

why william mchesney martin worries

Bulletin

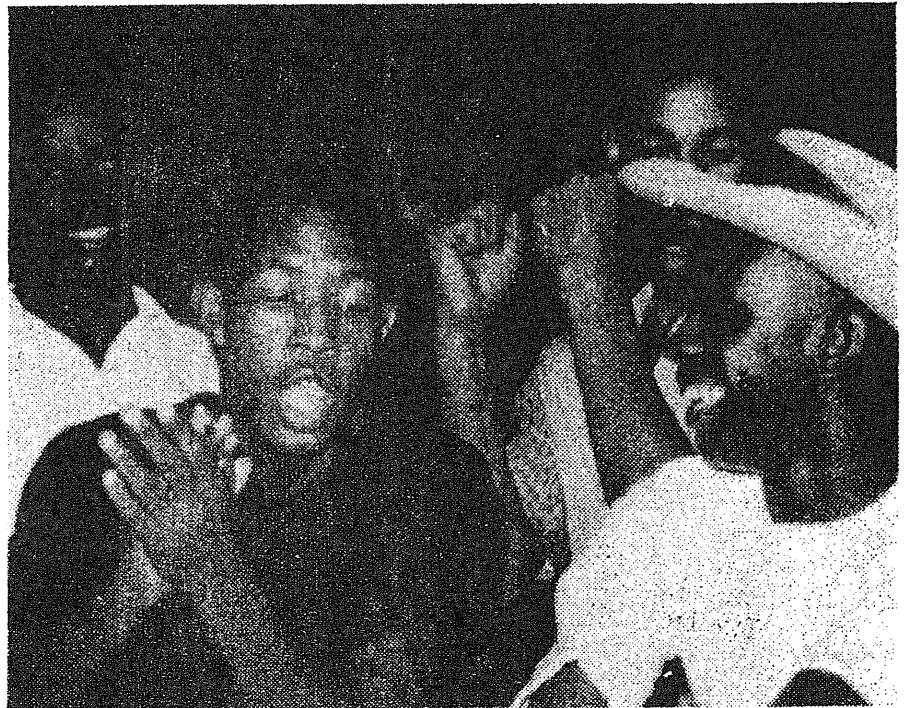
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10 Cents

Southern Struggle Takes a New Turn



DISCUSSION ON THE GUERRILLA MOVEMENT IN GUATEMALA



ADOLFO GILLY

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For all radicals, militant trade unionists, students committed to the civil rights struggle, the strike of farm laborers in the Mississippi Delta is the fruition of years of struggle. A connection has been made between the civil rights and the trade union struggle, between student militants and the southern Negroes. All support must be given to the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union, the organization of the strike. This union should immediately be offered a charter by the AFL-CIO with the weight of the trade-union movement placed behind this strike as a first action in a new drive to organize the south. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee has offered to help the Union organize support throughout the country. Everyone serious about seeing social change in this country must join with SNCC in offering support.

Over 1500 farm laborers (including 15 on Senator Eastland's plantation) are now striking for a \$1.25 an hour wage. The bulk of them make around \$3 per day. Skilled workers such as tractor drivers (also on strike) earn only \$6 per day. Most live in wood and tin shacks provided rent-free by the plantation owners.

Arrests have been made of unionists attempting to go out on the field. With wages so low, whole families work in the fields and over half the laborers are teen agers. Twelve of the 14 arrested were under 18.

The Mississippi Freedom Labor Union has been organized by the people themselves. It is supported by the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, SNCC, the Council of Federated Organizations, the Delta Ministry of the National Council of Churches and other local groups. A \$500 contribution has already been received from an AFL-CIO affiliate in Wisconsin.

This strike is the culmination of several years spent by SNCC in organizing the Delta area. Their first campaign was around voter registration. This led naturally to the formation of the MFDP as an arena for political expression for the people. But it was from the people themselves that the idea for this strike evolved. Reprisals in the south are vicious and it is only around the really basic survival issues that the mass of people (who have no return ticket on the freedom ride) are willing to struggle.

Organizing for the strike began last summer. In each community small groups meet and discuss, hold more meetings, canvass door-to-door, meet buses on the way to the fields; in this way building momentum.

A Deadly Serious Decision

To strike is a deadly serious decision for these people. At the very least it means, for most, eviction from their homes. Even as late as May 31, the first group to

strike (100 people) were willing to present their demands to plantation owner Andrews for a third time. It was only after going through this process that they were willing to take the step.

The strikers have already been threatened by violence. A Mrs. Lindsay, wife of a plantation agent, shot at one striker. Local authorities refused to press charges against her and released her from custody. Men have had to send their women and children to stay with friends for safety while they stay on to fight. An injunction has been served forcing only token picketing.

The Deacons for Defense

In response to just this sort of situation, the Deacons for Defense and Justice has formed around 55 chapters throughout the Louisiana-Mississippi-Alabama area. They are estimated to have as many as 15,000 armed members. One of their main jobs is the protection of civil rights workers and volunteers participating in civil rights activities. One cannot doubt that they will be offering support to the strikers.

The Deacons was first organized last summer after the Ku Klux Klan paraded through Jonesboro with a police escort. In the words of vice-president and full-time organizer, 32-year-old Earnest Thomas: "We decided that if the power structure would do that for the Klan, then we had better do something for ourselves."

Richard Haley, CORE southern regional organizer in New Orleans has welcomed their support, stating "Protected nonviolence is apt to be more popular with the participants than unprotected....Three or four years ago the worst a demonstrator had to fear was being pushed off a restaurant seat and doused with catsup. Now, with the intensification of the white extremist reaction, a demonstrator's life is in danger." CORE will be challenging extremism this summer in a bastion of segregation, Plaquemines Parish, Pointe a la Hache, Louisiana. The parish is controlled by Judge Leander Perez and his son, the district attorney. He has already proclaimed his determination not to "surrender our peaceful, beautiful parish to the communists," and he is preparing to provide "those troublemakers with a different reception than they've had elsewhere."

A prison for "racial agitators" has been set up in an old Civil War fortress, enclosed by electrified barbed wire fences, infested with snakes and mosquitoes, and accessible only by boat or helicopter.

The plan is for ten civil rights workers to move into the parish late this month and begin working on voter registration and desegregation of public accommodation areas in which the Klan is expected to have an interest. "We'll try to operate as routinely as

possible," CORE organizer Haley told an interviewer. "The other side should provide enough flamboyance for us all." If they are arrested and imprisoned in the fortress, Fort Saint Phillip, then CORE will begin "a campaign of attrition." sending in replacements until up to 100 people are locked in the fort. The American Civil Liberties Union will handle the defense.

Needed! More Than a Spotlight

So far CORE has been able to make contact with only two local Negroes and even meetings with them are difficult because of their fear of reprisals. This action is being planned to spotlight the area before the nation with the hope of federal intervention.

Like so many such operations in the past it is being planned and organized by "outsiders" and does not deal with the fundamental problems of the people in the area. It is not surprising that few local people are willing to become involved with the risks so high and the gains limited. They will be facing reprisals long after Fort Saint Phillip is empty of civil rights workers.

Campaigns like Plaquemines have played a vital part in the formative period of the southern struggle. But with the development of the indigenous Mississippi Freedom Labor Union, the movement has entered a whole new period. No one can doubt the dedication of civil rights workers who are brave enough to face Fort Saint Phillip, but there is a question as to what they will accomplish.

SNCC is organizing 250 students to participate in the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party challenge to the Mississippi Congress delegation in Washington. These students will then be going to Mississippi to participate in the struggles there. For students throughout the country the task is to turn toward labor, to make the connection between the civil rights and the trade union struggle in any way that is open to them.

The task of the next period is to organize the unorganized, in northern ghettos as well as southern plantations. The issue is placed squarely before the trade union movement by the action of Representative Robert Griffin, Republican of Michigan. With the support of Representative Glen Andrews, Republican of Alabama, he tried to gain Negro support for a decertification amendment to the bill repealing anti-labor union shop provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act. The amendment would void any union-shop agreement if the National Labor Relations Board of Federal Courts held that a union was discriminating. Pointing out that right-to-work laws never helped Negroes fight discrimination, Clarence Mitchell, director of the Washington Bureau of the NAACP condemned Griffin's amendment and gave the original repeal bill his unconditional support. He was backed by

A. Phillip Randolph and other prominent Negroes.

Yet at a recent demonstration in New York City, calling for more jobs for Negro construction workers, NAACP labor secretary Herbert Hill took a different line. He stated that he would file a series of complaints against unions and contractors from New York and other cities with the new Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and proposed to "build a body of labor laws" with more cases before the NLRB which recently held that a plumbers' local could not refuse to work alongside non-union Negroes and Puerto Ricans.

Must Oppose Efforts to Divide

As the economic crisis in this country worsens, efforts will increasingly be made to separate militant Negroes from the rest of the trade union movement. There must be no question of the vital importance of maintaining, building, and deepening the unity in action of Negroes and whites.

In 1960, Robert Williams organized the first self-defense movement to receive national prominence-- in Monroe, North Carolina. Monroe remained an isolated outpost, and the southern racists with the support of the Kennedy Administration were able to drive Williams into exile in Cuba. Malcolm X also raised the call for Negroes to defend themselves and he was assassinated by Negroes who acted in the interest of President Johnson. But the southern movement today is ready to accept the need for self-defense. It is achieving a comprehensive organization, with mass roots. This is the living proof of the validity

We send fraternal greetings to all sections of the International Committee of the Fourth International, and will give every support to its conference for the rebuilding of the Fourth International, planned for early 1966.

Our greetings go particularly to those who have fought revisionism under especially difficult circumstances in the USA, the American Committee for the Fourth International. They will receive every possible support from the Socialist Labour League.

From this conference we express especially our revolutionary greetings to the Partie Communiste Internationaliste in France, whose long fraternal collaboration with the Socialist Labour League has been the foundation of the International Committee and its work. The French section was first in the fight and bore the main brunt of revisionist attack on the Fourth International. They pioneered the fight against the theory and organisational practices of Pabloism.

In Ceylon, those comrades in the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary) who have taken up the fight to build the revolutionary party and defeat revisionism since the gross betrayal of N. M. Perera and the majority of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party in 1964, will continue to receive the wholehearted support of the Socialist Labour League and the International Committee.

-- from the greetings of the 7th National Congress of the Socialist Labour League of Great Britain to the world Trotskyist movement.

of these ideas of Robert Williams and Malcolm X.

The Deacons offer support to all civil rights workers. The Mississippi Freedom Labor Union must be supported. It is up to all serious radicals, trade unionists and civil rights fighters to answer this need. Mississippi Freedom Labor Union, Box 547, Shaw, Mississippi.

THE MEANING OF WILLIAM MC CHESNEY MARTIN'S SPEECH

Federal Reserve Head Warns of New Depression

As World Capitalist Crisis Deepens

The world press is still ringing with the echoes of Federal Reserve Chairman Martin's June 1st "Then, as now..." address at Columbia University. If the British Pound Sterling takes its expected nosedive in the next few months, we may be certain that those echoes will reach deafening proportions. Yet Martin said nothing more than is being said in every leading financial center in the world: capitalism is headed toward a new bust, with more muddleheaded confusion than clear solutions presented in leading circles. The difference is that Martin said it better, and that Martin said it--publicly.

William McChesney Martin, one-time "boy wonder" of Wall Street, is the chief executive of the imperialist world's banking system, chief fiduciary officer of the financiers who give orders to the likes of President Johnson. Presidents come and go, but the central bankers sit in relative obscurity behind the scenes, firmly gripping the control reins of world imperialism. Martin is the one U.S. public official who need not clear his speeches in advance with White House stooges. When he speaks, his words enjoy the authority of his extraordinary personal competence; his words carry the weight of the ruling faction of the world's financiers. When he speaks to a public audience--which is rare enough--the "boys who know what the score is" give complete attention. As the NY Times editorial of June 13th conceded: "Mr. Martin is not a man given to putting his foot in his mouth."

In the beginning of his address, Martin cited eleven points in common between "Then"--1929--"and now," concluding this list:

"...then, as now, many Government officials, scholars and businessmen were convinced that a new economic era had opened, an era in which business fluctuations had become a thing of the past, in which poverty was about to be abolished, and in which perennial economic progress and expansion

were assured."

Martin listed ten points in favor of a better situation for the present, but:

"...while the spirit is willing, the flesh, in the form of concrete policies, has remained weak. With the best intentions, some experts seem resolved to ignore the lessons of the past."

Martin's Main Point

Martin did not take to the public platform merely to go on record as one who had warned against the depression. He wasn't talking for the history books. His real object became clear as he analyzed the causes for the Great Depression:

"Economic and political scientists still argue about the factors that converted a stock-exchange crash into the worst depression in our history. But on one point they are agreed: the disastrous impact of the destruction of the international-payments systems that followed the British decision to devalue sterling in September, 1931. At that time, sterling was the kingpin of the world payments system, exactly as the dollar is today. While changes in the par values of other peripheral currencies affected mainly or solely the devaluing countries themselves, the fate of sterling shook the entire world."

Then, to his main point:

"In 1931 and 1933, an increase in the price of gold was recommended in order to raise commodity prices. Today a gold-price increase is recommended as a means to provide the monetary support for world price stability.

"In 1931 and 1933, an increase in the price of gold was recommended in order to combat deflation; today, it is recommended as a means to combat inflation.

"In 1931 and 1933, an increase in the price of gold was recommended as a desperate cure for national ills, regardless of its disintegrating effect on world commerce: today, it is recommended as a means to improve integration of international trade and finance.

"Could there be worse confusion?"

In these remarks Martin was responding to the catastrophic muddle that had come out of European expert's meeting on plans to strengthen the International Monetary

Fund's operations just the week before. At this moment the international financiers are caught with their pants down; the fact is, facing the growing threat of a new 1929 bust, the imperialist financiers have absolutely no established plan at all for preventing that bust. The situation is so desperate that Martin plainly found it necessary to break precedents (for a central banker) to take the public platform himself--since Johnson and his muddling stooges were so badly bungling the whole matter. William McChesney Martin's plain purpose was to force the issue. As the NY Times editorial properly characterized the speech: "He meant to shock and he did...As chief guardian of the dollar, Mr. Martin felt that the time had come to express his concern about the threat of inflation and the chronic deficit in the nation's balance of payments."

Where is Johnson falling down on the job--in Mr. Martin's view? Certainly not in Viet Nam, where there is certainly enough slaughter on schedule to please the appetites of the central bankers. Viet Nam (See "Viet Nam", Bulletin, June 14) is part of imperialism's efforts to find a long-term solution to its crisis. Martin is concerned that the imperialist's economy might blow up at home while plans for India and Latin America are still pending. Mr. Martin is rightly concerned that a London crash might bring down the whole works before Johnson can get his half-million or so GIs into the jungles of Viet Nam. In the department of immediate economic issues the Johnson Administration is shaping up to become a poor second to the Hoover regime. Martin's point seems to be that while Johnson may not be repeating the particular mistakes of Mr. Hoover, he has come up with some new varieties of economic cretinism which may make the Hoover Depression look like rampant prosperity.

SOME CASES IN POINT

Case in point: The Kennedy boom has improved the U.S.' competitive position on the world market at the expense of Britain, France, Italy, et al. Martin's point; "In the present stage of economic development we could not preserve our own prosperity if the rest of the world were caught in the web of depression." In sum, the Kennedy-Johnson programs for improvising U.S. prosperity by bankrupting Europe are the surest way to set off the biggest world depression in history.

Case in point: Johnson's present schemes for improving the U.S. balance of payments position include measures (now in effect) for curbing investments in Europe by U.S. bankers and corporations. This measure may temporarily improve the balance of payments, but, in the long run, by slowing down European expansion, it cuts back heavily on U.S. exports and accelerates the deadly tendency of European central bankers to cash in their dollar-holdings for U.S. gold. It is the scramble among European nations to build up gold reserves in event of a crash that is, in fact, the real basis

of the present boom in Europe. The German government has announced that it will...

"The German government has announced that it will...

for the instability of the NATO system and present threats of a blowup in the Common Market arrangements between Germany's Erhard and DeGaulle. In sum, the Short-term benefits of Johnson's policy may actually bring on the run on U.S. gold which Johnson thinks his policies will prevent.

What can Johnson do? More to the point, what will pressure from Martin and the financiers compel Johnson to do? If we look at the present situation in Britain we have a good example of what is in store for Johnson and for the U.S. working class.

THE ECONOMIST AND HAROLD WILSON

If one wonders why the London Economist supported the Wilson "Labour" Government until a few weeks ago, inspection of its pages remove the mystery. British capitalists and the Economist (which generally takes the line of U.S. Imperialist interests in Britain) believed that a Labor Government under Harold Wilson would do what the Tories could not do. As effective head of the British trade union bureaucracy, the Economist felt that Wilson was in the best position to shove speed-up and wage ceilings on the British working class. True to the Economist's hopes, Mr. Wilson has plainly acted as though he were taking orders at every turn from the Bank of England. It would be difficult to show how a "Labour" government could be more completely anti-labor than Wilson's. When the Economist took an abrupt turn after Mr. Wilson's bungling at the Vienna conference, it was not because Mr. Wilson and his party had lacked the best anti-labor intentions. The trouble was that Wilson had been just anti-labor enough to lose the support of a significant part of the British working class, and not a sufficiently effective strike-breaker to make himself really worth while to the British capitalists (and their U.S. masters). To top it off, his Finance Bill is a horrible Gerrymander which alienates both the working class and the capitalists.

The Economist has not changed its estimate of the quality of the Tory party. For this very reason, it seems clear, the Economist has troubled itself to propose a Conservative electoral platform and program (in detail) which the Tories lack the competence to assemble themselves. It is, needless to say, a brutally anti-labor program.

The plain meaning of Martin's warning is that Mr. Johnson had better pay attention to the unhappy fate of Mr. Wilson and get down to putting across an effective anti-labor policy in the U.S.A. The only thing that will temporarily stabilize the imperialist world monetary situation is a real attack on wages. Mr. Martin need not be concerned about Mr. Johnson's intentions, any more than the Bank of England need have concerned itself respecting Mr. Wilson's intentions. The question is: will he deliver?

What Will Johnson Do?

Yet, it might seem that Mr. Johnson's proposal to repeal certain provisions of the Taft-Hartley Law is pro-labor. The effect of the proposed change is only to increase the "gate receipts" of the trade union buraaucrats, to increase dues collections necessary to keep labor bureaucrats in comfort. In other words, a concession to the labor buraaucrats--for which, what does wheeler-dealer Johnson require in return payment? Agreement by Meany, Reuther & Cimpany on Johnson's wage-ceilings policy?

Does this mean that Johnson will demand a cut in wages? Unlikely. During the past month a significant upward inflationary trend in prices has been seen and reported. This means a rise in the cost of living, the kind of inflationary rise which screams for a restoration of the escalator clause in union contracts. At the same time, speed-up is not lessening--in effect the differential between wages and prices--profit--will be increased. That is exactly what Mr. Martin (and the people he represents) urgently require: more profits off the workers' backs to stabilize the dollar on the world market.

When Mr. Martin connects the demand for an urgent new policy with the threat of a new 1929, he is plainly stating that the financiers regard this as a life-and-death issue. The trade union movement is headed for some of the same rough treatment that Eisenhower, (the same William McChesney Martin) and Wall Street gave the Steel Workers in 1959.

In sum, the urgent issue of Martin's speech for us is not whether a new 1929 might occur; the issue is--what brutal measures will Johnson, Martin, Rockefeller & Company take at the expense of the working class in their desperate efforts to postpone a new 1929 crash?

JESSE GRAY PLAYS A CRIMINAL GAME

In late May it was disclosed that Jesse Gray, of the Community Council on Housing, the rent strike organization in Harlem, had announced that he was running for President of the City Council in the New York City Democratic Party primary against the current City Council President, Paul Screvane. After Wagner's announcement that he would not seek a fourth term, it was reported that Gray would enter the primary contest for Mayor.

These moves on the part of Jesse Gray can only demoralize and disorient those who look to Gray for leadership, particularly the thousands of ghetto residents, Puerto Rican and Negro, who have participated in the rent strike movement. after years during which they saw the city

give them the runaround again and again and openly side with the landlords, during which they saw the judicial system stacked against them, they are now asked to take part in Democratic Party politics, they are asked to try to take over the party of their enemy.

As the Bulletin has pointed out before, engaging in capitalist politics can only hurt the mass movement. The urgent need is for independent political action. It is the height of naivete to think that a capitalist party can be transformed; it is like expecting the capitalist class itself to change its ways and reform. Furthermore, if we at least understand the nature of the Democratic Party and understand that it cannot be "taken over" (and we believe Jesse Gray does understand this, although some of his co-workers may not), it is the height of cynicism to continue to engage in this form of class collaboration.

A Mess, A Morass, An Absurdity

Jesse Gray has not participated in Democratic Party politics for a long time, and certainly not since the rent strike movement was begun. During this period he made some very good and uncompromising speeches on the need for independent mass action, including political action, and the need to oppose the system and all its political representatives. Has he changed his mind?

Of course, Gray probably does not expect to win at this time. But that simply reinforces the point that the main aim now should be to educate the vanguard of Negro, Puerto Rican and white workers, those who have taken part in the rent strikes and school boycotts. This means explaining that the entire Democratic Party is the enemy. This means running independently against the Democrats as well as the Republicans. A vote of 100,000, for instance, independently of the Democratic Party, is many times more significant than any votes inside the Democratic Party primary. The need is to take advantage of the present desarray in the Democratic Party to further independent political action.

A DISCUSSION OF ADOLFO GILLY'S ARTICLES ON ON THE GUERILLA MOVEMENT IN GUATEMALA

The capacity to learn is probably the most important characteristic of both persons and groupings which seek to be revolutionary. Revolutionaries can survive errors of all kinds but they cannot survive an inability to learn from new developments, a refusal to listen to the masses, and a failure to correct mistakes when they are made.

By and large the old generation of radicals no longer has this capacity. This is why revolutionary movements in every period must base themselves on new emerging forces. The inexperience of these new forces which perhaps gets them in

more hot water than their cautious elders is but a small price to pay for their vitality and ability to develop to meet the needs of the time.

The extreme importance of Adolfo Gilly's report in the May and June issues of Monthly Review on the Guatemalan guerilla movement is that it gives us a concrete example of how these new revolutionary movements are learning and developing. Such groups as the Guatemalan guerillas are part of a new process, a developing international revolutionary movement capable of meeting the tasks facing the working class of the world today.

Programmatically the Guatemalan rebels have gone further than any other guerilla group in current history. They have come to the understanding that a bloc with the liberal bourgeoisie will hinder rather than help revolutionary developments. Instead the Guatemalans call for a complete break with this old Stalinist theory of a "bloc of four classes" and raise openly the demand for a workers' and peasants government and a socialist revolution.

The Camp of Lenin and Trotsky

This places the Guatemalan revolutionaries squarely in the camp of Lenin and Trotsky and the Bolshevik Revolution. This revolution was made possible by the Bolshevik Party as a whole going over to the exact same programmatic demand. It is this essential concept that Trotsky defended in the theory of permanent revolution and which for decades Stalin and his henchmen around the world have slandered and attacked.

In essence the theory of permanent revolution holds that in the imperialist epoch the national bourgeoisie is no longer capable of carrying through its own "democratic" or bourgeois revolution. It is incapable of giving land to the peasants and of industrializing the country. In order for these bourgeois tasks to take place the proletariat in alliance with the peasantry must come to power and create its own state.

The Guatemalans have come to this essentially Trotskyist position on the basis of learning the lessons of revolutionary developments within Guatemala and the rest of the world and by listening to the peasants and workers themselves. If we are to take Gilly's report as an accurate assessment of their political and theoretical development, and we feel this is proper, the Guatemalans have come to this position empirically and are now only in the beginning process of theoretically developing the significance of this position.

Such further theoretical development can be as important to the success of the Guatemalan revolution as their concrete work in linking up with the peasants and workers and educating these peasants and workers. An empirical conclusion, no matter how fine, which is not developed further theoretically, can be undermined in a thousand differ-

ent ways during the always unusual and difficult to understand course of political development in the current world.

What Does Monthly Review Offer?

We are afraid that the Monthly Review can offer the Guatemalan revolutionaries little in the way of help in their theoretical development. The Monthly Review editors have themselves championed the "bloc of four classes" theory for most of their political lives. To this day they have made no public assessment of their own political past and sought to learn any lessons therefrom.

During Stalin's life Paul Sweezy and Leo Huberman were his supporters and champions and in the line of duty perpetrated his slanders against Trotsky. Today they openly advocate the line of Trotsky on the permanent revolution and attack as the worst sort of revisionism the line of Stalin they only a short while ago defended. But as yet they have made no public reevaluation of Trotsky and his stand.

This is not a matter of an old dispute to be buried and forgotten. It is rather a question of getting a deeper understanding of the current political tendencies in the world through an understanding of their origins and evolution. This is essential if one is to know who in the world is really a trustworthy ally who will defend the revolutionaries up to and including their struggle for power and who will in the end turn on the revolutionaries. This requires that the Guatemalans and similar groups in other countries understand the real role of the Soviet leadership, the Chinese leadership, the Cuban leadership and of the different working class tendencies in the advanced and colonial countries.

Vietnam and Guatemala

The Vietnam situation gives us a clear example of this problem. Yon Sosa, the commander of the Guatemalan guerillas, states: "I think that the workers' states whve to help the Vietnamese with arms, with soldiers, with everything, if necessary with atomic weapons. The workers' states must give them arms, not permitting themselves to be intimidated by the nuclear blackmail of imperialism; they must also mobilize all the peoples of the world in support of the Vietnamese."

The truth of the matter is that neither China nor the USSR has so acted thus far even though the stepped up pace of the U.S. military intervention has been evident for over six months now. The USSR underwent considerable risk to bring nuclear warheads into Cuba in an obvious attempt to pressure the U.S. into a deal, but when it comes to the necessary immediate defense of Vietnam it does not do likewise. This makes it absolutely clear that the Cuban action had nothing whatsoever to do with the defense of the Cuban Revolution. China is strong on words but so far has done little in concrete military aid. Now the U.S. is pouring the troops into Vietnam as if it were a military proving ground in Texas

and there is no comparable build up even in North Vietnam of troops from any of the workers' states.

There is also another part of the Vietnam situation with a very direct bearing upon the Guatemalan political stand. The Vietcong continues to advocate the "bloc of four classes" theory which the Guatemalans and Monthly Review characterize as revisionist. We are forced to conclude either that such matters as whether or not you struggle for socialism or form a bloc with your native bourgeoisie are unimportant--a question of taste--or that the Vietnamese Revolution is endangered precisely because of this theoretical and political failing imposed upon it by the Stalinists. The Monthly Review takes the untenable position of eulogizing the Guatemalans for their stand against the bloc of four classes and remaining silent on the Vietcong's advocacy of this position.

Our position is that the Vietcong's political outlook clearly does in fact hinder their struggle and endanger the outcome of the revolution. When we combine the equivocal position of both China and the USSR in defending the Vietnamese Revolution with the Vietcong's position of limiting the revolution to a "democratic" or bourgeois one, there is a great danger that the revolution will be sold out at a bargaining table. This could be done through the formation of a coalition regime which does not in fact change the basic social character of the country and defeats the revolution. This in actuality is what has happened in Algeria--another case where the Monthly Review has offered all praise and no criticism.

The Cuban Way and the Guatemalan Way

Then there is the question of Cuba. The Guatemalan revolution is hailed by its supporters and by its leaders as following in the footsteps of Cuba, of adopting the "Cuban Way" to Guatemala. But this is not the real situation. The Guatemalans have gone beyond the Cubans. Castro and the 26th of July Movement came to power on the basis of a democratic revolution and without a socialist program. Later, in reaction to imperialism, they were forced to go further. But the Guatemalans at the beginning of their struggle for power are advocating a socialist revolution. Are the Guatemalans correct in not following the Cuban model? That is the real question.

In our opinion they are. The Dominican experience shows clearly that the U.S. has no intention of allowing another Cuba. If they see an unstable "democratic" government coming to power which is too weak before mass pressure and too hostile to the U.S. they intend to intervene militarily beforehand and not wait until it is too late. Thus for revolutionaries to succeed they must be prepared for an uncompromising head on struggle with imperialism. This requires a complete break with the national bourgeoisie at an early stage of their political evolution for this class is incapable

of such a struggle.

It is also important to note that while Cuba has encouraged armed struggle in Latin America and thus has aided the Guatemalans, it has not struggled programmatically along the lines of the Guatemalan position. Instead it has permitted the Stalinists to utilize the prestige of the Cuban Revolution to mislead the Latin American masses along the road of the "bloc of four classes". Nowhere has Cuba assumed leadership politically and theoretically of the Latin American revolutionary movement. Revolutionaries like the Guatemalans have had to find their way by their own stumbling and errors and many, many who could have found their way by now have not found it yet. Thus this failure on the part of the Cubans has weakened the revolutionary defense of Cuba in Latin America.

The uncritical supporters of the Cuban leadership (in this case the Socialist Workers Party has played a more lamentable role than MR) are inconsistent if today they become the uncritical supporters of the Guatemalans. Their failure to point out the weaknesses of the Cubans' international role, or for that matter even to explain to Latin American revolutionaries why they must develop theoretically beyond the Cubans, has made them incapable of really "teaching" the Latin American revolutionaries anything.

It is extremely important for revolutionaries to see the Guatemalan developments within a proper international context. Here, again, we feel the Monthly Review editors grievously err and this can well be their most serious error. Their vision of the world situation is spelled out clearly in their editorial statement, "Tell the Truth", in the June issue of MR. Here the editors take a correct and clear stand in defense of the position of the Guatemalans. Applying this outlook in this country they repudiate any relationship with the Democratic Party and favor an open struggle for socialism here. All this is to their credit and sets them apart from the Communist Party and its supporters.

A False View of World Crisis

However they have a very false view of how the world crisis of capitalism will develop and thus how it will have its impact in this country where we American revolutionaries must concentrate our efforts on building a movement. On the one hand they see a growing revolutionary movement in the underdeveloped countries of the world. On the other hand

Note to readers of the Bulletin: For the months of July and August the Bulletin will appear on a monthly schedule, resuming its biweekly schedule in September. The next issue will be out in mid-July.

they seem to assume that the United States itself will be spared any serious internal crisis outside of the Negro struggle. Thus they envision a mass socialist movement developing in this country primarily as a reflection of the failure of the U.S. imperialists to dominate the rest of the world.

What Sweezy and Huberman fail to see is that the world capitalist system itself is already in a deep internal crisis. This crisis is presently reflected in a general stagnation of the economies in the advanced countries -- the inability of these economies to develop fast enough to absorb both the full labor force and all the capital which the capitalists wish to invest. This crisis extends into the underdeveloped countries and prevents the capitalists from carrying through a bourgeois development there as well. As this crisis grows the great working class of the advanced countries will be brought into head on conflict with their own bourgeoisie. It is this conflict which will force the American workers to turn to socialist solutions and to develop allies with the workers and peasants in the underdeveloped countries.

Sweezy and Huberman have a false economic theory, which, contrary to Marxism, sees the capitalist economy as capable of internal stability, which Wm. McChesney Martin, head of the Federal Reserve System, himself doubts. Because of such an outlook Sweezy and Huberman cannot help but misdirect the revolutionaries in colonial countries. These revolutionaries must learn that their real allies are the workers in all countries of the world including the advanced countries and that these allies can be a great and tremendously powerful force. On the other hand the bureaucracies of the workers' states will be shown to be essentially the enemies of revolution who must be replaced for the very defense of the workers' states themselves.

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