

How Jagan Prepared His Own Defeat - Pg. 10

Bulletin

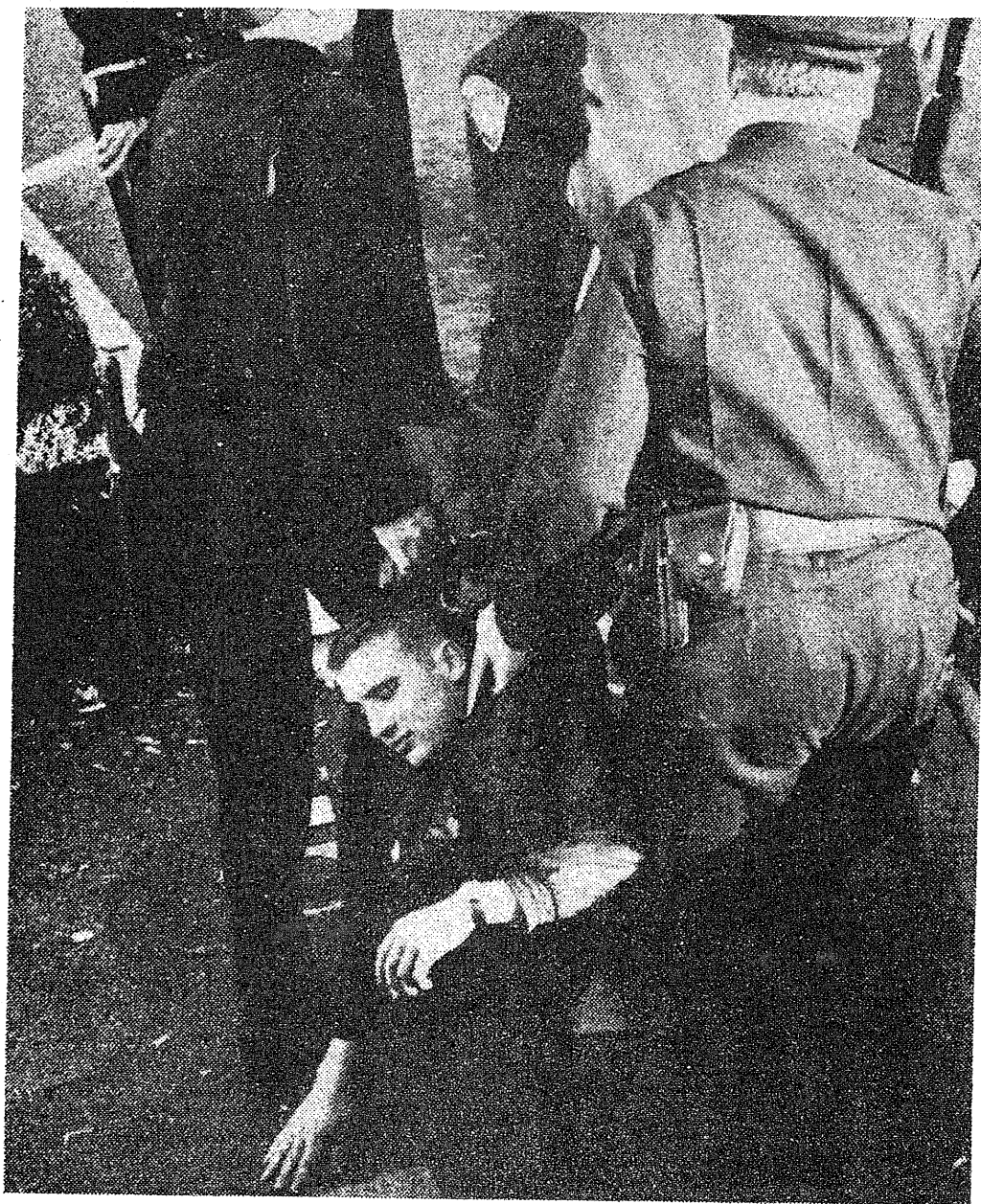
OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

Vol. 2, No. 1

Jan. 11, 1965

10 Cents

After Cal: What Next For Students?



The BULLETIN OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM is published fortnightly by the American Committee for the Fourth International. The American Committee is in political solidarity with the International Committee of the Fourth International. Subscriptions are \$2.00 per year. Send to: P.O. Box 721, Ansonia Station, New York, N.Y., 10023. Make checks or money orders payable to: Wohlforth.

The University of California campus at Berkeley has been the scene of mass student protest this past semester, reaching a peak in early December, as reported in the last BULLETIN. The mass protest movement at Cal serves as a reminder that student protest activities, which have in general ebbed since the 1960 lunch counter integration and anti-HUAC demonstrations, are by no means dead. The Berkeley campus has long been the most politically active and restive in the country, but the conditions leading to the protest movement there exist throughout the country and similar explosions can be expected elsewhere.

At Columbia University in New York, meanwhile, a long drawn out and bitter struggle is being waged to aid the cafeteria employees in organizing a union, with the administration taking a bitterly anti-union position. The campus CORE chapter has spearheaded a campaign to help organize the nearly 100 cafeteria workers, almost all of whom are Negro or Puerto Rican, and earning an average salary of only \$3000 a year. Columbia, as a non-profit institution, has been trying to balance its budget by continuing to pay its workers wages below the so-called poverty level in New York City.

The California and Columbia developments provide a number of extremely important lessons for student activists. Protesters can expect to continue to get bumped on the head by the cops as they were in Berkeley. But if they don't go on from there to draw some lessons from recent events, they will merely follow the path already taken by thousands of others, who have "adjusted" to the status quo after taking part in student protests and even dabbling in the radical movement.

First of all, California and Columbia can show us a lot about the nature of the movement itself. What are the students rebelling against? It is becoming clearer and clearer that the university in the U.S. today is being used simply as a tool for the capitalist system. Mario Savio, leader of the Berkeley student movement, explained this aptly when he said that U. of California President Clark Kerr looks on the university as a factory, the faculty as the workers, and the students as raw material. The administrators are of course the managers of the factory, and the owners -- they are not too hard to find. They are the same as the owners of giant industry and banking. Although their ownership is in some cases indirect, in most instances the giant financiers themselves sit on the Boards of Trustees. It is their aim to make the university function in the interests of the system.

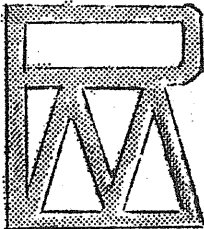
A certain amount of intellectual inquiry is allowed -- but not too much, and above all, no real action against the system. Support for the foreign policy of

EDITORIAL

FIGHT INQUISITION OF PLM

On Monday, Dec. 21, 1964, over 75 people gathered to picket and voice their opposition to the special New York City Grand Jury hearings conducting a supposed inquiry into the causes of last summer's so-called Harlem riots. The Grand Jury had subpoenaed seven young supporters and leaders of the May 2nd Movement in the line of their "investigations" of the Harlem events. As of this writing, more young people have been subpoenaed and we hesitate to predict how many subpoenas will have been served by the time this issue of the BULLETIN reaches our readers.

This committee of inquisition has focused its investigations on the Progressive Labor Movement and the May 2nd Movement, a militant student anti-war group opposed to the war in Vietnam. This is the same "little HUAC" which indicted Harlem PLM leader Bill Epton on charges of "criminal anarchy."



The inquisition is part of a massive campaign of intimidation and harrassment organized by the "liberal" Democratic Wagner administration against the PLM, and indeed against all who dare to take the lead in serious struggle against racial and class oppression in New York. The inquisition is intended to isolate and demoralize the members and supporters of the PLM because of its serious interest in creating a revolutionary working class party in this country. The inquisition is a warning to the Negro and Puerto Rican masses to "stay in their places" and steer clear of revolutionary movements. That is why the inquisition has sought as its "victim" the PLM rather than the more tame 'radical' parties like the Socialist, Communist, and Socialist Workers Parties. Supporters of these three parties were notable in their absence from the Dec. 21 picket line.

Every militant and socialist must speak out and lend whatever support possible in order to defeat the inquisition! A Committee to Defent Resistance to Ghetto Life (CERGE) has been formed to lead the attack against this witch-hunt and provide defense for the victims. Contributions may be sent to CERGE, 147 W. 42nd St., NYC, Suite 904.

American imperialism is drilled into the minds of students in college as it was earlier in their education. The students are taught that the empiricist outlook, the philosophy of the ruling class itself, is the only sensible way

to look at the world. Marxism is considered foolish dogma, and it is rarely or never given a chance to defend itself in the classroom. Faculty members who lean towards a radical viewpoint find it extremely difficult to survive on the campus, and where they do it is almost always after they have proved that their radicalism is quite tame. A really committed professor, who urges his students to change the world and takes a hand in it himself, is simply unheard of; he is not allowed to teach in our "open" society, although there is plenty of room for ultra-rightists on the faculty.

The Wall Street Journal examined the Berkeley situation in its December 23 issue. Although of course it cannot afford to reveal very much about the real operation of American universities, it does point to the manifestations of the underlying problem which have students up in arms: the huge administrative bureaucracy, the factory atmosphere in which it is impossible to really learn, the impersonality of the university which alienates the students in somewhat the same way as the assembly line alienates the worker from his job.

The Students and the Workers

Student militants must proceed from the surface manifestations to an understanding of the underlying problem. The campus, as all other institutions, reflects the needs of the capitalist system. That is why the dissatisfied students can and should make common cause with the Negro movement, the unemployed, the unorganized, and the entire labor movement. They all have the same adversary, the ruling class. It is only the revolutionary movement of the white and Negro workers which will secure a society in which students will be free of the restrictions of capitalist militarism and reaction. That is one major reason for students to link up their struggles to the working class, turn towards the working class and dedicate their activity to achieving working class rule in this country.

At this stage of development in the U.S., student activists are mostly concerned with the civil rights movement. Two of these activists gave their lives last summer in the cause of Negro rights in the South. Many thousands of others participated through CORE and COFO in Northern demonstrations and the Mississippi project. But students have also supported union struggles. Students helped in the campaign to aid the embattled miners of Hazard, Kentucky. At Columbia the civil rights and union organizing struggles overlap, as they did at the time of student aid to the hospital strike in New York several years ago. In California, the State Council of Building Service Employees supported the striking students in an inspiring gesture of solidarity. Students should proceed from these events to

recognize the common enemy and to give much greater support than they have in the past in helping to organize the unorganized and unemployed, as well as in working to aid the urban rent strikers and school boycotters.

Unity of Theory and Practice

The second major lesson of the recent upsurge is the need for unity of theory and practice. Marion Savio is quoted in the New York Times as saying that at times it was necessary to "radicalize the socialists." He also stated:

"(The university) can tolerate the Democrats and Republicans and the radical socialists. But it cannot tolerate the civil rights movement because it advocates things with consequences."

There is more than a grain of truth in Savio's statement. Part of the problem is that some socialist groups, including the Young Socialist Alliance, have not been advocating "things with consequences" very much. YSA members should seriously consider whether they really want a sort of peaceful coexistence with campus administrations as they propagandize and discuss but eschew all forms of activity, such as that led by non-socialists and independent socialists in Berkeley, by CORE activists at Columbia, and by Progressive Labor activists in some of the Negro and Puerto Rican areas of New York. As civil rights and labor struggles increase in the present period, the YSA and all socialist youth should be stepping up their activity, not withdrawing further.

Discussion and theory are important; the long term view and day to day work cannot be artificially separated. Neither is more important than the other -- they are part of a unified whole. Many student activists are over-reacting and rejecting theory altogether in their rejection of parlor radicalism, just as other "academic intellectuals" ridicule the notion of any sort of activity at all as simply a waste of time. These two extreme views have more in common than meets the eye, and the same people often express both attitudes almost simultaneously. In reality, activity will lose its meaning if it is not combined with theoretical development, and discussion by itself cannot attract viable new forces nor lead to serious theoretical development if it is not combined with participation in struggles as they develop.

* * * * *

BERKELEY, Jan. 1--The anthem of the Free Speech Movement is sung to the refrain of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony:

Keep the students safe from knowledge
Keep them loyal, keep them clean
That is why we have a college
Hail to IBM machine!

The IBM machines are already processing the 799 students awaiting trial for "trespassing" and "resisting arrest" at the December 3rd Sproul Hall sit-in. The college administration has refused to withdraw charges, although this will mean 799 students will have criminal records and thus be unable to obtain any type of civil service employment or even assignments in the Peace Corps which many of them had hoped for.

A process of radicalization is taking place on the Berkeley campus. The FSM movement which began as a liberal protest against a bureaucratic college administration and had even initially included the U.C. Young Republicans, has become a movement which is learning. They have learnt already that Berkeley cops, like Southern cops, will physically injure people for the sake of it; that Northern liberal newspapers will distort the truth; that they will have to fight not only the college administration but also Governor Brown and the Board of Regents, which consists of the leading capitalists in California.

When the Academic Senate, which consists of the entire U.C. Berkeley faculty, came out in favor of the demands of FSM by an 8 to 1 margin, FSM called off the student strike and held a victory rally. But it was too soon,

On December 18th the Board of Regents issued a series of directives which consisted of 1) directing the administration to maintain law and order 2) reaffirmed their own ultimate authority over student discipline 3) stated that in formulating policies they "do not contemplate that advocacy or content of speech shall be restricted beyond the purview of the First and 14th Amendments to the Constitution." The last directive was an obvious attempt to split the faculty away from FSM, as it is in contradiction to the first two directives. The Board of Regents also set up a six member commission to investigate, which consists of the chairman of the Board of the Bank of America, the president of Hunt Food and Industries, Inc., the director of the Security First National Bank of Los Angeles, the wife of the publisher of the Los Angeles Times, the director of the Hollister Land Co., and the president of the Southern California Music Co.

After the Christmas recess the FSM is organizing new demonstrations. It is no longer a movement against a specific administrator but a movement to abolish the power of all administrators who are selected by Regents, Boards of Trustees, Mayors or Governors. It will leave to the administrator the job of cleaning the grounds and running the cafeteria, while the colleges and universities will be run by faculty and students. If FSM is to win, it cannot win in only one university. FSM must spread.



LABOR

SCOPE

ILA SELLS OUT LONGSHOREMEN: As the BULLETIN predicted last October, the bureaucratic leaders of the International Longshoremen's Association sought to use the period of the 80 day Taft-Hartley injunction to work out a face-saving sellout settlement of the longshore dispute. And also, as we noted at that time, the difficulties inherent in the situation have created problems for the union officials in trying to make a deal which would be acceptable to both the shipowners and the workers themselves.

The New York Times tried to build up the recent longshore settlement as a good one for the workers since they would be getting big wage increases and fringe benefits in exchange for agreeing to a 3-man cut in the 20-man work gangs by October 1, 1967 (two men will be cut in 1966 and another the following year). Furthermore, the bosses promised that this would be accomplished through attrition and not layoffs. The ILWU led by Harry Bridges on the West Coast had agreed to a similar deal years ago. So what was all the fuss about? The Times went so far as to try to claim that the wildcat walkouts that greeted the longshore settlement was largely due to ignorance of the provisions of the contract!

Of course the rank and file dockers are not ignorant of these provisions at all. The employers and the bureaucrats can't understand why the workers should worry when they themselves are not now threatened with layoffs. But the fact remains that 1) the workers can't afford to place much trust in the employers' promise that attrition and not layoffs will be used, and 2) even if there are no layoffs, the workers in the longshore industry by this time know enough about automation and what is going on around them to know that it makes no sense for them to agree to a contract which will increase profits and decrease jobs at a time when unemployment is mounting and millions of young people are without work or the prospect of work.

The cynicism and hypocrisy of the ruling class and its most sophisticated spokesmen is really unbounded. Within a few short weeks it is announced that the Brooklyn Navy Yard will be closed and a longshore contract is signed which will further shrink the jobs available. Instead of expansion and new jobs available for highschool graduates and high school dropouts including Negro and Puerto Rican youth in New York and other big cities, there are few or no new

jobs, and older workers will be scrambling for the few new openings. Then, next summer undoubtedly, the liberals and the establishment will express their horror and impatience with the discontent in Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant, with "unsafe" conditions and increases in crime in various big cities.

It would be a tremendous step forward for the workingclass movement if the thousands of longshoremen who walked off their jobs for 2 days in late December in ports along the East and Gulf coasts could see this connection. We will allow the employers to introduce automation, they could say, but only if they do not shrink the number of jobs available, but on the contrary make more jobs available by cutting the work week to 30 hours with no cut in pay. Let the capitalists do this---otherwise they will have proved that they cannot operate the present system except at the cost of poverty, unemployment and misery for increasing numbers of workers. A fight for jobs by the longshoremen and other organized workers, together with militants in the Negro movement, is what is needed right now. The 30 hour week at 40 hours pay is the most important slogan which can be put forward by the longshore rank and file which is rebelling against its bureaucratic leadership. Through a fight for this demand, the workers will learn that the system itself cannot provide the elementary requirements for a decent life. Meanwhile they can and will be able to gain improvements in the course of the struggle.

* * * *

PENS AND PREJUDICE: To Douglas Fairbanks Jr. and other less celebrated millionaire owners of Scripto, Inc., a pen or cigarette lighter is an item which enables them to get through life without having to work for a living. To nearly 700 Negro women production workers employed by Scripto in Atlanta, Georgia, a pen or lighter is an item which you laboriously assemble for \$57.00 a week pay, thereby allowing Mr. Fairbanks and the others to continue living in the elegant and glamorous mode they are accustomed to. The Negro women, all unskilled workers, have been on strike against the company since Nov. 27, 1964. Their chief demands are for wage increases and for a union dues check-off system.

Although the union, Local 754 of the International Chemical Workers was certified to represent the employees last June, only the unskilled workers, all of whom are Negro Women are members. All the skilled workers are white. Aided further by the Georgia "right to work law" which outlaws the union shop, the company was at first able to simply ignore the strikers and began to replace them with scabs. However, the development of a large scale national boycott of Scripto products under the auspices of Martin Luther King's SCLC in cooperation with the union gained steam to the point where the company had to deal with it. According to the latest reports, the boycott has been can-

celled after the company, obviously fearful of the growing effect of the boycott, agreed to pay striking workers Christmas bonuses in an attempt to re-open negotiations. Reverend King said he thought that "a climate now exists in which good faith negotiations can proceed."

The negotiaion of labor contracts is an area of activity that Dr. King has seriously decided to enter. While some may consider King a novice in this field, we must remember that King has had extensive associations with the liberal wing of the trade union bureaucracy, particularly with men like Walter Reuther and A. Phillip Randolph. His rhetoric about "good faith negotiations" is straight out of the bag of America's "labor statesmen." As we also know, King is no stranger to negotiations. His most noteworthy feat of negotiation was accomplished in Birmingham in the summer of 1963 where he succeeded in reaching a sell-out agreement with powers that be in that city, demonstrating once more that he could play the role of a valuable "peace-keeper" for the ruling class.

Bearing this understanding of Dr. King in mind, we also realize that the movements he leads, including the brief Scripto boycott are often a reflection of the struggle of the Negro masses. King knows as well as anyone that the Negro masses, North and South, are moving forward with increasing vigor for "freedom now" over fundamental economic demands. As the struggle takes on more and more of a labor character we can count on Dr. King to continue to play a role of conciliation and compromise with the "law and order" of white supremacist capitalist America.

* * * *

DUBINSKY FIGHTS A UNION: The U.S. Court of Appeals has ruled in the case involving the Federation of Union Representatives (FOUR) and David Dubinsky's International Ladies' Garment Workers Union. FOUR has been waging a struggle for four years to organize the ILGWU organizers and business agents into a staff union. ILGWU staff is notoriously underpaid (starting salary of \$70 a week) and has also shown signs of discontent with Dubinsky's running of the union. Dubinsky waged a long, bitter, and dirty fight against FOUR, above all because he recognized in it a menace to his rule of the union.

The Court of Appeals has now ruled that several ballots challenged by FOUR after the collective bargaining election which FOUR won in 1962 must be opened and counted. The votes of various supervisory personnel in Dubinsky's machine, including, for instance, the Assistant Directors of the Political and Education Departments, will now be counted. This, it is expected, will reverse the results of the election making Dubinsky the winner.

Although the Court ruled in favor of FOUR on points involving intimidation of employees, and included organizers and business agents as employees under the National Labor Relations Act, it is not expected that Dubinsky will appeal these points since he his most interested in disposing of

this issue while he can.

It is clear that the Court bent over backward to give Dubinsky every advantage he needed under the circumstances. It is also important to note that Dubinsky has been one of President Johnson's most trusted friends and supporters in the organized labor movement. Dubinsky was one of the first union officials to praise Johnson as a "friend of labor." This has been his role, while hundreds of thousands of garment workers, including many, many heads of families, take home less wages than is officially conceded to be necessary for bare subsistence by the Department of Labor, and while Dubinsky himself has fought the adoption of even the paltry \$1.50 minimum wage in New York State. The Court decision represents a defeat for FOUR, and a real victory for FOUR is contingent upon a successful struggle by the ILGWU ranks themselves to oust the Dubinsky-led bureaucracy.

* * * *

THE STEEL SCENE: As we go to press, the United Steel Workers Union has not yet announced the "re-opener" of the negotiations for a new contract covering 425,000 workers, but despite appeals by the companies not to disturb the well being of the country, it is expected that this formal re-opener by the union will be made very shortly. The union can strike 120 days after the reopener is made if there is no prior settlement. With the proclaimed goal of achieving "total job security" the union is presenting a program of more far-reaching demands than had been presented by the UAW in the initial contract negotiations with the auto industry.

The current challenge for the presidency of the union by Sec'y.-Treas., I.W. Abel in which he will run against the incumbent, David McDonald reflects the deep concern of the rank and file over local conditions. In making a bid for the support of the rank and file, Abel has gotten quite militant. His statements refer to the "disgraceful" backlog of unsettled grievances and the need to revamp the system of grievance procedure machinery. He has made repeated attacks on McDonald's flagrant practice of being buddy-buddy with the employers and his great distance both materially and practically from the rank and file worker. While the conscious union militants may have a better climate within which to operate under Abel as opposed to McDonald, they shouldn't have any illusions that Abel either desires or is capable of leading a serious struggle against the likes of U.S. Steel, Bethlehem, et al.

HOW CHEDDI JAGAN PREPARED HIS OWN DEFEAT

It is Not Enough to Blame the Imperialists

For the Mess in British Guiana

In the elections held in British Guiana this past December 7, Cheddi Jagan's governing People's Progressive

Party (PPP) was defeated. The party received a 45.8% plurality of total votes cast, a greater percentage than it won with in 1961. The difference between victory and defeat is due to a bit of imperialist chicanery. By changing election procedures, Britain and the United States made successful their efforts of the past decade to "legally" keep the "Marxist" Jagan out of office.

Formerly, each constituency voted for its own representative to the governing Legislative Council. This was changed in the last election to a proportional representation system, whereby the entire country became a single constituency. Legislative seats were then allotted in proportion to percentage of total votes received. In addition, to form a government a party was required to obtain an absolute majority of votes. The results turned out as the British had planned. The PPP did not obtain a majority and was therefore deposed from office. The pro-American, pro-British reformist People's National Congress (PNC) of Forbes Burnham, which received 40.5% of the vote, then asked the bourgeois United Force, which received 12.4%, to join in forming a new government.

The British claimed a new government was necessary to put an end to the racial violence between East Indians and Negroes. Guianese of Indian descent number about 300,000, those of African descent number over 200,000, and together the two groups make up the great bulk of the Guianese population of 650,000. It is true that racial antagonisms have increased considerably over the past few years, and that the Jagan government has been unsuccessful in handling the problem.

The new government however certainly cannot solve the problem. To begin with, it has virtually no support from the Indian masses. Secondly, the natures of the ruling parties are such that they cannot really desire harmony between the Indian and Negro masses. Forbes Burnham has built his career on maintaining a racially based party subservient to imperialism, and Peter d'Aguiar, head of the United Force, represents the bourgeoisie and knows how important it is for their interests to keep tension between the races. In its effort to form a stable government that will quietly serve its interests with a minimum of open racial trouble, imperialism may try to split a conservative section from the PPP, bring it into the government, and thereby reduce the size of the opposition PPP to manageable proportions.

Jagan's defeat closes a very important chapter in British Guiana's history, begun by his first election victory in 1953. This twelve year "ordeal" is especially important to revolutionists. The PPP is not a Communist Party and its members with possibly a few exceptions are not Communists, but its program however has been essentially that of the official Communist parties in the colonial world. It was founded on a broad multi-class base, called

for independence and social reforms, and put off socialist demands into the indefinite future. Because many radicals agree with the basic line of the CP in the colonial world, it is imperative that the program of the PPP be examined and critically analyzed from a Marxist point of view in light of its achievements and failures while in office. This task is made more important by the past and present links of the PPP with radicals in the United States. For example: Janet Jagan is from this country, Cheddi Jagan studied here for several years, the magazines Monthly Review and Freedomways are sympathetic to the PPP and have carried articles by Jagan and others close to him politically, and Cheddi Jagan's book Forbidden Freedom was published in New York by International Publishers.

British Guiana: The Background

A brief outline of relevant political events from the establishment of the colony of British Guiana will be helpful in understanding the reason for the PPP's defeat. In the year 1831, the colony of British Guiana was formed when the British merged sugar plantation settlements in the area. These slave-based plantations had been under British rule from the early 1800's, when Britain took them from the Dutch, to whom she had previously given them, in 1667, in exchange for New Amsterdam.

Slavery was abolished in 1833 and the Negro slaves moved out of the plantations. To replace them, indentured labor was imported, the majority from East India. The Negroes moved to Georgetown and other towns and entered the professional middle class and the working class. Many became policemen and other government workers. The other large groups of indentured laborers -- Portuguese and Chinese -- soon moved to the towns also, and became small merchants. The East Indians remained on the plantations and today are "the backbone of sugar production".

Indenture was ended in 1917, and to keep the Indians in British Guiana, the British brought in rice paddy. By the end of World War I, a rice industry had been established. Now Indians too had entered the middle class -- as rice farmers and merchants.

The government of British Guiana was initially nothing more than an instrument of and for the plantation owners. As the native middle class increased in numbers in the century following abolition, the British made several changes in the colony's constitution to give them some voice in the government. Even so, only a small percentage of the citizens could vote, and only the upper class was represented.

This situation could not withstand the upheaval caused in the colonial world by World War II. After the war the British government granted a new constitution,

providing that elected representatives would have a major responsibility in governing the country. There was to be universal suffrage with a literacy qualification and with an age minimum of 21. Elections were to be held in 1953.

In 1950, the PPP was founded. In the words of Philip Reno, in the article "The Ordeal of British Guiana" in the July-August 1964 Monthly Review (now available as a paperback):

"One of the PPP's first endeavors was to launch a newspaper, Thunder, to publicize its program. The program featured independence, social welfare measures, and economic development. Specific planks called for a social security system, workmen's compensation for injury on the job, public rather than church control of education with an expanded scholarship and school construction program, a land tenure law and land settlement projects, low rent housing, an increase in income taxes and a decrease in indirect taxes, and measures to attract new industries. Along with these specific planks, the party announced its support of socialism."

The party was the first and only one organized to represent the masses of the country and immediately met with success. It was the party of the independence and social reform movement. Sugar workers, Indian peasant farmers, small merchants and millers became the rural base of the party, and Georgetown workers and elements of the middle class became its urban base. The party was unique in British Guianese history in that it was interracial. Cheddi Jagan, an Indian, was named Parliamentary Leader, and Forbes Burnham, a Negro, was named Chairman. With this broad popular support, the PPP won 51% of the votes cast in the 1953 election, and won 18 out of 25 seats in the Legislative Council.

The British Dump Jagan

The PPP government had been in office only 133 days when Her Majesty's Government decided it was trying to set up a "Communist state". Thereupon Britain suspended the constitution, dismissed the elected government, and the British Governor of the country then appointed one of his own choosing.

This setback put strains on the party, which had only known success up to that point. The party was subsequently split by a technique familiar to American radicals engaged in mass action -- red-baiting. Unfortunately it is many times an effective technique. In 1955, the PPP split on a pro vs. anti-Soviet basis. Tragically for the PPP, the split also followed racial and class lines. Forbes Burnham took with him most of the Negro membership of the party, and

seriously weakened its urban, working class base. Burnham kept the PPP name for his faction and even issued a paper called Thunder. Until 1958, there were two PPP's and two Thunder's.

New elections were to be held in the country in 1957, after the British had drawn up a new constitution giving them more powers. Once again the PPP (Jagan's faction) won the majority of legislative seats. The winning plurality was 47.5%. Burnham's faction, which differed from Jagan's only in its anti-Communism, did poorly in the election. In 1958, he formed a new party, the People's National Congress.

Elections were held again in 1961, after the British approved constitutional changes giving British Guiana internal self-government, with the qualification that the Governor, representing Her Majesty's Government, could veto any legislative acts he felt to be in violation of the constitution. The PPP won a majority of legislative seats again, but this time with a smaller plurality of the total vote--42.7%. The PNC gathered 41% and had therefore become an effective opposition party.

The PPP was defeated in the recent election because of a change in election procedures. This however is only the specific, technical reason for the defeat. The political and social basis for the defeat must be understood.

The reason given by the PPP for its defeat is that U.S. and British imperialist agents have fomented violence between the races, organized sabotage against the government, and that the British governor and government have in general undemocratically and unconstitutionally treated the PPP. This reason is accepted in the article in Challenge (December 29, 1964), the organ of Progressive Labor. In general, the Communist Party has also blamed imperialism for all of the PPP's troubles.

The Real Role of the PPP

While the role of imperialism is thus accurately portrayed, the role of Jagan and the PPP is uncritically glossed over. But it is precisely the PPP's incorrect political line and practice that is the basic cause of his downfall, and which must be examined by revolutionists. Imperialism, of course, always plays a reactionary role and its criminal deeds must be revealed, but serious Marxists must give just as much attention to the program of the "progressive forces" fighting imperialism, for the fight can only be victorious under the correct program.

First of all, the PPP accepted office in 1953 under the false assumption that the British were going to allow it to take British Guiana down the peaceful road to socialism--even its meek form of socialism. Jagan agreed to govern the country even though the British had control of foreign affairs,

had an ultimate veto power in internal affairs, had an incumbent British trained civil service, police and army. Needless to say, taking office under these conditions, without arming its supporters and with no plan of action should the British attempt to interfere with its governing, was sure political suicide for the PPP. The party, of course, was not prepared, and was unceremoniously kicked out of office in a short time.

The PPP had not learned its lesson in 1953, and in 1957 again took office, now even under more restrictive conditions. While in office, the party lived up to its nature. It left the control of the economy of British Guiana in the hands of foreign corporations, like Bookers in the sugar industry and Alcoa, Ltd. in bauxite mining. It therefore let most of the wealth be taken out of the country. It introduced no economic plan to create full employment and said nothing about workers' control of production. In sum, it neglected the needs of the working class of the country.

Instead, the party adopted a petty-bourgeois program of land reform. This included land distribution projects-- for the rural indian worker and improvement of rural services for the benefit of farmers, millers, and merchants.

A key episode in the party's history illustrates the true nature of the PPP. The 1955 split left Jagan with a predominantly rural middle class Indian backing. The party was faced with the decision to maintain this base and build a program around its interests, or to try to win back the urban Negro worker and build a revolutionary party based on the common interests of the Indian and Negro workers. Although the party adopted a good position on the race and class question abstractly, it did not do so in practice. In practice, it did little to win over the Negro masses, but sought rather to maintain and strengthen its support from the Indian farmers and middle class.

In the early 1960's, when the Jagan government began to be plagued with racial violence, it proved incapable of combatting it. To begin with, it had very little support from the Negro population, and imperialist agents were successful in organizing terrorist attacks against Indians and sabotage against the government. Secondly, it relied on the British-supported police to maintain order. In fact, in 1963 and 1964, it called upon British troops to restore order in the country. Thus the PPP's attempt to find a painless road to socialism has led to the ultimate irony: a "marxist" party calls upon imperialist troops to preserve order, save its government, and guarantee the country's peaceful road to socialism. The PPP has proved that it is politically bankrupt. For twelve years, it played politics according to the rules of the bourgeoisie, and has finally received, we are afraid, its due reward.

1. JUST OUT

Special supplement containing three articles from the BULLETIN on Progressive Labor's International Statement "Washington's Grand Design for World Domination." FREE

2. STILL AVAILABLE

THE CRISIS OF AMERICAN SOCIALISM, a BULLETIN supplement devoted to the critical task of building a new revolutionary movement. FREE

3. SUBSCRIBE NOW

to the BULLETIN OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM, the publication fighting to build a new revolutionary movement in the United States and throughout the world.

-
1. Send me a copy of the PL Supplement
 2. Send me a copy of the American Socialism Supplement
 3. Enclosed is \$.50 for a special introductory subscription (10 issues)
 Enclosed is \$2.00 for a full year's subscription

Name

Street

City Zone.....State.....

Send to: BULLETIN OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM
P.O. Box 721
Ansonia Sta.
New York, N.Y. 10023

Make checks payable to: Wohlforth

THE STRUGGLE TO BUILD A MARXIST PARTY IN THE UNITED STATES

-- a class series--

The old radical parties in the United States have failed at the task of building a serious working class party based on Marxist theory and method. A new generation of revolutionary socialists is now coming on the scene, and these socialists want to make a new start at the task of building such a movement. But a new movement cannot be built simply by turning one's back on the past and getting down to work. Such an approach inevitably leads to the repetition of the same mistakes which brought the old radical groups to their present shameful state. The new generation must carry forward what was healthy and good in the past of the American and international socialist movement and likewise must consciously reject what was rotten and bad. This requires a study of the development of the Marxist movement in the United States both within the context of developments in the United States and within the context of the whole world working class movement. This class is an attempt to begin this task.

January 18:

I. The Roots of American Radicalism -- Populism, the IWW, the pre-World War I Socialist Party, the early beginnings of Marxism in the United States.

January 25:

II. The Birth of American Communism, 1921-1928 -- Emergence from the CP, relations with the Comintern and their evolution, James P. Cannon and William Z. Foster -- their strengths and weaknesses.

February 1:

III. The Communist Party Under Browder -- From "Third Period" adventurism to FDR and support to the Democratic Party.

February 8:

IV. The Communist Party Under Foster -- Foster fights Browder but Browderism emerges once again in a new form.

February 15:

V. American Trotskyism With Trotsky, 1928-1940 -- The new attempt to build a communist movement.

February 22:

VI. American Trotskyism Without Trotsky, 1940-1964 -- Unable to develop theoretically after the death of Trotsky the SWP loses a revolutionary working class perspective domestically and internationally.

March 1:

VII. Building the Marxist Movement Today -- A summary session on the lessons learned from the past history of the Marxist movement and the meaning of these lessons for our tasks today.

Suggested Reading List:

Cannon, James P. The First Ten Years of American Communism. (Lyle Stuart, 1962).

Cannon, James P. The History of American Trotskyism (Pioneer Publishers, 1944).

Draper, Theodore. The Roots of American Communism (Viking Press, 1957).

Draper, Theodore. American Communism and Soviet Russia (Viking Press, 1960).

Kipnis, Ira. The American Socialist Movement: 1897-1921. (Columbia University Press, 1952).

Lenin, V.I. What Is To Be Done? Collected Works Vol. IV. (International Publishers, 1929).

Progressive Labor Movement. Road to Revolution (Progressive Labor Movement, 1964).

Trotsky, Leon. Marxism in the United States (Workers Party, 1947). Also as introduction to The Living Thoughts of Karl Marx.

Trotsky, Leon. In Defense of Marxism (Pioneer Publishers, 1942).

Wohlforth, Tim. The Struggle for Marxism in the United States (available on loan to class participants).

Classes will meet every Monday night at 8:00 P.M., at Apt. 5 D, 160 W. 95 St., New York City. Sponsored by the BULLETIN OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM.