

CHINA'S THEORY OF ENCIRCLEMENT: a critique

Bulletin

OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

Vol. 2, No. 15

Oct. 4, 1965

10 Cents

Congress Kicks Miss. Freedom Democrats In Teeth

Also in This Issue:

Mississippi Freedom Union Spreads

Democratic Machine Suppresses
Puerto Rican Voting in NYC

What Stopped the Presses in New York

Socialist Scholars Hold Large Conference

Special Report on SWP Convention
--Part II

An Appeal from Ceylon

CHINA'S THEORY OF ENCIRCLEMENT: a critique

Bulletin

OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

Vol. 2, No. 15

Oct. 4, 1965

10 Cents

Congress Kicks Miss. Freedom Democrats In Teeth

Also in This Issue:

Mississippi Freedom Union Spreads

Democratic Machine Suppresses
Puerto Rican Voting in NYC

What Stopped the Presses in New York

Socialist Scholars Hold Large Conference

Special Report on SWP Convention
--Part, II

An Appeal from Ceylon

CONGRESS KICKS MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM
DEMOCRATS IN THE TEETH

By a vote of 228 to 143 the House of Representatives has rejected the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party Challenge. The House refused even to hear the case, cynically basing its decision on the fact that the challengers were not bona fide candidates in the Mississippi election and therefore did not have the right to challenge the election. A recommendation was made by the House Elections Subcommittee that the House should scrutinize all elections more thoroughly in the future, particularly under the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The seriousness of this is attested by the fact that the subcommittee refused to investigate voting conditions in Mississippi at this time and would not allow the challengers to plead their case before the nation. The Challenge is based upon the fact that Negroes in Mississippi have been denied their rights to fair representation at the Mississippi Democratic convention and in the general elections in that state.

The 250 or more Negroes from Mississippi who came to Washington to attend the hearings were turned back by police barricades. Reporters on the scene registered their bitterness: "There is as much corruption in Washington as there is in Mississippi," said Mrs. Mildred Cosey, one of the challengers. One demonstrator waved an American flag and was immediately told to "throw that flag away" by other demonstrators. Someone tied a flag upside down on a parking sign. Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, telling about the difficulty a challenger had in crossing police lines in order to testify, remarked: "You would have thought he was passing out secret information to some foreign country." Mrs. Hamer, a leader of the struggle, has stated her determination to continue the battle. "My district is 60 per cent Negro. Who knows? Maybe in 1965 one of us will be a Senator."

MFDP's Dual Character

The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party has always had a double aspect. On the one hand, the struggle has been directed to winning support from Northern Democrats. For those people who genuinely believed that they would wrest meaningful concessions from the Democratic administration, this past week will have been a particularly bitter awakening. But the challenge has not proved to be a failure. It has served as a means of organizing the Negro people in Mississippi politically in an organization separate from both the Democratic and Republican parties. If the Mississippi Freedom Democratic party enters the forthcoming elections as an independent party with a program which represents the interests of the mass of Negroes (and therefore also of poor whites) in Mississippi, the challenge will have proved successful.

The Johnson administration, while pushing the voting-rights bill, has been absolutely unwilling to support the challenge, and the leaders of the organized labor movement have followed suit. Yet this does not mean that Johnson does not mean to enforce the voting rights bill. He is walking a tight-rope. With the war in

Viet Nam assuming serious proportions, Johnson needs the support of Negroes at home. He cannot afford a serious revolt against the draft which could easily spread beyond the Negro and student movement to organized labor. He must try to give Negroes the illusion that they have some stake in this war.

On the other hand, just as in the Dominican Republic, the administration is taking no chances. The increasing organization of Negroes in the South who are demonstrating their determination to fight is in itself a serious threat to the government. People who are willing to give their lives in the struggle to gain the vote, are not going to accept political phonies like Adam Clayton Powell when they can win that vote. They will not accept empty concessions. Therefore the administration must seek in every way to undermine the independence of such organizations as the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party or the Deacons.

The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party must continue to develop as a self-conscious political force. It must base itself upon the power of the organized people, in the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union, in the Deacons, and in other similar organizations spreading throughout the South. In coming years the Party may well win elections and send representatives to Washington. But these representatives must represent the organized self-conscious force of the people in Mississippi if their victory is to have meaning. They must use their office to rally Negroes and whites throughout the country to oppose the Johnson Administration and any other capitalist administrations that succeed it in power.

MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM UNION SPREADS

The Mississippi Freedom Labor Union is spreading to other states. A Freedom Labor Union has been formed in Tennessee and unions are being organized in Arkansas, North Carolina, Alabama and Louisiana.

George Shelton, state chairman of the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union has said that the strike that started early this summer in the Mississippi Delta region was not a success but it was a gain. In many places in the Delta wages have been raised from \$.30 an hour to \$.35 and \$.40. According to Shelton, one of the greatest weaknesses in the strike was lack of transportation. Organizers were unable to get around to the different plantations to build support for the strike. Because of lack of funds it was impossible for them to issue a newsletter keeping the strikers informed.

At present 268 people remain out on strike. Another strike is projected for the fall in Mississippi and in Tennessee. To date the State Committee has collected \$14,600 of which at present they have \$500 left. For the fall strike to succeed more money must be raised. Contributions should be sent to P.O. Box 248, Shaw, Mississippi. The Union Office may be reached by telephone: 754-2331. Local committees have also received some contributions

directly. Most of the money collected has come from unions in the North and on the West coast. The largest single contribution was \$8000 from the UAW. Union members must continue to solicit their locals for support to this strike.

Maids and cooks have joined the strike, as well as tractor drivers. There has been real privation since the strike began but the general spirit remains high. At a meeting on September 4, Mrs. Adkins of Shaw said, "We've suffered, but we understand that you can't get everything you want--we must keep on working and striking." A man from Indianola felt, "People should suffer in this thing. God will make a way--let's have a strike." Mr. Nelson from Batesville offered his support: "If you can't get your bunch to strike, just work on getting union members. If you need help, we that aren't striking will help you."

Mrs. Adkins summed up the feeling of the meeting most poignantly: "I think I've been on strike all my days 'cause I've been suffering all my days. I don't mind suffering. Let me suffer till I get to the good. For God's sake stop grumbling and see the thing right."

DEMOCRATIC MACHINE SUPPRESSES PUERTO RICAN VOTING

Victim of Suppression to Run on Same Ticket as Suppressors!

Now that the Primaries are over the Puerto Rican and Latin community is being deluged and wooed by the Democratic Party bigwigs with all of the machine techniques that make up minority vote-catching.

The boon to the community this year is the grudging decision to grant the Borough Presidency to a Puerto Rican, in the person of Herman Badille, former Commissioner of Relocation, who according to the late figures in El Diario, won by a scant 142 votes over his Democratic opponent. This despite the employment of all the tricks of the city bosses to prevent the Puerto Rican community from "voting in Spanish" as provided for in the much heralded Civil Rights bill of 1965.

The way is now clear for a good old fashioned New York campaign in which every Puerto Rican with any national pride and with any sense of gratitude, will support the Beame-Badille team, right along with the Bronx bosses who did their level best to see that not too many of the Badille supporters should register and vote.

The Bureaucracy of Bobby

Senator Bobby Kennedy gave his energetic support to the post-primary Badille candidacy in an extensive tour of the Bronx where he exhorted Puerto Ricans to register in great numbers during the coming September and October registration days.

Reading a paragraph in Spanish, Bobby said, "Register and

vote for the Democratic candidates headed by such an able young man as Badillo," which, of course, received tremendous rounds of applause.

Herman Badillo, now Democratic candidate for the Borough President of the Bronx felt constrained to offer the Board of Elections a series of suggestions to allow Puerto Ricans to register without restrictions. Among the suggestions were that electoral inspectors be chosen to instruct the community regarding the new voting law, that affidavits attesting to sixth grade education may be signed before going to the Board of Elections, that electoral inspectors not insist on a Sixth Grade certificate but accept a signature affidavit, and finally that electoral officials try to demonstrate a polite and friendly attitude toward Puerto Ricans trying to register for the first time.

Badillo Calls for Federal Intervention

However, when Herman Badillo was not quite sure of his primary victory over his opponent, his sense of outrage at the treatment accorded Bronx Puerto Ricans was much more intense. Being informed that the Board of Elections had given him only a few hundred margin over his opponent, he demanded, according to El Diario, the intervention of President Johnson to see that the right to vote of the Puerto Rican community be respected. He called for the sending of the FBI to superintend voter registration in New York.

He also sent a demand to Gov. Rockefeller for Executive action through the Legislative Assembly for the setting up of Board of Election inspectors designated by the Civil Service Commission and not by the political machines. In this letter to Johnson and Rockefeller, Badillo listed the many obstacles used to cut the Puerto Rican vote in the Bronx such as voting machines that did not work to all sorts of harassment and intimidation which resulted in discouraging hundred.

The Next Stage

It should be clear that the next stage in the political development of the Puerto Rican community must be independent political action. An end must be put to this farce of the victim of the effort to prevent Puerto Ricans from registering running on the same ticket with its perpetrator, Beame and his supporters.

A beginning step in the direction of building an independent political movement of the Puerto Ricans can be the campaign of Jose Fuentes on the Lower East Side. We urge all Puerto Rican militants, Negro militants, trade unionists and radicals on the Lower East Side to aid this truly independent campaign. Fuentes is speaking on the streets of the Lower East Side about the real issues of poverty, discrimination and imperialist actions in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. We must all do our part to see that his message reaches as many workers in this area as possible.

AN APPEAL FROM CEYLON

We have received an appeal for funds from Sydney Wanasinghe in behalf of the editorial board of the Young Socialist magazine published in Colombo, Ceylon. In the last period this magazine has played an important role in exposing the opportunism of the LSSP (reformist) which has been adapting to the bourgeoisie in that country. We feel it can play an important role in the future building of a revolutionary movement in Ceylon. As our readers can understand, finances are extremely limited in underdeveloped countries especially for revolutionaries who expose those who act as the agents of imperialism like nationalists and their Stalinist allies. We urge our readers to make a contribution no matter how modest, to the Young Socialist. You may send the money to us and we will forward it directly to Ceylon-- The Editors

WHAT STOPPED THE PRESSES IN NEW YORK

Printers Face Gravest Crisis in Their History

As we go to press all but one New York City newspaper is not going to press.

While it is quite possible the strike may be settled by the time this issue of the Bulletin reaches its readers, this is nowhere as important than the fact that neither during the current negotiations nor during the 1962 strike has the various printing unions and the Newspaper Guild really come to grips with the real problems threatening the very existence of unionism in the printing trades.

The current strike, like the 1962 strike, is caused not so much by immediate bread and butter issues but by the problem of long term security for workers in the printing and publishing industry. The printing industry is experiencing a veritable technological revolution, a revolution which will inevitably go forward and which the unions cannot prevent no matter how hard they try. New techniques are breaking down the old craft distinctions and even the basic distinction between letterpress and photo offset. New, automated equipment not only crosses these old craft lines but no longer requires the special skills nor workforce formerly used in the printing trades.

Type can now be set on a machine little different than a typewriter and requiring no more skill than typing. This machine punches a tape which then is sent through a computer which automatically justifies the type--that is makes the right hand margin even. This tape can then either be fed into an automatic high speed linotype machine to produce traditional letterpress type or through photo composing machines which reproduce the characters directly on paper where it can then be used for photo offset plates. Even if the former method is used the galleys of type can

be proofed up and used for making plates for high-speed web offset presses. These new techniques are but the beginning of a technological process which in the years to come can transform the printing process even more radically.

The Threat of Merger

On top of all this is the economic squeeze upon the daily newspapers caused by competition from TV for the advertiser's dollar. This latter process has hit the large mass magazines even harder. The future will see more and more mergers of daily papers forcing more and more printers and newspaper men out of work--even if it weren't for automation.

It is these issues which haunt the present negotiations with the Newspaper Guild. In addition to pensions the Guild wants some protection against the impact of automation and some guarantees that will soften the impact of the impending mergers of New York City papers. The Publishers on the other hand are resisting Guild demands precisely because they wish the cost of the social dislocation of automation and mergers to fall on the backs not only of Guild members but also of all the printing trades. Thus their stiff resistance to making concessions to the Guild already largely made to the ITU.

However these problems are finally worked out in the settlement, the newspaper workers will have gained little real security. This will be because the printing and editorial trades as a whole have so far failed to carry through their own internal revolution to equip themselves to tackle the problems posed by the technological revolution threatening their trade and their very way of life. Unless they carry through this revolution they will be forced to bear the brunt of the changes ahead while the newspaper owners make the money. Their fate can very well be that of the railroad firemen who for years sought to artificially maintain themselves in an industry which no longer needed their services.

Needed: One Big Printers' Union

The beginning of a program for the very survival of the printing trades requires a merger of all the old craft unions with the Lithographers into one powerful industrial union of the printing industry as a whole. Just as the old crafts break down through technological development so the old craft unions must go. This technological revolution cannot be stopped. There must rather be a struggle to see that the benefits of the changes go to the workers in the industry as a whole not the bosses. This makes unification of the printing unions top priority.

So far little of real significance has taken place on this level. No sooner had the Amalgamated Lithographers merged with the Pressmen's Union than the large Local 1 of the Lithographers split away to join the Photo-engravers. Juris-

dictional disputes and petty bureaucratic rivalries continue to dominate over the real interest of the printers as a whole.

One of the first tasks of a united printers union would have to be an all-out campaign to organize the thousands of small unorganized shops throughout the country. Trade magazine publishing, in particular, is today almost entirely using non-union out-of-town printers. Involved are tens of thousands of workers. With the threat of technological change we will see more and more flights of publications to automated non-union out-of-town plants.

The same threat faces the Newspaper Guild. For too long the Guild has restricted its activities to the daily newspapers and a few magazines where it continues to have power. It has ignored the needs of the tens of thousands of editorial employees of trade and consumer magazines that continue to be unorganized. The Guild must face the reality of a shrinking number of employees on the large dailies and tackle the task of organizing unorganized editorial employees.

Who Will Benefit From Automation?

Finally a united printing trade union could successfully tackle the question of who is to benefit from automation. It must do this not by resisting the introduction of new machinery, which will only force the publishers to use non-union shops, but rather to demand a shorter work week as productivity increases.

The printers also must look at their problems within the context of the American economy as a whole. A growing, expanding economy can easily absorb workers displaced by automation. But the American economy, for all its opulence for the capitalists, is not growing fast enough to absorb displaced workers. The printers must join with other workers in a struggle for a society in which automation will mean less work and more wealth for the members of the society rather than insecurity and unemployment. They must break down the barriers they have set up against minority groups and unite in a common struggle for an America where all can have a decent job and security for life. In the course of this struggle they will come to realize that only in a socialist America will this be the case.

SOCIALIST SCHOLARS HOLD LARGE CONFERENCE

Nearly 1000 persons registered at the two day Socialist Scholars Conference held September 11-12 at Columbia. The many professors, instructors, and graduate students in this number served notice that there is a significant left wing, socialist layer in the academic world. From the standpoint of demonstrating this force, the conference can be considered a success. America hasn't seen such a public display by socialist scholars for many years.

The relevance and significance of the conference to the socialist movement however, cannot be judged so affirmatively. The most relevant session, and the one having the greatest interest, was the one on "The Future of American Socialism".

Prof. Staughton Lynd initiated the session with excellent spirit and with optimism for the building of an effective socialist opposition to our imperialist government. He strongly affirmed, and identified with, the revolutionary socialist tradition of Debs, and was serious about building the American socialist movement.

The speakers that followed however, failed to build on this healthy beginning and infact none of the others seemed really interested in and committed to contributing their scholarly talents to forging the movement.

Norman Fruchter, of Studies on the Left, was interested in "The Movement" (the Berkeley protesters, Miss. Freedom Fighters, anti-Viet Nam war committees, SNCC, etc.) but seemed unconcerned with working out any kind of theoretical program with which to arm the movement. He thought that the presently segmented movement might be able to coalesce into a unified national grouping. From his presentation it appeared that this formation would basically react to issues and not develop any cohesive program of its own, except on particular issues.

Sylvester Leeks, of the Harlem Writers' Guild and a supporter of Malcolm X's movement, stated many of the unpleasant and too well known facts about the white workers' attitude on the race question, but he failed to offer anything in a positive vein to overcome this "racist mentality". Nothing was suggested to further the combined black and white effort needed to successfully fight the perpetrators of racism and segregation--the boss (of both black and white) and his capitalist system.

Herbert Aptheker, spokesman for the Communist Party, counterposed to Leek's writing off of the white man the necessity of black and white unity. He did so however, in a very sharp, almost hostile manner. Aptheker didn't have much to offer to the question of the building of an American socialist movement. He was more interested in presenting the CP's line of forming a broad front with liberals to fight the right wing. Without any kind of justification, he stated that it was "infinitely" more important to fight against the threat of fascism than to fight for socialism.

Genovese: The Professor Demoralized

Prof. Eugene Genovese's comments were disappointing, especially in relation to his previous public statements. He predicted a long, possibly 50-100 year periods before a significant socialist movement could be built. There was no analysis to back up this speculation, and his conclusion that scholars should go back to their books and utilize their professional

talents instead of becoming activists seems almost to have been the cause of his pessimistic prognosis, instead of an effect resulting from it. Needless to say, the socialist movement needs more scholars, but without reference to the needs and problems of a living movement their studies will too heavily bear the imprint and the characteristic of most scholarly work-- that of the detached observer.

If there is any one thing that the radical movement needs, it is to get away from the type of thought which surveys and studies the "objective world"--minus themselves, and then decides which other political grouping to support. It's about time it began to see itself as an objective factor, helping to determine the course of history. What is needed from the scholars is some economic, social and political analysis that will strengthen the socialist movement by providing the understanding that will serve as an effective guide to action.

The holding of the Socialist Scholars' Conference is itself not an insignificant event in American politics, and it would be unfortunate, to say the least, if scholars would cynically berate its importance, and the importance of the left, and crawl back into their academic holes.

SPECIAL REPORT ON SWP CONVENTION -- PART II

How Trotsky's 'Heirs' Celebrated the 25th Anniversary of His Death

(Part 1 of this report appeared in the Sept. 20th, 1965 issue of the Bulletin. If you missed this copy, we will be happy to send you one to you.)

The Youth

The conservatism of the Dobbs-Kerry tendency had an obvious contradiction. Old cadre members were gradually lost by attrition. Even to continue to pursue the course of organizational conservatism the Dobbs-Kerry group required "new blood" for the party to fill the emptying chairs in the branches and-- more important to any trade union bureaucrat--to reduce the danger of red ink in the party's financial accounts. Even the most conservative organization can not exist unless it reproduces itself.

Ironically, the Dobbs-Kerry group had very little to do with solving this organizational problem. It was Weiss and Cannon who forced the party to link itself to James Robertson and Tim Wohlforth to found and build the SWP's first youth movement since 1940! However, the youth movement became the arena for reintroducing real political debate to the SWP. Therefore, the anti-Weiss clique fight of the 1961 Convention in which Dobbs-Kerry eliminated Weiss. Then the machinations of the 1963 convention, when Dobbs-Kerry began the process which culminated in the expulsions of Robertson and Wohlforth and their supporters, pro-

ceeding, like Stalin, to consolidate power, and to exploit the youth movement which they did not build.

Ironically the Dobbs-Kerry group and the squirearchy had been reluctant supporters of the Cannon-Weiss "youth turn." It was this leadership and its supporters who could not be excelled in their contemptuous sneers for "petty-bourgeois students." But, faced with the contradiction of a declining old cadre membership Dobbs-Kerry sublimated their anti-youth prejudices and forced themselves to accept and exploit the youth movement. The attrition in the old SWP cadre left them no other choice.

The youth who have been reared in the Dobbs-Kerry school during the past four years are inevitably shot through with all the organizational conservatism and political backwardness which Dobbs and Kerry themselves represent. The first instinct of the leadership was to turn this youth into a political labor contingent, best fit to run itself ragged in door-to-door subscription campaigns, collect petition signatures, wear itself to exhaustion in meaningless, WPA, "Jimmy Higgins" work, and begin to refill the empty coffers of the SWP treasury.

"Activism" and not political qualifications became the standard of youth leadership and membership. The perpetual exhaustion of youth driven to superactivism was easily turned into bitter hostility against "older" comrades who could not maintain the pace and still maintain their responsibilities to their jobs and families. As the numbers of these superactivism-dragooned youth increased in the party's ranks, they became the social layer whose frenzy was the tool for effecting the expulsion of political minorities, attacking all critics of the regime, the instrument which destroyed the last vestige of democratic centralism in the SWP.

But, this youth proved to be a two-edged sword. The rage of the party youth against political minorities was extended to "older comrades" in general. As these youth came, in the past two years, to outnumber the older comrades in many branches, they began to make menacing gestures toward sections of the Dobbs-Kerry combination itself. As Kerry repeated at this convention, the youth have "build a fire under me" and Kerry does not intend to lose his position, he announced, explaining the need for more and more expulsions and active suppression of internal political life.

Problems of Internal Party Life

As the SWP's equivalent of a trade union bureaucracy, Dobbs-Kerry face not only the insurgency of the youth, but also the continuing problems of party finances and the problems of the uneasy coalition of "squirearchy" and youth on which the regime itself rests. Dobbs needs as much of the older cadre as he can hold in order to keep the party youth in check. He must impose a lockstep discipline upon the youth to prevent it from throwing up political factions which could overthrow the Dobbs-Kerry regime itself in the relatively near future. He needs to keep the youth as a club over "old cadre" members of the "Cannon school" who are not entirely happy with the present state and

course of internal affairs. He wants to get rid of the political minorities and yet he needs to have a political minority through which to divert the rage of the youth from his own old cadre supporters. At the same time, youth recruits to the party in the past two years have just balanced off the membership losses from expulsion, resignation and other inevitable forms of attrition. Minorities, in total, still represent about one-quarter of the total membership, and, consequently a significant part of Dobbs' all-important budget. Under these circumstances, Dobbs is compelled to resort to the most awkward organizational maneuvers in his efforts to contain this mass of explosive interrelated problems.

Outside Work

A party, like the SWP, whose existence depends upon everfresh sources of members and finance, must consider its "public image" in radical circles. This is particularly urgent to a party which is plunging into the ultra-democratic milieu of the anti-war movement. Evidence that the SWP suppresses internal political democracy, resorts to organizational frame-ups to expel political minorities, etc., tends to diminish the influx of new party members at the source.

This point was demonstrated at the convention in the relatively narrow majority in favor of the regime's refusal to honor the constitutional right of expelled members to appeal. Expelled members of the party now active in the Spartacist and American Committee for the Fourth International separately applied to the SWP leadership, notifying the leadership of their desire to exercise their constitutional right of appeal and requesting instructions on the procedure to be followed. These requests were not honored; on that point the Dobbs-Kerry clique flagrantly violated the explicit provisions of the party's constitution. Furthermore, this leadership also violated its commitment to both groups of former members; at the time of their expulsion they were advised by Dobbs-Kerry of their right to appeal to the convention. One leading member protested this violation of the constitution, although he explained that he would vote for confirming the expulsions; he stipulated that the party's principled stand for democracy absolutely required it to honor the provisions of its constitution to afford the expelled members their right to be represented at that convention, either by written application or by time given to address the body. Only a barrage of blasts from Dobbs, Kerry and Hansen overcame the danger that the delegates would vote to honor the party's constitution.

The fact that even Dobbs could not easily force an overwhelming majority to follow an absolutely unprincipled line underlines two added reasons for his avoiding a mass expulsion of political minorities. The recent crimes against Leninism by the leadership are already raising questions in the radical community. A sharp demonstration, such as a mass expulsion, would make it almost impossible for the leadership to effectively lie away atrocities like the expulsion of the Spartacists and ACFI members, or to suppress the truth about the internal life of the SWP today.

Dobbs-Kerry did what they, with their political character, had to do under the circumstances. They needed a new organizational code, bringing democratic centralism to an end in the SWP. They also needed to avoid a forced split and select, instead, the course of gradual decimation of the minorities by organizational frame-ups. Pick the dissidents off a few at a time, at a pace which satisfies the frenzied cry for blood from the youth and which also permits the leadership to regulate this process without undue disturbance to the party budget. Like Stalin, the SWP leaders do not completely degenerate in a single night, nor do they move in a single year from "Thermidor" to massive atrocities on the relative scale of the Moscow Trials.

Junk the SWP?

Shall we therefore write off the SWP as a "dead" centrist organization? Shall we sit back confident of the early day at which adaptationists will get their due for their complicity in the crimes of this leadership? For we may be certain that the present direction of the SWP leads from a blood-purge of minorities toward the cannibalism of emerging cliques within the Dobbs-Kerry coalition itself.

As a practical matter of American radical politics, the SWP is far from dead. Since the Hungarian revolution and Regroupment, the SWP has emerged as the successor to the Communist Party as the prototype of American Revolutionary Socialism in the view of at least some of the new generation of American radicals. Just as the CPUSA had its greatest numerical growth and political influence after its political degeneration, the SWP enjoys a titular hegemony in radical circles which might enable it to expand its recruitment in the months ahead no matter how rotten it becomes. Until a new wave of reaction or some alternative party emerges to displace the SWP from its nominal hegemony over the "far left," the Dobbs-Kerry group and its successors could have statistics to crow about at convention after convention.

This reality will have two general results in the internal life of the SWP. First, many of the "old Cannonites" and others like them desperately adapt themselves to the present leadership because they do not see any party which is an alternative to the SWP. These are people who lack the program or other political qualities to undertake the building of a new party. As they adapt to the leadership, every adaptation will tend to make them as rotten as the leadership itself. The crimes of the leadership yesterday will become their own crimes today. At the same time, the need of the SWP to involve itself in radical ferment--in pursuit of new members and literature sales--will make the Dobbs-Kerry monolith subject to explosive political contradictions even before that monolith is completely consolidated.

That latter tendency will have the effect of making elements in the SWP susceptible to revolutionary theory and

program. But, contrary to the consoling delusions adapted by some minorities at this convention, a radical upsurge will not spontaneously create any politically healthy development in the SWP itself. Again, we have only to recall the way in which the CPUSA responded to the rising radical ferment of the Thirties, or the rotten character of the Stalinist leadership of the French Resistance at the end of World War II. As Lenin wrote, in founding the Bolshevik movement, only revolutionary theory can create a revolutionary movement--and theory and revolutionary program never appear "spontaneously" from radical ferment--that is the lesson of Social Democracy and Stalinism.

Right now, there are viable political tendencies in the SWP, among both the "old cadre" and "youth." The present suppression of Leninist internal democracy will virtually prevent the development of revolutionary theory and program within the organization, but there remain viable SWP tendencies which will respond, under definite circumstances, to a revolutionary theory and program introduced from the outside--just as the Bolsheviks reached revolutionary elements in the Social Democracy and Social Revolutionaries. Involvements in United Front actions in which the SWP participates, as in the anti-war movement, are one way in which revolutionaries can penetrate the SWP with real politics and even possibly affect a qualitative change in its character.

For a while, it appeared that the rise of the Progressive Labor Movement might become an alternative to the SWP or in various ways help to decelerate the internal degeneration of the SWP. Since the beginning of this year, PLM-PLP has tended to parallel the SWP's degeneration rather than offset it; this was, unfortunately, the inevitable consequence of PLP's own failure to undertake the development of a revolutionary theory and program.

At this instant our only responsible political course is to enter the struggle to build a new revolutionary party with whatever other viable groupings will join with us in that work. The basis for our victory in this struggle must be the connection of the development of our theory, our program to active work in the radical ferment coming into being around us. Through such an interrelated theory and practice, those of us following this course will master Marxist method, qualify ourselves to resolve our differences--on the basis of a common method--and put our steps on the road to socialist victory in the USA.

If this seems fantastically ambitious, we cite the following passage from Trotsky: "In 1910 in the whole country there were a few dozen people. Some were in Siberia. But they were not organized. The people whom Lenin could reach by correspondence or by an agent numbered about 30 or 40 at most." It was from that low point that Lenin built the organization which made the revolution.

CHINA'S THEORY OF ENCIRCLEMENT: A CRITIQUE

Can "Encircling" the Advanced Countries Defeat Imperialism?

The recent declaration from Peking by Marshal Lin Piao, Chinese Defense Minister, has been received with great enthusiasm by many radicals in this country and elsewhere. It is certainly an important theoretical and policy statement and it is incumbent upon all Marxists to treat it seriously. However, this requires more than a superficial appraisal. We must look deeper than its surface revolutionism to see what its essential content really is.

The two most important points of the article are the lauding of Mao's "theory" of the people's war and rural encirclement, and, flowing from that, the presentation of the theory of the encirclement of the "cities of the world" by the "rural areas of the world." The rest of the article devotes itself mostly to ritual offers of aid to the Vietcong and attacks on Moscow as weak-kneed revisionists making deals with imperialism.

People's wars are presented by Marshal Lin as Mao's great theoretical contribution to the confrontation of backward countries with imperialism. But this is hardly original with Mao, for it is the same theoretical contribution given in the form of orders to the CCP in 1924-27 by Stalin's Comintern: build the anti-imperialist revolution out of all good anti-imperialist elements (the bloc of four classes); do not alienate any of your "progressive" allies by rash, radical, independent moves; do not push beyond the next historical stage, the bourgeois-democratic, until the proper historically ripe time. The implication is that a revolutionary working class vanguard is unnecessary, though it is paid lip service by Lin. The fight is for national liberation now with national bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie beside you and then, sometime later, when conditions are ripened under the democratic institutions of the bourgeois-democratic conquest, the revolutionary apple will fall into your hands -- a necessary, mechanical continuation into the proletarian revolution.

The notion that the revolution must operate from the countryside inward is a product not of theory but of the necessity confronting the CCP after the complete loss of their urban working-class base in 1927. Then, as now, the CCP abstained from providing real revolutionary leadership and instead directed the attention of militant workers and revolutionaries to the nationalist movement. All energy was to be devoted by them to helping a succession of nationalist "revolutionaries" advance backward China to the necessary bourgeois-democratic stage. The CCP and the masses, especially the militant workers, were mercilessly crushed by their "friends" (including Chiang Kai-Chek), whose interests proved in no way compatible with those of the workers or peasants.

The Chinese Revolution in Context

Yet it is a fact, many socialists will point justifiably, that the CCP did come to power in 1949 and create an immense

workers state. Isn't it logical, therefore, to project the method utilized by the CCP to the rest of the world as the way for socialism to triumph internationally? It is logical, all right, but it is a formal, not a dialectical logic. Social developments cannot be understood by taking an event such as the Chinese Revolution and seeing it outside the context in which it occurred and then projecting it as a pattern for all future development. This is impressionism, not Marxism.

The Third Chinese Revolution occurred during the aftermath of World War II when the imperialist nations were seeking to re-stabilize world capitalism wherever this was possible, lay the basis for a new period of economic prosperity in the shrunken sector of the world they controlled, and cordon off the Soviet Camp as best they could.

They were forced to cede to Soviet dominance those sections of the world already under Soviet military control, such as Eastern Europe. In return the USSR assisted the capitalist nations in achieving internal stability through the policies of the Communist Parties in these countries which supported capitalist "popular" and "national" front governments rather than struggling for socialist revolution.

Within this context the imperialists had little choice as far as China was concerned. Chiang Kai Shek lacked the internal support to put up a serious struggle on his own against the CCP armies. The only way in which the CCP could have been at least held back, would have been by a massive military intervention by the U.S. on the scale now going on in Vietnam and multiplied many fold. The U.S. consciously decided that such a task would drain resources desperately needed to stabilize capitalism in Western Europe and rebuild the American economy as well -- the two bases of imperialist world power in the 1950s. So China was conceded along with Eastern Europe to the Soviet camp.

Understanding the Chinese Revolution in this context, Marshal Piao's position would seem to be that the U.S. imperialists can be convinced to cede all of Asia, Africa and Latin America in the same fashion as they did with China. Clearly such an action on the part of the U.S. would narrow the base of imperialist control way beyond the limits of survival of the system. Clearly, therefore, the U.S. will be, and is being forced, to intervene militarily despite the heavy costs. Furthermore, it must also be understood that the boom of the 1950s was based primarily on the development of Western Europe. This development is quickly reaching the saturation point and the U.S. capitalists are becoming more and more desperate in their need for alternative areas for economic development -- that is, desperate for development precisely in the underdeveloped "rural" countries.

This is the essential reason for the American military intervention in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. It also explains its hostility towards Cuba, its invasion attempts and blockade of that country. Today rural revolutionaries must face

the direct military intervention of American armies.

A LOOK AT THE FRENCH EXPERIENCE

The question then posed before Marshal Piao is **whether** or not these rural revolutionaries can actually defeat the armies of the imperialists? Here we cannot look to the Chinese example because such a confrontation and test of strength never took place as the imperialists bowed out. There is of course the example of France.

Let us look at the French experience in Vietnam and Algeria. True the French were delivered a great blow in the battle of Dienbienphu. However important this battle was, it did not dislodge the French from the major coastal cities of Hanoi and Saigon as well as other urban areas. It is clear that if the French had wished to foot the bill they could have held on to the cities indefinitely. The Vietminh likewise, could have maintained control in large parts of the rural areas as long as it was willing to struggle. The Vietnam battle was not settled simply on the battlefield. It was at Geneva that a compromise was reached based on continued French control of the cities and the impossibility of French control elsewhere. The country was divided in half and the ground was laid for the renewed hostilities in South Vietnam, this time with the U.S. taking the place of the French.

The Algerian war was similar. At the time De Gaulle negotiated a settlement with the FLN, the French maintained virtually complete control of the cities and the FLN had no real prospect of militarily dislodging the French from the cities. However, De Gaulle became convinced that if France were to successfully exploit the economic resources of Algeria -- in particular the oil and gas of the Sahara -- then she would have to allow the FLN to administer the state essentially in her interests. This is the way it worked out.

In neither Vietnam nor Algeria was the domination of the world by imperialism seriously threatened. Can it work out any differently in the future when the battle will be against the U.S., an infinitely stronger power than France? As long as the world struggle against imperialism remains on the level of the countryside, that is on Marshal Piao's level, imperialism will survive and the basic balance of world power will not change.

The most fundamental weakness of Marshal Piao's thesis is that it assumes the continued prosperity of the capitalists in their metropolitan centers and sees no role for the proletariat. We, on the other hand see a developing crisis of stagnation in the advanced capitalist nations and related to this crisis, the beginnings of a new militancy on the part of the proletariat. It will be this struggle which will be decisive in the defeat of the imperialists. The peasant struggles in the underdeveloped countries must be linked with the struggles of the urban proletariat. Marx, Lenin and Trotsky were right in their insistence that it will be the urban social classes which will be decisive in the modern world. This is the essential significance of the

industrial revolution itself. It is here that the real power in the world still lies.

THE REASONS FOR CHINA'S LINE

Why is it then that the Chinese ignore the world proletariat and limit themselves to promoting rural struggles isolated from the proletariat and based on a program of a bloc of four classes rather than a proletarian program? Essentially, they do not differ from Moscow in her line of Peaceful Coexistence; both are up-to-date versions of the Stalinist doctrine of Socialism in One Country.

The degenerated and deformed workers states in Russia, Eastern Europe and China are led by unstable, transitory ruling groups which exist only by virtue of the arrangement of world forces at the present time. All illusions must be dropped about the effectiveness of the "workers' states" and the petty bourgeois "anti-imperialist" nations as forces against imperialism. These nations, the former by the degeneracy of their Stalinist bureaucracies and the latter by their essential capitalist nature, give imperialism the edge. Class struggle, the speeches and self-labeling of leaders cannot be taken at face value.

So, by the necessity of its balancing act, the entire Soviet bloc (including Yugoslavia, Albania and China) must always be making deals with imperialism and the surrogates of imperialism such as Ben Bella. Worldworking-class revolution is out of the question and must be stifled, as it would be an uncontrollable force spelling doom to the existence of the bureaucracy and to the existence of imperialism--to which the bureaucracy owes its life. Leaders such as Sukarno, Ben Bella and Boumedienne must be supported uncritically and their crimes against their working classes and native CPs left unmentioned. The consolidation of the Soviet bloc is completed; Socialism is in One Country and it is well fortified with buffer states on the perimeter. All that is left is to make deal after deal with the other half of the world. Nor does it pay to extend the bureaucracy further, to make more deformed workers' states; for the more there are of them, the greater is the clash of national interests--a sort of centrifugal effect--as witness Yugoslavia and China itself.

The global rural-area-versus-cities "theory" is a fallacious model of the world forces. It is a mechanical transposition of something local (and peculiar to a particular situation--China 1927 and after) to something much larger. In addition to the critique already made, it should be pointed out the false and simplistic manner in which it treats the class content of a country. "Rural" (backward) countries cannot be treated as though they had no working classes, just as "city" (advanced) countries cannot be treated as though they had no peasantries. China, certainly a "rural" country in the twenties, had a small and new, but very advanced and important working class movement--until 1927. If the 'rural' countries can be seen as the only places where revolution can occur, the working class and its leadership in revolution can be written off. The "rural" peoples and the "rural" nations, led by their petty bourgeois vanguards, will storm the cities and "city" nations. V

China has given herself an out from the responsibility of leadership for proletarian revolution. Though the banner of world working class revolution is held high throughout the declaration, it is plain to see that its name is taken in vain.

The recent professions of uncritical support for Boumedienne's Algeria and for Pakistan, then, should come as no surprise. What benefits China (as what benefits the rest of the Soviet bloc) is the existence of trustworthy allies of the bonapartist sort--who lead as precarious an existence as the Chinese bureaucracy, continually making treacherous deals to keep their heads above water. Such leaders essentially rely on history standing still--which it cannot and will not do.

Attention New York Readers:

A FALL LECTURE SERIES

IDEAS FOR A REVOLUTIONARY WORLD

A series of seven lectures and discussions on current books dealing with the most crucial issues of our times.

First Session--Weds. Oct. 13

THE WRETCHED OF THE EARTH by Franz Fanon

Lecturer: Tim Wohlforth

A discussion of an important book about peasant revolution in the underdeveloped countries. Dr. Fannon was a psychiatrist, born in Martinique, who participated in the Algerian Revolution.

Future Sessions

Future lectures will discuss such topics as : Malcolm X's autobiography, the background to the Vietnam War, three books on the student struggle in Berkeley, the first English translation of Preobrazensky's pioneer book on the Soviet economy, three books on poverty in America, a recent study on Lenin's dialectical method together with a new edition of Marx's early writings.

All Sessions Will Be Held at 8:15 PM on Wednesdays At:

Rm. 15 B Academy Hall 953 Broadway (near 14th St.)

Auspices: BULLETIN OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

contribution 50¢

JUST ARRIVED FROM ENGLAND

TWO SPECIAL ISSUES OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

--- Vol. 2, No. 1 includes:

- Statements of the International Committee of the Fourth International on Vietnam and Algeria
- Documents on the Fourth International and the Socialist Workers Party, from the "Open Letter" of 1953 to correspondence and statements in the SWP-SLL discussion, 1961-1963

Vol. 2, No. 2 includes:

- The Struggle for Marxism in the United States: American Trotskyism with Trotsky, By Tim Wohlforth
- A Discussion with Trotsky (stenographic report, June 12-15, 1940)
- Cuba: Marxism and the Revolution
- Rebuilding the Fourth International: Resolution of IC
Price: 60¢ each; both issues for \$1.00

ALSO AVAILABLE:

- FI, Vol. 1 No. 3, containing part 1 of "The Struggle for Marxism in the U.S.", by Tim Wohlforth (double issue) Price: 75¢
- The Theory of Structural Assimilation: A Marxist analysis of the social overturns in Eastern Europe, Yugoslavia and China. By Tim Wohlforth. 75¢

Enclosed is:

_____ for the items checked above

_____ One year subscription to the Bulletin @ \$2.00

_____ Ten issue Introductory sub. @\$.50

_____ Total money enclosed (make checks payable to:
Wohlforth)

SEND TO: BULLETIN, 339 Lafayette St. New York, N.Y. 10012

NAME.....

STREET..... CITY.....

STATE..... ZIP.....