to understand that entering candidates in the Democratic primaries, even though they are only nominally Democrats, runs counter to his avowed aim to

build popular institutions in opposition to the government. Inevitably such a tactic can only obscure political clarity. As an arena of activity, running in the primaries may seem attractive. But the political task before serious revolutionaries is to sharpen the break with capitalist politics. Any tactic which obscures the fundamental cleavage can only retard the growth of a meaningful movement.

Aronowitz continually stressed the need for radicals to break away from their isolation and develop ties with the masses, the need for students to find a base in the community and politicalize their struggle against the system. Underlying his conception of community work is an understanding of the need for the working class, minority groups and radicals to develop alternate institutions for political control through such struggles as the anti-war movement, rent strikes, school boycotts. This represents an approach toward the united-front conception of Trotsky and Lenin as exemplified in the 1938 Transitional Program of the Fourth International.

Betrayal of Trotskyism

By rejecting the class struggle approach to the anti-war movement, Barnes has rejected Trotskyism. It is therefore not surprising that he fell into the serious error of encouraging parliamentary illusions. In the course of his talk he stated that the capitalists are a minority in this country who need coalition politics because they are a "little tiny clique desparate for allies" who with just their own votes can not put anyone in power.

Trotsky fought just this dangerous illusion held by the Communist Party in Germany before the victory of Hitler. The German CP ran its own independent candidates for office and won 5,300,000 votes in the 1932 elections. They hailed this as a tremendous victory but by 1933 Hitler had seized power--due to the failure of the Communist Party to lead a revolutionary struggle against fascism.

It is not surprising that young radicals are suspicious of the "traditional left". The name of Marxism has too long been used as a cover for dead ideology and right-wing politics. The issues raised by Aronowitz and those young radicals whom he represents are just the issues to which Marxists of today must address themselves.

* * * *

REVOLUTION AND COUNTER-REVOLUTION IN INDONESIA

It Is Time To Make An Accounting of China's International Line

The events in Indonesia are of great importance not only because of the size and strategic significance of the islands but also because Indonesia has been a concrete testing

ground for the international line of China. It is therefore extremely important that the lessons of the Indonesian experience be assimilated by all revolutionaries.

Much of the detail in the coup and counter coup still remains obscure, but the general outline of developments is clear enough. The drive against the PKI following the failure of the Untung "coup" lends considerable weight to General Untung's assertion that his move was calculated to prevent a coup by the right wing generals. Under the guise of "defending" Sukarno these generals are right now waging a campaign of terror against the PKI, that is, carrying out the policy they obviously had in mind prior to the Untung move.

It also seems quite likely that Sukarno supported, and in fact may have instigated, Untung's "coup". Otherwise it would be difficult to explain why this relatively minor army official moved as he did. Sukarno then turned to support of the rightist generals after the defeat of Untung. This explains Sukarno's failure to support these generals until he was convinced Untung had failed and also his recent effort to moderate the right wing attacks on the PKI.

It is also clear that the PKI was in no major way involved in the original coup. The PKI organized not a single major demonstration in support of Untung or in any other way significantly came to his aid. Clearly the complete paralysis of the PKI during the period of coup and counter-coup was a major factor contributing to the success of the rightist generals.

The results of these developments are also quite evident today. Sukarno has emerged seriously weakened, capable only of a futile attempt to moderate the moves of the rightists against the PKI. His major role is to give a cover of legitimacy to what is increasingly a military dictatorship in Indonesia. Blow after blow is being delivered against the PKI and the masses. The PKI has been in a state of paralysis as it continues to support Sukarno who in turn is acting as a cover for the right.

As we go to press we learn that forces reported to be associated with the PKI are in armed rebellion in Central Java, a PKI stronghold. While information is still scanty on these developments, it could be clear that this action of the PKI (if it is an action of the PKI) is only a defensive one at a time when the party as a whole is faced with extinction. It does not seem to reflect any national policy on the part of the party and in fact may have taken place on a local level without the direction or approval of the PKI national leadership.

Indonesia and Algeria: The Same Pattern

The question which every militant must ask himself is how is it that the world's largest Communist party outside of the Soviet Bloc countries was incapable of preventing a

siezure of power by the right wing militarists and their Moslem supporters? In order to understand this we must first turn to Algeria which expressed a few months earlier the same essential process now going on in Indonesia.

The Algerian regime of Ben Bella was what we call a bonapartist one. Ben Bella sought to maintain himself in power by balancing between the masses on the one hand and the army and reactionary forces on the other. This internal balancing act reflected an external one. Ben Bella sought to create a "socialist" society in collaboration with French imperialism and with aid from the USSR and China. His budget was in part paid for by French funds, the population was fed with free wheat from the U.S., and he shared the great oil and gas wealth of the Sahara with the French and other imperialists. At the same time, as a concession to the masses, he carried through some land reforms and nationalized some property.

Over a period of years he sought to consolidate the power of his state with the aid of Boumedienne's army and by outlawing all parties but one, including the Communist Party. During this whole period he was supported by the Communist Party within Algeria, by the USSR and China externally, and by a long list of "radicals" including the SWP and Progressive Labor here. In the last few months of his regime he turned more and more to the USSR internationally and his relations with China were strained.

The Algerian revolution went into stagnation and the general lot of the masses did not improve over that of before the revolution. This stagnation combined with a complete lack of an independent leadership led to a demoralization of the masses which strengthened the hand of the right wing. Finally the army moved against Ben Bella and hardly anyone in the country did anything about it. China cheered the new Boumedienne regime and Boumedienne proceeded to finalize a deal with the French over Sahara oil and gas rights. Since that time the Algerian government has moved further and further to the right and has displayed its true colors, not as a friend of China but as a friend of the imperialists. This did not prevent Lisa Armand from writing at length in Challenge, the organ of the Progressive Labor Party, lauding this right-wing coup as a move to the left! Such is the bankruptcy of those who uncritically support the Chinese internationally.

Sukarno as Bonapartist

Indonesian events have followed the same essential pattern. Here Sukarno, like Ben Bella, balanced in a bonapartist fashion between the massive PKI on the left, and the right wing army and Moslem movement. The PKI supported Sukarno right down the line, peddling the theory of a bloc of four classes--that is, a bloc in which the working class must subordinate itself to the national capitalists gathered around Sukarno. In the latest issue of Challenge (Nov. 2), Lisa

Armand once again rushed into print to "explain" Indonesian developments. Having learned nothing whatsoever from her past blunders over Algeria, Miss Armand informs us that: "The Indonesian Communist Party has been a truly Marxist-Leninist party." She holds up the PKI as a very model of the way Marxist-Leninists should function in underdeveloped countries. In the same spirit the October issue of Progressive Labor reprints a speech by Sukarno. In this, PL is reflecting not only its own line but that of all those the world over who uncritically support China.

But, as we have seen, this "truly Marxist-Leninist party" must be held responsible for the current rise of the right in Indonesia. This party was completely paralyzed in resisting the rightist coup precisely because it had supported from the very beginning a line of complete and uncritical support to Sukarno who in turn received the support of the right. Whatever the final outcome of events in Indonesia it is clear to all objective observers that a line of support to the national capitalists and bonapartist leaders such as Ben Bella and Sukarno inevitably leads to the destruction of the bloc and the emergence of the triumphant right. The masses are confused and demoralized because the "true Marxist-Leninists" offer them no leadership independent of the capitalists and their Bonapartist representatives.

China's Fifth International

The Indonesian events spell the final defeat of the Chinese efforts to create an alternative world revolutionary movement. Precisely because the Chinese have refused to look back and to break with their Stalinist heritage, this heritage has come to plague them and to paralyze them internationally. It was Stalin who authored the theory of a bloc of four classes and who foisted this on the international Communist movement, paralyzing it for decades. In contrast to this theory, the Trotskyists insisted on the theory of permanent revolution. This theory holds that in colonial countries there can be no stopping at the bourgeois stage. The working class must lead the peasantry in an independent struggle for power and for a socialist solution to the problems facing the people as a whole. It is this theory which recent events have vindicated and it is to this old debate which militants must now turn if they are to fight for a truly revolutionary course internationally.

We must insist on an accounting of the international efforts of the Chinese. Its policies in Algeria and Indonesia have contributed to the defeat of the colonial revolution, not its victory. In the advanced countries only small Stalinist sects have been formed in support of the Chinese. These groups are generally weak and isolated from the masses in their country. (PL has shown a good deal more vitality than similar groups in other countries. However, there are many signs that it will end up in the same boat if it continues its failure to face up to these issues.) How could it be otherwise since the Chinese have no serious perspective of building an independent working

class movement in these countries. Thus Chinese policies, rather than strengthening the defense of the Chinese workers' state, have rather contributed to the weakening and isolation of that state.

Revolutionaries seriously interested in the defense of the Chinese workers state -- and those who are not are not revolutionaries -- must develop a line independent of the bureaucratic leadership of that state. They cannot do this by ignoring the question of Stalin or his dispute with Trotsky. The issues in that dispute are today burning issues for the working class and peasantry of all countries.

SAN FRANCISCO TENANTS FIGHT HOUSING AUTHORITY

(This article was written by an activist in the tenant struggle in the Bay Area.)

I receive \$140 a month from the Department of Welfare. I'm a widow and I have one child. In the housing project I live in I pay \$56 a month rent, which leaves my son and myself \$84 a month for food, clothes, and "entertainment."

The project I live in was supposed to be beautiful to look at. I went to City Hall and looked at the plans. In the specifications it said the concrete walls were supposed to be covered with rock and brick siding. Instead of putting any siding on, they just painted a sickly pink on top of the concrete. They didn't even bother to smooth the concrete down; you can still see the imprint of the wood forms in the concrete. The specifications called for tile in the bathrooms. No tile. The ceilings were supposed to be plastered. No plaster. The builder of this project obviously has connections, because he never finished building it.

Last September the Housing Authority sent a flyer to all the tenants. From now on, they told us, tenants who used too much electricity and gas would be charged for it. We were supposed to attach this flyer to our leases.

Never in the history of public housing have tenants paid utility charges. Now the Housing Authority tried to give us the line that it was standard practice. It wasn't true, we found out. Through friends we found out that they were trying to collect for utilities in only one other project: Hunters Point. Apparently they were telling the people in Hunters Point the same line, including the lie that in our project we were paying without protest. It became pretty obvious that they were trying to use us and Hunters Point as test areas. If they won against us, tenants living in public housing everywhere would end up paying for their utilities.

The electricity and gas charges were the straw that broke the camel's back. Were mad ... we formed a tenant's committee and got a lawyer.

Some tenants got their first utility bill in the mail. But the bill said nothing of cubic feet or kilowatts-- all it did was ask for money. A lot of people said, "God damn it, if I'm going to pay for it, I want to know how much I used." So we told the Housing Authority that we wanted individual meter readings. In the end their spokesman told us: "That's impossible. We only have one meter in each building."

Now how could they bill anybody if the apartments don't have separate meters? They billed one woman who's on relief \$25, but they wouldn't tell her how much electricity she had used. Like I told the man: "Well, last month it was my neighbor on the right. This month it's my neighbor on the left. I suppose next month it's going to be me." The Housing Authority in San Francisco made \$3 million clear profit last year. Instead of lowering rents, they were trying to get even more money out of our hides.

We Beat Them

Our lawyer finally made them have a hearing on this whole question. He found out that Congress would have to pass a special Act to make us pay utility charges. And Congress never did. At the hearing it was enema day for the Housing Authority. They conceded defeat. And they said they would pay back all the money they had collected. So the money they owe us is being deducted from next month's rent. The girl next door is only going to pay \$8 or \$9 rent next month; the rest is being taken care of by what the Housing Authority owes her.

People in other projects in San Francisco have heard about this victory, so now they're organizing tenants committees. And the people on welfare are organizing to get their rights.

The San Francisco Housing Authority would never have tried on its own to impose utility charges. They obviously had the government officials in Washington behind them. Though we beat them, the government officials, no doubt, are trying to think of something else.

WHAT'S HAPPENING IN CUBA?

The Meaning of Guevara's Disappearance and the Negotiations With the U.S. on Emigration

Developments in Cuba have been taking an ominous course. In our Sept. 20 issue, the BULLETIN was the first and only publication in the United States to publish the text of the Cuban Government "Preventive Notice" demanding that the people hand over all combat arms. Around the same time the Cuban government formally merged Hoy, the former organ of the Cuban Stalinists (PSP) with Revolution, the former organ of

Castro's 26th of July Movement. While this move was pretty much a formality since Hoy presented the same essential line as Revolution, it is significant in wiping out the last vestiges of any political force independent of Castro.

This progress began several years ago when Escalante was summarily removed and shipped off to Czechoslovakia without giving him a chance to defend himself. Around the Escalante affair a large number of cadres, formerly associated with the PSP were removed from important government and party positions with Castro ending up with a tight control of both government and party.

In February, 1965 Rodriguez was also removed from his important post as head of the Agrarian Reform. This was part of a general mopping up operation against remnants of PSP influence in the government. It also gave Castro a scape goat for any failings in the economy.

Even more recently comes the disclosure from Castro that back in April Guevara wrote a letter abandoning Cuban citizenship in order, so it states, to carry out revolutionary work elsewhere. The removal of Guevara from the scene is quite reminiscent of the removal of Escalante. Guevara like Escalante represented another pole of political power within the Government. He had followed a policy within Cuba that had come under severe criticism. Guevara was the advocate of the quick industrialization of Cuba. Cuba has since abandoned this course putting all its eggs in a sugar basket.

It is not our intention here to debate the merits of Guevara's line as against Castro's. But clearly it must be noted that Guevara's removal from the scene removes from Castro any necessity to carry on such a debate within Cuba itself. This is but a further sign of the monolithic consolidation of government in Cuba.

The Economic Implications

In addition there is a certain economic logic to Castro's present policy of maintaining the dependence of Cuba upon sugar production. As long as Cuba remains simply a producer of a raw material to be consumed by advanced industrial nations Cuba cannot but remain subordinate to these nations and to the world market.

At present the impact of the world market on the Cuban economy is expressed in two ways. First, of course, Cuba sells a portion of its crop on the open market at world prices. These sales are critical to whatever foreign reserves Cuba can build up and these reserves determine the limits of any economic growth of the economy on the island. Secondly, Cuba sells the bulk of its sugar to the Soviet Bloc countries at a price predetermined by negotiation. Such a procedure gives Cuba a certain insulation from fluctuation in world market prices but does not remove the influence of the world market. The Soviet Bloc countries to the extent that they pay Cuba more than world market prices, are

simply subsidizing Cuba, and should Cuba ever break with the policies of these countries they can take away the subsidy as easily as they give it.

Thus we have seen a development whereby Cuba simultaneously functions closer and closer with the Soviet Bloc countries internationally while Castro consolidates his power as against the Stalinists within Cuba. We cannot help but feel that the Soviet Bloc countries are not particularly concerned about this development. Their lack of concern is obviously related to their long term perspective for Cuba. In our opinion the USSR and its East European allies look upon their present relationship with Cuba as a temporary, if expensive, expedient. In the long run they favor the return of Cuba to its traditional economic political and social alliances with the capitalist world.

The Meaning of the Emigration Negotiations

Further indication that this is the case can be seen in the recent negotiations over emigration to the US. Obviously more was at stake than the emigres. These negotiations represented the first serious relationship between Castro and the US since the Missiles Crisis. This concrete act was much more meaningful than the assurances on both sides that nothing had changed in U.S.-Cuban relations. The more Castro and the State Department insist that all is as it was the more convinced we are that an underlying change is in the works, a change which the citizens of neither country are fully prepared for.

More recently in an interview in the New York Times, Castro said that he did not expect any "general improvement" in U.S.-Cuban relations until there was an improvement in world relations. Thus he saw any real breakthrough as dependent on a general world detente. This simply makes all the more clear that should such a detente occur it could mean a return of Cuba to its traditional dependence on US imperialism. Within this framework it is indeed ominous that some Cuban governmental officials are talking to American reporters suggesting that the end result of the current emigre arrangement could be a general deal with the U.S., including indemnification for seized US property. The combined effect of payment for seized property with Cuban dependence of the world sugar market could once again integrate the Cuban economy with the world capitalist economy.

Living With Imperialism

Perhaps the most interesting thing Castro said to the New York Times reporter was the following: "Mr. Castro said he did not want to 'give a recipe' for United States foreign policy but he cited the example of France, which, he said, had learned to live with revolutionary movements directed against her."

Premier Castro and the Cuban people could do well to ponder over Algeria's experiences in "living with" French imperialism. DeGaulle did indeed come to peace with Ben Bella in such a way as to assist Ben Bella and the FLN in establishing and maintaining

its control over the Algerian Government. DeGaulle certainly did look the other way while Ben Bella carried on a limited agrarian reform and nationalization program. But DeGaulle insisted upon France's share in the mineral riches of the Sahara. The French price for support to Ben Bella was a stagnation of the revolution which was incapable of basically changing the lot of the average Algerian. The demoralization of the masses laid the basis finally for Boumedienne's takeover.

Can we rule this out as the future course of Cuban developments once the world situation is more conducive to international wheeling and dealing? Can we categorically state that there will be no more wheeling and dealing when we see the extremely weak way the USSR has reacted to the US slaughter of the Vietnamese people? As the bombs drop on Soviet-built missiles around Hanoi, the USSR does nothing. North Vietnam is now experiencing the limitations of the USSR as an ally. So may Cuba in the future.

STATEMENT ON UNIFICATION OF TROTSKYISTS

IN THE UNITED STATES

(The following statement was issued by the International Committee of the Fourth International at its October 3, 1965 meeting.)

To the American Committee for the Fourth International and to 'Spartacist'.

The I.C. regards as the most urgent requirement of the working class the building of a section of the Fourth International in the United States, as part of the reconstruction of the Fourth International.

As the world economic and political crisis of capitalism deepens, so the U.S. in particular falls victim to the sharpest conflicts and contradictions, the necessary consequence of its very dominance, economic, political and military, in world capitalism. The Vietnam war, the Negro movement expressed in Los Angeles and Chicago, the growing pressure on the whole of the American working class of the mounting economic difficulties of the US economy, are the most violent expression of an international crisis.

At the same time, the intensification of U.S. capitalism's crisis has been accompanied by the most pronounced revisionism and liquidationism in the Trotskyist movement. Farrell Dobbs' letter to Mrs. Kennedy and the subsequent abandonment of all class positions by the SWP have demonstrated the victory of revisionism in the SWP placing great responsibility upon those who accept the positions of the International Committee.

We call upon those in the US who accept the Transitional Programme and the policy and programme of the I.C. to collaborate

with us in preparing the International Conference of 1966.

Trotsky, before he died, insisted upon the necessity of a struggle for dialectical materialism and against the dominant pragmatism of American philisophy and politics. Dialectical materialism can be defended only by developing Marxist theory in living connection with the activity of the working class revolutionary party. Such a party cannot carry out its work without concrete perspectives for the class struggle in the United States. Such a perspective is an urgent necessity for the American working class.

Not only the I.C.'s collaborators in the ACFI but also the 'Spartacist' group, have expressed agreement with our international resolution; thus there is a clear basis for agreement on American perspectives. Without this there will be no development of Marxism in the United States.

We call upon comrades in the ACFI and 'Spartacist' to accept their responsibility along these lines, and to work first and formeost to build a united section of the International Committee of the Fourth International in the United States.

"They Gotcha?"

Five oclock, rush hour, people like rats escaping from their nine to five steel cages back to their hole in the wall houses, brutal in their indifference, insulting in their isolation.

A blank-faced man of maybe 20 or 21 was pushing his way against the tide on the stairs. Over his shoulder trailed a uniform in a plastic bag. When he reached the top of the stairs, he collided with a friend. The friend pointed to the uniform; "They gottcha?" The other answered, "Yeah, I leave tomorrow. Vietnam." Pushed against the wall they stood watching the crowd. No one stopped to smile at the uniform, or wish good luck. No parades, no banners, no returning war heroes. Nothing. A World's Fair "World of God Exhibit" poster on the wall opposite them. The reality of a war and two friends watching the scrambling subway crowd.

"Yeah, I leave tomorrow. Vietnam."

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