

# Bulletin | Supplement

## THE CRISIS OF AMERICAN SOCIALISM

### HOW THE CRISIS DEVELOPED

#### The Postwar Restabilization of Capitalism

The American Committee for the Fourth International is dedicated to the task of rebuilding a revolutionary socialist movement in the United States. A new movement cannot simply be rebuilt from out of nothing. The first task of serious socialists is to seek to understand the causes of the decay of the old socialist organizations in the United States so that the new movement can incorporate all that was healthy in this movement and reject all that was sick and destructive.

The decay of the American socialist movement has taken place within a very difficult international context. Following World War II there was an outburst of revolutionary working class struggle in almost every country in the world. Armed workers and peasants were the major force in such countries as France, Italy, Greece, Yugoslavia, French-Indochina. The dominant working class organization in most countries was the stalinized Communist Parties. These parties insisted that the struggle of the working class be subordinated to broader multi-class fronts including the bourgeoisie. As a result the enfeebled capitalist class was able to restabilize itself in the critical advanced industrial countries throughout the world. This restabilization of capitalism led to a prosperity and boom which ate away at the militancy of the working class and created the relative quiescence of the working class which was the major aspect of the world situation in the 1950s.

Of course the imperialists had to pay a price for this restabilization by granting to the USSR a buffer region under its domination on its Western and Eastern borders. The East European buffer was determined by the penetration of the Soviet Army, the struggles of the Yugoslav partisans and the deals made with the capitalists at Potsdam and Yalta. The Buffer to the East proved to be far larger than the capitalists had reckoned because of the collapse of the, corrupt Chiang Kai-Shek regime in China and the victorious armed struggle of the Chinese Communist-led peasant armies. For all the great importance of these developments in Eastern Europe and Asia they did not lead to any serious revolutionary developments in the capitalist sector of the world which continued to be dominant.



# Bulletin

OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

Vol. 1, No. 1

Sept. 14, 1964

10 Cents

## WITCHHUNT DEEPENS IN NEGRO MOVEMENT

### Big Business Fears the Formation of a Radical Leadership of the Negro Masses

The current red-baiting of the Mobilization for Youth follows by only a few weeks the indictment of William Epton and the ban on demonstrations and meetings in Harlem by the Progressive Labor Movement, the Community Council on Housing, the Freedom Now Party, and other groups and individuals. These developments are very much related.

The ruling class has been preparing this kind of

SPECIAL 14 PAGE SUPPLEMENT--

### THE CRISIS OF AMERICAN SOCIALISM

The Sickness of the Old Radicalism in the United States

And How a New Fighting Movement Can Be Built

attack against the Negro movement because it is acutely aware of the growing social crisis and of the fact that the organization of the Negro masses in militant struggle accelerates and deepens this capitalist crisis. Mobilization for Youth comes under attack because, although it is a non-profit, non-political, "anti-delinquency" project led by liberal social workers, it has lent its support to the rent strikes and school boycotts, and thus aroused the ire of the real estate interests as well as other sections of the capitalist class.

The preparation for the full scale attack upon the Negro militants began in earnest after it became apparent that the rent strike and school boycott leaderships were somewhat closer to the masses and could not be bought off as easily as the leaders the city was accustomed to deal with. The Negro masses were searching for new weapons of struggle, and for a

new leadership. The capitalist class recognized that under these conditions an explosion in the Negro ghetto was likely at some time during the summer. They prepared for this explosion in a very interesting manner.

### Blood Brothers Fabrication

The daily press, with the reputable New York Times leading the pack, concocted, with the aid of the police department, the "Blood Brothers" story. This story was manufactured from bits and pieces of "evidence" to give the impression that a vast wave of terrorism was about to descend upon the white inhabitants of New York. It was never proved that a group of anti-white terrorists existed. The whole matter has been conveniently dropped. But the major aim was accomplished: to instill fear into the whites, to further divide the Negro and white workers, and to set the stage for further attacks on the Negro movement.

It should also be kept in mind that, in connection with the existence of the blood brothers, several unemployed Negro youth were arrested, held without bail, denied the choice of their own lawyer, and now face trial on a charge of murdering a white shopkeeper in Harlem.

The "Blood Brothers" story followed by several months the artificial and distorted reporting, the New York Times, again, significantly in the lead, of the "attacks" by Negro and Puerto Rican teenagers on white teachers in the public schools. Although statistically it was a matter of record that violent resistance to discipline in the schools was not a new occurrence, had been only gradually increasing, and had also not been limited to Negro and Puerto Rican youth, the news articles were thrown in at this point to give the impression that the school boycotts had engendered misbehavior and violence. In reality, the "misbehavior" was simply a reflection of the day to day lives of the working class teenagers in the ghettos, and the school boycotts channelled at least to some extent the energies of these minority workingclass youth in a militant and meaningful direction.

Next came the rash of newspaper stories on violent rapes, robberies, and killings of whites by Negroes, and of "subway terrorism." Here too, it was a case of distorted reporting. Crime was ripped out of its social context. It was distorted and made to appear as though it was connected to or had been incited in some way by the mass struggles of the Negroes over the past months, instead of being seen as a reflection of a sick society.

When the masses of Harlem, particularly the unemployed youth, finally did erupt in late July (to be followed by their brothers and sisters in Rochester, Paterson, Elizabeth and Jersey City, New Jersey, Dixmoor, Illinois, and Philadelphia as of the date this is written), the ruling class had prepared itself. The racist cops moved in, terrorized the people of

Harlem, and sent hundreds to the hospitals and jails. No doubt the police felt that after the subtle but extensive anti-Negro campaign in the press, radio, and television, "public opinion" would back them up.

The city government, however, found that it was necessary to do more than physically assault and intimidate the Negroes. They had to be dealt with politically as well as "militarily." The police terror was thus followed by intensive maneuvers by City Hall. The Mayor found it necessary to meet with the United Council of Harlem Organizations, to deal with the nationalist groups as well as the established integrationist groups. To the great disservice of the Negro struggle, practically all of the groupings, including the newer, more militant tendencies, collaborated with the city government in calling for a halt in demonstrations of any kind.

#### Witchhunt Progressive Labor

With the masses in motion and asking for leadership, the "leaders" defaulted. The Harlem branch of the Progressive Labor Movement was the only group that tried to offer leadership. However, partly because of the sabotage of the established organizations and partly due to its own weakness and isolation in Harlem, the demonstration it called failed to come off.

Following this, Bill Epton, Harlem leader of the PLM, was indicted on sedition and criminal anarchy charges, and such groups and individuals as Jesse Gray's Community Council on Housing, Conrad Lynn and the Freedom Now Party with which he is associated, and other radical and Negro groups were barred from demonstrating or meeting in Harlem. The city showed where it stood when the police granted James Lawson's African Nationalists a permit for a rally, but arrested Paul Boutelle of the Freedom Now Party when he attempted to hold a rally in support of his electoral campaign.

The established organizations bear a great deal of responsibility for the Epton frameup. Needless to say they have taken no stand even in defense of Epton's civil liberties. The more militant organizations, such as the dissident CORE chapters and Malcolm X's Organization for Afro-American Unity, who have been critical of the conservative leaders, also have had nothing to say. It was enough for the capitalist press and government to raise the cry of communist influence in the Harlem events to silence the entire Negro movement.

If the ruling class gets what it wants, Epton and PL will be made the scapegoats for the Harlem uprising. It is the duty of every socialist, every militant civil rights activist, every militant grouping in the Negro movement and the labor and radical movements as well, to come to Epton's defense.

The Epton case, the ban on demonstrations, and the arrest of Boutelle, were followed by the Mobilization for Youth

inquiry, as the witchhunt deepened. Several "leftists" were unearthed on the Mobilization for Youth staff. The city announced that funds would be withheld until allegations against MFY were "disproved."

The New York Times reacted rather cautiously to the MFY episode, suggesting that perhaps some of the more reactionary elements have in this case tried to go a bit further towards McCarthyite tactics than the ruling class as a whole is ready for at this time. But, in any case, damage has already been done. It is likely that some kind of a purge of MFY will take place. Haryou-ACT, the Harlem-wide "anti-delinquency" project, has announced plans to screen personnel to keep "subversives" out.

The MFY and Haryou-ACT projects have little importance in and of themselves. There is little they can do, for instance, to improve the lot of the unemployed youth in Harlem and the Lower East Side, while the capitalist economy continues to push even relatively privileged white workers out of jobs and not enough new jobs are created to keep pace even with the natural growth of the labor force. The importance of MFY and Haryou-ACT is that they are another step in the deepening witchhunt, and the Negro movement continues to be on the defensive. The red-baiting will increase unless it is met by determined and principled resistance from the Negro movement.

Perhaps the most ludicrous development is the recent intervention of NAACP leader Roy Wilkins into this witchhunting process. Not satisfied with the efforts of the Government to date to squelch militancy through red-baiting, this "militant" sent a telegram to Attorney General Kennedy demanding an inquiry into the "pattern" of rioting in Northern cities. This "pattern" suggested to the demented mind of this Establishment Negro some kind of conspiracy behind it all. It did not occur to Mr. Wilkins that the similarity of events could have been brought about by the similarity of oppressive conditions facing Negroes in all Northern cities.

That Whitney Young of the Urban League joined in this call for further witchhunts is understandable. That James Farmer of the more militant CORE also supported the call for an inquiry shows how even the more militant sections of the Negro leadership deeply fear the development of the independent struggle of the Negro masses.

#### Danger of Setback

Over the next period the Negro movement faces the danger of a very serious setback. The development of a leadership is not automatic. If it does not take place in time, demoralization and defeat will result.

The task now is to organize an alternative leadership in struggle against the established middle class leaders. There is no longer any time for waiting, for equivocating,

for a false unity which sacrifices the struggle for a correct program.

If a new, militant, class-conscious leadership is to be built, the militants in the older organizations (NAACP, CORE) as well as the new groupings (rent strike and school boycott groups, OAAU) must come together to struggle against those in the movement as well as outside who want to contain the struggle. We must take an uncompromising stand against red baiting, and for independent political action. The Negro movement must, above all, organize the unemployed youth, and give them something worth fighting for. Guiding the fighting spirit of the masses, the movement must fight the white backlash, not by ignoring it or appeasing it, but by dealing with it and destroying it by appealing to the class interests of the white workers. Of course many white workers, disoriented by almost a generation of bureaucratic misleadership in the unions, will remain aloof, some even hostile for the present, but if a few respond, the backlash will be that much weaker. The Negro movement with such a leadership can fulfill the vanguard role it has been playing, the capitalists will begin to find it harder to divide and rule, and the way can then be prepared for the creation of a new society in which the interests of the vast working class majority will be served.

### PARTITION THREATENS CYPRUS

#### U.S., Britain, U.N. Threaten to Carve Up Country and Destroy Its Independence

The island of Cyprus is one of the most tormented places on this tormented earth. The long struggle of the Cypriots against British imperialist rule has been followed by internecine warfare between the Greek and Turkish communities on the island and the constant intervention of outside imperialist forces. The real independence and progressive social development of the country appear farther away than ever.

Forced to grant Cyprus its independence in 1960, Britain did this in such a way as to retain a foothold on the island in the form of 99 square miles of bases and to foster dissension between the Greek and Turkish communities so as to paralyze the emerging country. Thus England follows its classic formula of divide and rule which led to the partition of India after the war and which threatens British Guiana with racial strife today.

Faced with this situation the Greek Cypriot leadership (the Greeks are the largest group on the island and the most advanced politically), actually assisted the British in their endeavors to increase strife between the two communities. How could it be otherwise? Archbishop Makarios represents

the interests of the Greek Cypriot ruling class and not those of the broad masses of the people. His church is the biggest single landowner on the island and it ruthlessly exploits the landless farmers who have to hire the worst church lands for crippling rents. Makarios was all too happy to allow the revolutionary energies of the Greek Cypriots to be misguided into nationalistic conflicts with the Turkish Cypriots.

### Stalinists Assist Makarios

Makarios was assisted in this task by AKEL, the Greek Cypriot Stalinist party. This party, rather than offering an alternative program of socialist struggle to the Cypriot workers and peasants, and seeking to unite Greek and Turkish Cypriots in a joint struggle against continued British domination, has consistently tailed the Makarios government.

Today partition seems more likely than ever. United Nations forces have been utilized to effect a de facto partition already. The 1960 agreements left Cyprus with an unworkable constitution which went beyond guarantees to the Turkish minority of its minority rights to the point where the Turkish community could in effect veto the actions of the majority. This provision was expressly put in the Constitution because it would be unworkable and would in time lead to the present de facto partition.

The Greek and Turkish governments have shown their true colors. Neither are really interested in the population of the strife-torn island. Rather they are interested in the strategic importance of Cyprus as a base in the Eastern Mediterranean. This explains the conflict between the Greek government and Makarios and the willingness of the Greeks to settle for a partition deal with the presence of both Greek and Turkish troops on the island. If the various capitalist interests have their way Cyprus will end up with Greek, Turkish, and British military bases and United Nations troops thrown in to boot (to see that the United States directly has its influence felt). One wonders whether there will be any room on this island of army posts for the Cypriot people themselves.

### Joint Struggle Needed

It is clear that the only progressive solution to the Cypriot problem is for the Greek Cypriot working class, the most advanced on the island, to break from the reactionary Makarios and reach out to their Turkish brothers, proposing a joint struggle against the Greek and Turkish Cypriot ruling classes and the imperialist forces that stand behind them. The Greek workers must be prepared to make far-reaching concessions to the fear of the Turkish Cypriots of their suppression.

At the same time the Turkish Cypriots must recognize that they are a minority on Cyprus and cannot be expected to share power equally with the overwhelming majority of Greek

Cypriots. It is one thing to guarantee the rights of a minority but it is quite another thing to allow a minority an effective veto over the majority. This only furthers national antagonisms.

If the overwhelming majority of the islanders want union with Greece then this should take place. However, already even the Greek Cypriot capitalists are becoming wary of this as the reactionary Greek government has indicated its willingness to allow a partition of the island as the price for absorbing the majority of it.

Socialists cannot oppose a genuine unification with Greece. Such a unification would open the way for the advanced Greek Cypriot workers to further the struggle of the Greek working class as a whole against one of the most backward and reactionary capitalist classes in all of Europe.

### EXPELL THE RENEGADES!

While N.M. Perera, the ex-Trotskyist who today is Finance Minister in Ceylon, works out a new budget calling for "sacrifices" from the Ceylonese workers in order to preserve capitalist rule on the island, Leslie Goonewardena and Colvin DeSilva support Perera and the coalition government from the floor of parliament.

The "United" Secretariat of the Fourth International was forced to expell Perera and over 500 of his supporters. However it refused to take any action against DeSilva, Goonewardena and a small center group which went along with Perera when the left wing broke away to form the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary Section).

DeSilva and Goonewardena remain to this day members of the International Executive Committee of this "United" Fourth International. The LSSP (Revolutionary Section) has demanded the immediate expulsion of these traitors to the working class. The "United" Secretariat led by Ernest Germain and Pierre Frank and supported in this country by the Socialist Workers Party has refused to act on this demand. We must therefore hold the SWP responsible for its international cothinkers DeSilva and Goonewardena as they work in Ceylon to bolster the bourgeois government of Madame Bandaranaike and their former comrade N.M. Perera.



SUPPORT BOUTELLE, SWP CANDIDATES

Negro Candidate Runs on Class Struggle Program

As the fall elections approach, tremendous pressure is being brought to bear against those forces in the mass movement which have been moving in the direction of class struggle policies.

Independent political action, awakening the American working class and tearing it away from its present dependence upon the capitalist parties, is becoming more crucially necessary every day. The established Negro leadership, however, has joined with the labor bureaucrats in whooping it up for the Democratic ticket. In addition, various militant groupings in the Negro movement, with few exceptions, have either joined the Johnson bandwagon or remained silent on this crucial issue.

In this light, the candidacy of Paul Boutelle for the State Senate in New York on the Freedom Now Party ticket has a significance far greater than the forces presently supporting this candidate would indicate. Boutelle has rejected class collaboration on the political arena. He has come forward with a workingclass program, stressing the class issues as well as the necessity for Negro leadership and control of the Negro struggle. At a recent conference on unemployment and automation sponsored by the NAACP Labor and Industry Committee, Boutelle spoke up strongly for the Freedom Now Party, and for a labor party of the class as a whole. Boutelle, an independent Negro candidate, has thus attempted to give a lead not only to Negro workers, but to all workers, by his class approach to the struggle for racial equality. He deserves the enthusiastic support of all militants in the civil rights and labor movements. Boutelle's candidacy is the precursor of the kind of mass independent political action that will pave the way for Negro liberation and the liberation of the working class as a whole.

The Socialist Workers Party is running a candidate for President this year, as well as slates of candidates in several states. While the SWP campaign is more of a protest against the two capitalist parties by the already existent socialist community rather than an attempt to break the masses themselves from the two parties as the Boutelle campaign is, it deserves the full support of all socialists.

DEMOCRATS SLAP MISSISSIPPI NEGROES IN FACE

Back Seat at Convention as Well as Back Seat in Bus  
is Dished Out at Atlantic City

The real attitude of the Democratic Party towards the Negro people was clear for all to see at Atlantic City. Faced with delegations from both Alabama and Mississippi clearly preparing to support the Republican Party, the Democratic Party still refused to recognize the predominantly Negro Freedom Democratic Party from Mississippi.

The great "compromise" solution to the question offered to seat the racists from Mississippi if only they would pledge to support Johnson. Johnson thus expressed the greatest willingness to accept the support of the Bull Connors and the other white racists of Alabama and Mississippi. The Negro delegation would get two "at large" delegates who would, of course, sit elsewhere than with their white fellow Mississippians. Even in Atlantic City, Mississippi Negroes were having trouble sitting where they pleased.

Over one hundred years after the Emancipation Proclamation most Negroes in Mississippi cannot exercise their constitutional right to vote. Those who have risked their lives to exercise a right that the Federal Government has a responsibility to guarantee them cannot even be seated at a national convention even when the rival racist faction supports the opposition. For all the shouting about the Civil Rights Bill this action shows clearly that the Democratic Party is as opposed to the real rights of the Negro people as is the Republican Party which has nominated the "backlash candidate" Barry Goldwater.

Such treatment of Negroes could be expected from the Democratic party which has maintained a bloc with Southern racists since the Civil War period. What makes the whole incident so sad is that Negro militants attempted to direct the struggles of the Negro people in the South behind "that man from Texas" and his party which represents as clearly as the Republicans big business in the United States. The business interests in the United States are pledged to the maintenance of the status quo and are the deadly enemies of the Negro people who face not only race oppression but class oppression being among the lowest paid workers in the United States.

It is not right that Chaney, Goodman and Schwerner as well as many others less known should have died in Mississippi just in order to seek to get Negroes seated as delegates in a party which is fundamentally opposed to the interests of the Negro people South and North.

### Need Political Power

The Negro people cannot win their rights through militant struggle alone. They must somehow gain meaningful political power. The formation of the Freedom Democratic Party is of course a realization of this political need. It is, sad to say, a blind alley for the Negro people can only obtain meaningful political power by breaking from the two parties of big business and seeking to create a truly independent political movement. This is the importance of those small beginnings of efforts to create Freedom Now Parties.

However, Negro parties isolated in a predominantly white country and with a program which ignores the class interests of the Negro masses can leave the Negro both isolated and powerless. Negro parties which have a working class political line and which seek allies in the white working class--that is parties which are a step towards the creation of a genuine labor party of the working class as a whole--are the crying need of the Negro struggle today.

The nature of the Johnson campaign should now be clear to all. While Johnson has been forced to do without the most extreme racists in Alabama and Mississippi, his party is still supported by the bulk of the white supremacists throughout the rest of the South. While having the labor vote pretty much in his pocket, Johnson has gotten the votes of such big business figures as Henry Ford II, chairman, Ford Motor Company; Joseph L. Block, chairman, Inland Steel Co.; Ray Eppert, president of Burroughs Corp., and Will C. Grant, chairman of Grant Advertising, Inc. All voted Republican in 1960.

Can Johnson legitimately represent the interests of the Negro people and the white racists in the South? Can Johnson really represent the auto workers in Detroit and Henry Ford II? Obviously not. Johnson is committed to preserving the status quo in the United States which allows big business to accrue tremendous profits while white and black workers are facing growing unemployment and increased deterioration of job conditions. It is not the Henry Fords and the Joseph Blocks who will be voting against their class interests in November. It will rather be the auto, steel and other industrial workers and the Negro people as a whole.

### BEHIND THE VIETNAMESE CRISIS

#### Bargaining Table As Well As Bullets Is Threat To Revolution

Last month the whole struggle in Southeast Asia took a new turn with the direct armed attack of the United States against North Vietnamese bases. This attack was claimed to be a "defensive" retaliation for attacks on U.S. battleships by North Vietnamese PT boats. But the attacks of the PT boats were in themselves a defensive reaction of the North Vietnamese

to the provocative presence of American battleships in the Bay of Tonkin, an area completely surrounded by China and North Vietnam.

It seemed for a while that the world would be embroiled in another war, like the Korean War, to determine the dividing line between the Soviet countries and the Western imperialists. But this did not take place. The world was taken to the brink of war in what was nothing but a show of force aimed at strengthening the U.S.'s sagging position in Southeast Asia and helping Johnson's presidential campaign. The danger of expanded war in Southeast Asia has been by no means removed but it is not the only danger facing the revolutionary forces in South Vietnam and in Laos. Once again the talks of negotiations, of "neutralism," of a deal, fill the air.

#### Sentiment For Deal

Recently a high official in the Central Intelligence Agency was reported to favor "some kind of negotiated settlement" in South Vietnam. He feels that the war with the Viet Cong shows no signs of definitive victory for the U.S.; the post-Diem regimes in South Vietnam have proved to be as unpopular and unstable as Diem; and finally full fledged commitment of U.S. ground troops in the area would be strategically unwise. So he supports the French view of some form of "neutralization."

It has been known for some time now that a section of American military opinion is deeply opposed to any serious involvement of ground troops on a full fledged basis in Vietnam because they fear such action not only would be futile but would weaken the total military position of the United States. Senators Mansfield and Fulbright, both extremely influential in the Senate and in the Administration, have favored some kind of coming to terms not only with Vietnam but with China, an obviously closely related question. The French stand for "neutralism" in Vietnam has undoubtedly strengthened French influence in the region and put additional pressure on the United States for such a course.

There is little chance that anything definitive will be worked out before the November elections but it can be assumed that a certain diplomatic groundwork for such an alternative is right now quietly being laid by the U.S. A Johnson victory in the coming election would without a doubt strengthen the trend towards wheeling and dealing in the international front. But even a Barry Goldwater, for all his bluster, might find himself forced into such a course. The need for a negotiated settlement flows from the real needs of American imperialism and thus is not tied to personalities on either side.

Both the Viet Cong and the Pathet Lao receive their main support from the peasantry of their countries. These movements, like the Chinese Revolution, are struggling against

the intolerable position in which capitalism places the poor peasant. While having little or no proletarian base these movements are forced, in order to maintain support among the peasantry, to carry out an at least limited democratic struggle against the impoverished state of the peasantry and the imperialist domination of their countries which bolsters this impoverishment. Any "solution" to the Southeast Asian struggle which does not root out this exploitative domination of the peasantry, and the related capitalist and imperialist domination of the country will be nothing more or less than a betrayal.

### Need Working Class Alliance

The solution of the problems of the peasantry requires an alliance with that urban revolutionary force, the working class, which is dedicated by its position in society to destroying capitalism. In Vietnam and Laos the Stalinist-led peasant guerilla forces have substituted for an alliance with their own working class, an alliance with and dependence upon the North Vietnamese and Chinese. While these countries are workers states they are deeply deformed workers states devoted above all else to their own survival as national entities. Their support for the Pathet Lao and the Viet Cong is related to and subordinated to their own national interests. This is the crux of the problem facing the Southeast Asian revolutionaries as the West begins more and more to explore a "negotiated" settlement of the revolutionary struggle there.

As far as North Vietnam and China are concerned their main interest in Southeast Asia is their own defense. They see South Vietnam as an armed imperialist camp and a direct threat to their own national security. Their task, as they see it, is to extract from the United States some form of demilitarization of the region and some guarantees of their own interests and security.

The United States, however, while pursuing a course open to negotiation with the USSR, has deliberately sought to bring as much pressure as possible against China in particular, in order to isolate her in the world. It is this strategy, as well as a commitment to maintain imperialist domination over South Vietnam and as much of Laos as possible, which motivates U.S. policy at the present time.

Faced with this situation China and North Vietnam need some sort of counterthrust against the U.S. Otherwise they are in no position to bargain with the U.S. The Viet Cong and the Pathet Lao ideally serve this purpose for they make U.S. domination of Laos and South Vietnam insecure and highly costly. Thus support for the Pathet Lao and the Viet Cong is essentially for the purpose of bargaining with the West and this support can be withdrawn--if the U.S. is willing to pay the price. As far as North Vietnam and China are concerned the price would be steps which they vainly hope will insure their own national security rather than steps which aid the impoverished peasants of the region. Such is the very real

danger in which the dependence of these movements on North Vietnam and China places them.

### Partition and Coalition

It is difficult to determine in advance the exact character of the kind of deal that might be in the making in the region. However, there are several suggestive factors. The breakdown of the coalition government in Laos and the military action of the Pathet Lao there suggests the possibility that North Vietnam may be considering some form of partition for the country with the eventual absorption of part of Laos into North Vietnam for all intents and purposes. Certainly the fact that Pathet Lao-held territory borders largely on North Vietnam suggests this kind of solution. Even if some form of coalition government is to be tried again it can be expected that North Vietnam will want the added guarantee of pro-North Vietnamese Pathet Lao troops continuing to control this northeastern strip of the country.

Partition does not seem feasible for South Vietnam. More likely is some form of "neutralist" demilitarized regime with Viet Cong representation in the government precisely in order to guarantee the demilitarization. Such a regime would leave the countryside pretty much as it is today for it will be created as a method of compromising the national interests of China, North Vietnam, and the U.S.--not in the interests of carrying through social revolution in Asia.

Of course there is another factor in the situation, the Soviet Union. While China is the dominant influence in the region the USSR is not without some influence. North Vietnam is far from being a subject of China. Generally she has sought to maintain relations with both China and the USSR. Ho Chi Minh himself has been in the past more closely associated with Stalin directly rather than as a by-product of Chinese development. The USSR also has influence with the Pathet Lao.

The influence of the USSR will not be inhibited by any real concern for the national interests of China, and not even too much for those of North Vietnam (though it still seeks to maintain some influence in Hanoi). Thus the USSR will support a more blatant sellout to the United States for its major concern is with a general world wide "stabilization" at the expense of revolution everywhere and of China in addition.

### The Way Out

The only way the armed peasants in Southeast Asia can secure their revolution is by seeking an alliance with the working class in the area. Already the unrest in Saigon and other South Vietnamese cities shows that it is incorrect to see the struggle in South Vietnam as simply limited to the countryside. As long as these peasant struggles remain at the mercy of the national interests of the bureaucracies in North Vietnam and China they face the very real danger of being sold out.

Socialists in other countries generally have been clear in their opposition to direct military threats in this region by American imperialism. However, there has been a general tendency to ignore the threat through negotiated settlement by the deformed workers states with the imperialists. To not warn of this threat, as well as the military one, is to help to disarm the Southeast Asian revolutionaries.

### REUTHER LEADERSHIP PREPARES DEFEAT FOR AUTO WORKERS

#### Attempts Concessions to Corporations to Aid Johnson Campaign

Almost on the eve of the expiration date of the contract between the United Automobile Workers of America and the auto industry, which had been set for Aug. 31, UAW president Walter Reuther announced that the union was proposing to extend the deadline to Sept. 9th. The auto companies immediately agreed to the extension. At the same time, the UAW International Executive Board decided to focus on Chrysler as the strike target.

Both the postponement and the selection of Chrysler as the target are motivated by the political aims of the Reutherite bureaucracy, i.e., to deliver the labor vote for Johnson and the Democratic Party. The needs of the auto workers, most urgently the need to alleviate the inhuman pressure of the speedup and the threat of automation to job security, run a very poor second to the desires of Reuther to play a leading role as a responsible 'labor statesman' in the councils of the Democratic Party.

Above all, Reuther seeks to avoid a strike, especially a serious and prolonged one. A strike at this time would be obviously embarrassing to Johnson. Johnson was tentatively scheduled to speak in Detroit on Labor Day and indicated he would not make the appearance if there were a strike. The negotiations in Detroit appeared to be stalemated and a settlement by Aug. 31 seemed unlikely. The extension until Sept. 9th gave Reuther a little more time--enough, he undoubtedly hopes, to reach a settlement.

#### Stock Market Gains

Reuther's selection of Chrysler as the target was immediately followed by the biggest stock market gain in weeks, with auto leading the way. Economists and spokesmen for Wall Street generally felt that Reuther's strategy was leading to what they call a 'non-inflationary settlement,' i.e., a raw deal for the workers. True to form, Reuther realized that if a strike could not be averted, then a strike against Chrysler, the smallest of the 'Big Three' would mean: less disruption of the national economy; less chance of government intervention; and, of course, less damage to the Johnson campaign. In addition, Chrysler, which is just beginning to re-establish its competitive position, is the most likely to make an early settlement--less likely to take as tough a stand as G.M. or Ford.

Although Chrysler might sooner give ground on the critical UAW demand for at least fifteen minutes additional paid relief time, (the only demand the union is making which concerns the really hot issue on the production line--job conditions and speedup) an amicable agreement with Chrysler would not necessarily mean a strengthening of the workers' position in the industry as a whole. Frederick Taylor, writing in the August 26th Wall Street Journal, makes note of this in the following manner: "Could the union make a settlement with Chrysler stick as the pattern at G.M. and Ford? The companies bargain separately with the union. To counter divide-and-conquer tactics, they practice what is known as parallel bargaining, coordinating their strategy and proposals. But if Chrysler should give way under union pressure and sign a contract which the other two companies believe is too big, there's no reason to believe they would swallow it. In the past Ford has accepted the pattern established by GM, and vice-versa, because each hasn't wanted to be struck while the other was pouring out cars and capturing sales. But Chrysler is the smallest of the Big Three; its volume is only half that of Ford's, a quarter of GM's."

All of Reuther's reasons for selecting Chrysler operate, only conversely for not selecting GM, the mammoth of the Big Three. But meanwhile, back in the GM locals, the UAW GM department bureaucrats, led by Leonard Woodcock, are running scared amidst talk of "unrest" in the G.M. plants and what the bureaucrats call "the threat of wildcat strikes." It appears that many GM workers who hoped that some improvement in their working conditions would come out of the negotiations feel that the selection of Chrysler is going to leave them more than ever under the thumb of the GM behemoth. No doubt, all of Reuther's earlier denunciation of and bluster against GM as the main enemy turns out to be so much hot air in the eyes of many rank and file workers. They know that, while a strike against GM might involve considerable sacrifice, it would at least be a 'bird in the hand,' while a settlement with Chrysler is a question mark as far as improvement in GM plant conditions are concerned. Further, Woodcock, UAW Vice President in charge of the GM department, reports that "local managements are digging in" and that they "are telling UAW local leaders the union is afraid of the company."

#### Reuther Aids Business

Reuther's current strategy, fashioned in accordance with the involvement in capitalist politics of the parasitic clique of bureaucrats which he heads, has already put the workers on the defensive and given a boost to the confidence of the auto barons led by GM. This in turn gives aid and comfort to Big Business in general and the Democratic Party representatives of capitalism who know that they have Reuther in their hip pocket. Whether or not Chrysler is struck Reuther's entire approach, based on economic and political class collaboration, leads not to the growing confidence and strength of the union but to the probability of increasing demoralization and frustration in the union's ranks.

On the other hand, the "unrest" which the bureaucrats are so frightened of and which is expressed in the threat of wildcat strikes is the basis of a militant rank and file oppo-



sition movement which will grow within the UAW. This movement will have to create a leadership capable of removing Reuther and Co. in order for the union to reverse the trend of increasing submission to the corporations, the capitalist parties and their government in Washington.

WHAT FUTURE FOR NEGRO YOUTH?

As Business Booms 25% of Negro Youth are Unemployed

Nothing shows more the absurdity of American capitalism than the plight of young workers, especially Negroes. Today all economic indicators show that the U.S. economy is in another period of unparalleled boom. The profit figures for major corporations have never been higher. Some people in this country are really living well--very well indeed even by the standards of the slave owners of Greek and Roman times.

However, the latest figures compiled by the United States government itself reveal that fully one quarter of all male Negro teenagers are out of work. These figures only include those actively seeking employment, ignoring the many who no longer feel it is worthwhile to even try. The figure for white teenagers was also high--14.2 per cent.

Despite economic prosperity a huge section of American working class youth has no prospect of getting a job. If these young workers cannot find employment now during prosperity what will their future be when the economy begins to sag?

It was, of course, these young unemployed Negroes who provided the main spark to the "riots," more properly considered uprisings, of the Negro people in New York City, Rochester, Paterson and Elizabeth, New Jersey and elsewhere. This tremendous revolutionary force must be reached by socialists and channeled against the system which cannot offer any future for these young people.

The sizeable number of unemployed white youths also presents a challenge. These youth must be shown that their unemployment is caused by the failings of the system, not by job competition from Negro youth. Negro youth, rather than being their enemy, are their natural allies in a struggle against a system which has no real place for young workers, Negro or white.

Watch for

THE NEGRO REVOLUTION IN MISSISSIPPI

A Direct Report From the Southern Battlefront

In the next issue of the BULLETIN ... out September 28th