

PROGRESS REPORT ON THE F.S.P.

THE FIRST THREE MONTHS OF LIFE

With this issue of our paper, the Freedom Socialist Party is scarcely three months old. Without patting ourselves on the back, we can feel proud of what we did accomplish -- including surviving these last hectic ninety days.

At the time of the founding of the FSP, we held a Press Conference and a few weeks later we staged a very successful inaugural banquet.

We participated in the peace demonstration at Blaine in August, where we sold 150 copies of the first issue of The Freedom Socialist.

We have sponsored a fairly regular series of Saturday Night Forums at Freeway Hall on such topics as the anti-war movement, police brutality, developments in China, the current election campaign, the economics of imperialism, etc. All the forums are preceded by excellent dinners and followed by socials.

Dick Fraser and Clara Keye recently completed teaching a summer session of classes lasting 12 weeks on American History and Marx's Capital. The classes were sponsored by the Independent Socialist Union.

At present, five FSPers are involved in teaching or coordinating classes at the Free University of Seattle.

Krasnowsky continues his political commentary on alternate Friday nights on KRAB-FM.

Several of us are regularly active in the work of the Seattle Committee to End the War in Vietnam, and most of us were involved in the extended attempt to persuade the authors of the Peace & Freedom Party to strike out boldly for once on the road of principled independent politics.

Two of our leading members

have been featured speakers at meetings of the Grass Roots Forum, a central area "anti-poverty" arena for discussing poverty and civil rights.

Coming up soon is a program on KCTS-TV, Channel 9, on Black Power, in which Waymon Ware will participate. The panel includes prominent local Negro leaders. Tune in on Tuesday, Nov. 22, at 7:30 p.m.

Our literature and periodical department is becoming much better stocked and sales of radical literature are proceeding briskly. We will soon have on sale the publications of all the major radical parties and tendencies, as well as key Marxist and Trotskyist works.

Our headquarters are being improved, regular weekly membership and bi-monthly executive committee meetings are held, and Comrade Jack Wright has written a personal history of the radical tradition in the Pacific Northwest as he lived it and observed it!

Our Civil Rights & Labor committee has worked diligently to evolve a transitional program of demands suitable for political work in this area, and we will publish their findings shortly.

We have held intensive discussion meetings on such topics as the problems of the Chinese Revolution and present currents in the Negro struggle.

And we are engaged in a program of printing the basic documents of the party.

All this -- and sign painting, picketing, floorwashing, mimeographing, etc. etc. We want to do much more, of course, and with help, luck and an upsurge in the class struggle, we confidently expect we will!

PASS ON YOUR COPY OF THE FREEDOM SOCIALIST TO A FRIEND. THANK YOU.

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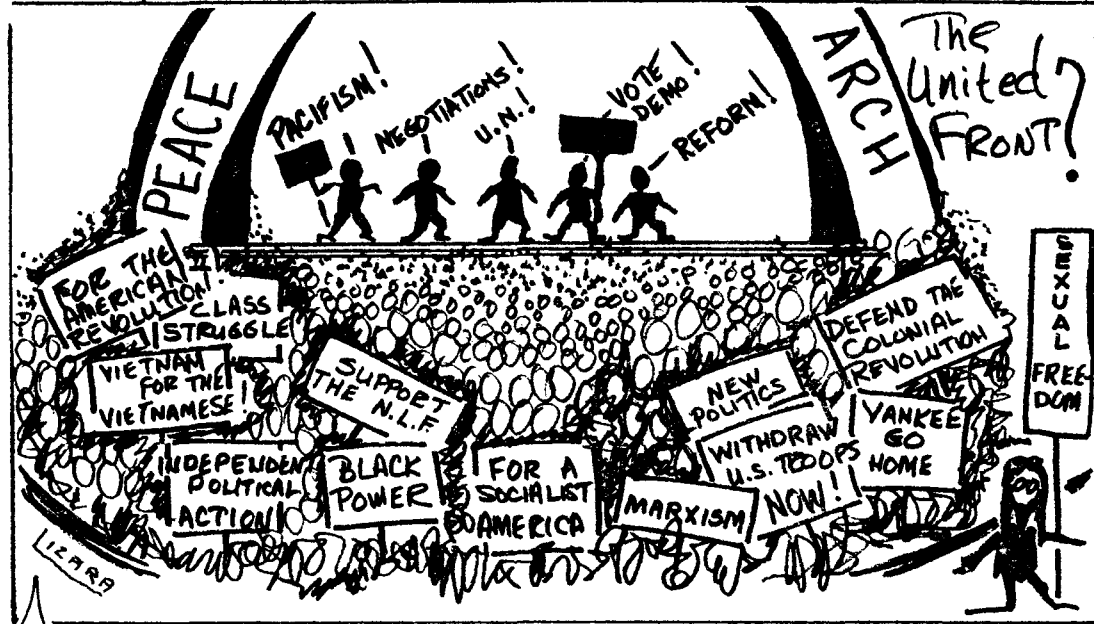
THE FREEDOM SOCIALIST

VOICE OF THE FREEDOM SOCIALIST PARTY OF WASHINGTON

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CAPSULE REPORT OF AUGUST PEACE DEMONSTRATION ON THE CANADIAN BORDER. And lest you think that the patent absurdity of large rallies of the left endlessly listening to spokesmen of the right is a vanishing phenomenon in these days of protest and commitment, please read on.

EDITORIAL

THE SAD (BUT FAMILIAR) TALE OF THE PEACE PARTY THAT BECAME JUST ONE MORE APPENDAGE TO THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY MACHINE

The Reverend Robert B. Shaw is a candidate for Congress, 7th District, on the Peace and Freedom Party ticket -- an ostensibly independent peace party. This peculiar campaign poses a critical question to militants in the Washington anti-war movement. The P&FP is a political formation largely initiated, led and staffed by a coalition of middle-class white liberals and pacifists and old-timer "progressives." It is technically independent but is politically committed to the support of Democratic Party good guys.

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A SAD TALE (CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE)

This electoral coalition raises as its key slogan, "Vietnam is the issue; withdraw U.S. Troops now". A most valid and correct demand. Does this mean that the P&FP should be supported, notwithstanding its nature and basic political orientation?

We think the latter criteria are decisive, and we have accordingly declined support to this latest outbreak of the old ailment of class collaboration politics. The P&FP categorically refused to affirm or exhibit independence of capitalist controlled politics. Its general program, despite the validity of its key slogan, reflects this failure to break with the 2-party political system and orient towards a new politics, a new class, and a new programmatic approach to war and peace, poverty & affluence, racism & injustice.

At the Sept. 20th (Primary Day) Nominating Convention of the new party, the organizers and spokesmen clearly indicated their real intentions: regardless of what resolutions the militants manage to get passed, WE will control the basic policy and publicity. Rev. Shaw, under pressure from anti-war activists, even announced (in a confusing and rather sullen fashion) that the party was to be "independent" and he hoped there would be no more talk of "That!". But it became increasingly evident, as the Convention wore on, that the only revolutionary impact possible for the party was a Semantic Revolution: the concept of independent political action was cynically translated to mean independent-Democrat politics, i.e. "independent" voters in support of Democrats.

The new party gave us a classic taste of Democratic Party politics.

They engaged in a pathetic imitation of the treatment administered by the Democratic Party machine to the radical-progressives who, when the C.P. pulled the rug out from under the Progressive Party back in 1952, were forced to trudge shamefacedly back into the fold of 100% Big Business twin-party politics.

The enlightened and even radical Resolutions which the Peoples' World Democrats were able to pass at Democratic conventions in this state have had no influence whatsoever on the program and policy of the Democratic Party; on the contrary, they have served only as liberal covering for the war-mongers. Similarly, at the P&FP Convention, adopted amendments and resolutions that constituted a programmatic foundation for a genuinely independent campaign were blithely ignored and contradicted. Their adoption represented nothing but a token concession to the militants, which was promptly voided by the policy adopted of capitulation to the party of LBJ.

The leftwing forces proposed to the convention a simple political line to codify the elementary condition of authentic independence: that no spokesman for the party be permitted to support Republican or Democratic candidates. The more rightwing majority of the convention, comprising Democratic liberals, self-styled "realistic" radicals, and even people who glamor themselves as "revolutionaries"(!), refused

(Continued on page 3)

SEATTLE'S FREE UNIVERSITY IS INAUGURATED AMIDST MUCH PUBLICITY -- & GREAT SOLICITUDE FROM THE FIRE DEPARTMENT

The Free University of Seattle has just been organized and is presently conducting classes in various makeshift classrooms. The regular premises leased for FUS could not be utilized since the local Fire Dept. swooped down on opening day and suspended operations.

A temporary victim of its own success, FUS has been labelled by a local Post-Intelligencer columnist as the "largest floating university in the country." It received widespread press, radio and TV coverage, which promptly alerted the Fire Dept., long known to be especially vigilant about fire hazards to radicals and dissidents. Nevertheless, the 400 enrolled students and faculty are carrying on with heightened determination, and the necessary repairs and alterations on the premises are almost completed.

The largest free university in the country, and certainly the most harassed, FUS offers courses ranging from current social problems analyzed in the light of Marxism, humanism, existentialism, anarchism, and etc., to Life Painting, Modern Theatre and New Childhood Education.

Of particular interest to our readers are the following classes which are led, taught or coordinated by FSP people:

"POLITICAL PERSPECTIVES OF THE NEGRO REVOLT." Waymon Ware, instructor. Fridays, 7:30 p.m.

"WOMEN IN SOCIETY." Gloria Martin, coordinator. Workshop leaders are Clara Kaye, Jill Grubb, Louise Crowley and others. Workshop sessions are tape recorded so the results can be edited and published. Baby-sitting provided. Saturdays, 2:00 p.m.

"MARXISM AND THE NATIONAL QUESTION." Frank Krasnowsky, instructor. Tuesdays, 7:30 p.m. Same time: -- "SEATTLE RADICAL TRADITION." Jo Patrick, coordinator. Jack

Wright is one of the lecturers. "VIETNAM: DEVELOPMENT OF A CRISIS." Rick Saling, coordinator. Marxist viewpoint presented in lectures by John Severn. Wednesdays, 7:30 p.m.

Classes are held once a week for 9 weeks. Each class lasts 2 1/2 hours. Tuition is \$10.00 for the first class and \$3.00 for additional courses.

For information, call ME. 2-2299.

A YOUNG MARXIST (Con't. from P. 18) ledge, the Chinese CP has yet to produce publicly an analysis of the Indonesian disaster, or draw any conclusion from it. Any theory like that underlying Chinese foreign policy which claims to be Marxist and hence is subject to scientific evaluation must be prepared to modify itself whenever it proves unable to predict or account for events. The failure of the Chinese to do this reflects on the validity of their theories.

What conclusions for future anti-war work can we draw from the P&FP Convention and election campaign?

Come the next election, it would seem essential to operate on the premise that "the first task of radicals is to build their own movement." And in order to achieve a "radical transformation of American life," much more work directed toward advancing the consciousness of the Negro workers and the general working class must be undertaken. We should not confine ourselves in the arena of middle-class people who are worried about war, but who still basically accept the US social system and find it comfortable to live with.

A YOUNG MARXIST (Continued from Page 17)

part of this policy; without it, the USSR would be totally discredited among revolutionaries and the U.S. would accordingly have little need to deal with the Soviet Union.

In this regard, when Sartre and Bertrand Russell recently appealed to the USSR to draw a line in Vietnam (the USSR would announce, for example, that a U.S. attack on the Red River dikes would be met with an attack on Danang), they were viciously attacked by the British and French Communist parties.

When the Cuban observer to the 23rd Congress of the CPSU urged the Soviet Union to make North Vietnam "a cometary" for U.S. aircraft, he met with a frigid response.

Finally, the N.Y. Times reported that before bombing Hanoi, the Pentagon "leaked" the news to Moscow, and was very anxious about the Soviet response.

The C.P.'s policy of peaceful coexistence with capitalism, then, means only token support of the colonial revolution abroad, and frenzied support of the Democratic Party here.

* * * * *

The Progressive Labor Party's national policy seems to approximate CIPA, although PL still sees some utility in activity within the Democratic Party. In Seattle, however, the policy is clearer: cooperation with the C.P.

This was demonstrated at the Peace & Freedom Party Convention, where at no point did PL resist anything urged by the rightwing. Indeed, they were key organizers, and worked closely with the P&FP leaders from the very outset. The only organized presentation of a left viewpoint at the Convention came from the anti-war militants and the FSP. Yet a PL member told

me they had battled the "Revisionists" vigorously!

I would ask PL collectively: If there had been no PLers at the Convention, and the pro-Democratic Party forces had thoroughly controlled it (assuming that they didn't already), what would have been different from what actually happened? To put it differently, where were the "revisionists" defeated? It appeared to me that their only defeat was in being forced to expose themselves by passing the pro-Bryant motion, but PL took no part whatsoever in that battle.

A peculiar characteristic of Chinese-oriented groups is that they seem to tolerate reasonably well criticism from the right, but react violently and irrationally to criticism from the left. Chinese publications print all sorts of rightist attacks on the regime, but one never hears of left criticism.

In "Progressive Worker", published by the Canadian analogue of PL), a vicious attack on Canadian Trotskyists appears that contains no discussion whatever on political issues. In discussions with PL people, I've occasionally found the same pattern: attacks by labeling rather than political debate over policies.

Another frequent tactic is to lump together left and right criticism as equivalent. This may be due to China's position of leadership in the colonial revolution, where China is obviously far more vulnerable to attacks from the left and extremely sensitive about them, because they tend to bring into question China's stance as the left critics of "Soviet revisionism" and indeed as the ONLY left critics.

One danger of such a stance is that it can lead to difficulty in analyzing setbacks. To my know-

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THE SAD TALE (CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2)

to support this basic guarantee of independent politics. Their chronic political habit pattern of unprincipled crossing over class lines in politics was too ingrained to change.

HOGENAUER: Last To Be Hired & First To Be Fired

The incredible episode of the short-lived Hogenauer candidacy literally added insult to injury. After 2 stormy sessions of the 1st District Caucus, 2 possible candidates, plus a lobby in favor of supporting the Democratic Party peace candidate in that District (Alice Franklin Bryant), emerged. The first candidate, Gus Carlson, an industrial worker and longtime radical, declined the nomination on the grounds that he refused to represent a party that in effect was supporting his opponent, Mrs. Bryant. The second candidate, Irwin Hogenauer, a radical pacifist and man of proven personal courage and integrity, accepted the nomination and promised a fighting campaign against war. He implied a programmatic differentiation from Mrs. Bryant (should she win the primaries that day and turn out to be his opponent.)

But the Bryant supporters and campaign managers present could not stand this threat to their adored peace candidate, Mrs. Bryant. They passed a motion nullifying Hogenauer's candidacy in the event that Mrs. Bryant won the primaries! And the motion, incidentally, was passed with rather blinding speed for one of its kind. As a motion in obvious contradistinction to the adopted preamble and to the line of many of the resolutions and amendments, it was ramrodded through, because, said the chairman, he "sensed the wishes of the body." Indeed he did; he not only sensed them, he had helped to mobilize them. Gus Carlson challenged the decision of the chair, and demanded discussion so that the truly independent and uncertain delegates present would have a chance to hear and consider the anti-capitalist radical viewpoint. His challenge was defeated. 3 speakers from each side were then heard, and the vote was taken. It was clear by that time that the Bryant forces and the P&FP majority were identical, revealing the essential Peoples Front/liberal-reform character of the new party.

Rev. Shaw's campaign itself has to date been a weak and mild one. Mrs. Bryant did win in the primaries, and is busily mending her ideological fences to win greater acceptance from the Democratic Party. middle. The Shaw campaign, while it does focus attention on the war and raises the correct slogan of Withdrawal of Troops, ignores the meaty and dynamic sections of the adopted program and has not one word to say about independence, basic social change, or the 2-party system. The Convention itself refused to endorse the decisive and dramatic anti-war position of SNCC, CORE, MFDP, & THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY, because these formations were not "non-violent"! The Convention refused to take a stand on civil liberties, and would offer no support to the harassed labor movement.

It is obvious that the P&FP is merely exploiting the formality and technicality of independence in order to advocate third-party reforms,

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A SAD TALE (CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3)

enhance its bargaining power in the Democratic Party and to lure authentic rebels away from principled politics and away from the urgent task of constituting a broad and compelling radical leadership in this area which would inspire and mobilize for peace on a meaningful, honest and educational basis.

The unfortunately aborted thrust toward truly independent politics on the part of the anti-war movement activists grew out of the dawning recognition that the Vietnamese war is a basic socio-economic process which can be stopped only by far more fundamental and far-reaching action than picket lines and demonstrations.

The failure of the movement to achieve ideological independence in its first attempt at united-effort politics must be studied, for the failure stems from the severe limitations of a movement that is predominantly white intellectual and middle-class. Only a complete and open severance of ideological and political ties with the Democratic Party could have laid the basis for overcoming the weakness of the anti-war movement.

In stark and happy contrast to the uninspired and historically retrogressive P&FP in Washington stands a genuinely independent campaign that emerged from the anti-war movement in New York-- the Independent Party campaign of Leslie Silberman for Congress. Mrs. Silberman's militant program demanding immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam, and dealing boldly with the issues of unemployment, racial discrimination and police brutality, concludes with the following statement on political independence:

" My campaign represents a radical alternative to the Democratic and Republican Parties. These parties are responsible for the war in Vietnam. These parties have done nothing to solve the pressing social problems at home. They have not ended unemployment; they have not increased real wages; they have failed to provide good schools and decent housing; and they have stood by while minority groups have been brutally persecuted.

" I look forward to the formation of a Labor Party which will truly represent the interests of the majority of the American people. The Democratic and Republican parties will fool the people no longer".

This campaign and others like it in the East, which grew out of the Anti-war forces and which have already won some support from the Negro Freedom movement or are seriously making the attempt, are the wave of the future, anticipating and preparing the giant historical surge of working class politics and revolutionary mass actions to come.

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LETTERS FROM CONNECTICUT (Con't. from Page 16)

al" motives. On such grounds, any criticism can be ignored.

Zhukov must be answered, not attacked, but before tackling that task, latter-day Stalinist scholars might try answering The Revolution Betrayed with something other than villification.

Regards,
Dave

A YOUNG MARXIST (Con't. from P. 12)

CIPA represents the direction in which the movement is growing. And, needless to say, the Democratic Party would like to slow or divert this development. The best way to do this is to make it seem unnecessary, as well as weakening, to leave the Democratic Party. This is the function of the "Peace Democrats." And in the event that a Third Party formation emerges, their next best trick is to try to prevent new political coalitions from clearly breaking with the Democratic Party.

The local Democratic Party successfully carried out this second policy at the recent Convention of the Peace & Freedom Party. Clear proof of this was the motion passed to nominate Mr. Hogenauer for the First District Congressional race UNLESS Alice Franklin Bryant won the Democratic primary, in which event nobody would be nominated.

There can be only one evaluation of the backers of such a motion: "... radicals ... serving as activists for their ideological opponents."

* * * * *

What are the policies of some other political groups active in the anti-war movement here in

IN OUR NEXT ISSUE:

- More Letters from Connecticut --
- By David Dreiser
- The FSP, As I See it --
- By Fred Berg
- Labor, Civil Rights & Anti-Poverty, by Jack Wright
- Accepted & Rejected Amendments at the Peace & Freedom Party Convention
- Letters to the Editor (A New Feature)
- Cartoon, Photographs, Poetry!

Seattle and nationally? Communist Party policy is one of collaboration with liberal Democrats in order to put in power a "reasonable" capitalist regime, reasonable meaning willing to establish a modus vivendi with the USSR and in this way conforming to the needs of Soviet foreign policy.

Thus, any candidate who seeks peace through the U.N., or through US-Soviet consultations, or any other bilateral agreement to police the world, becomes a "liberal." Anyone so crass as to openly advocate U.S. dominance of the entire world, rollback of Communism, etc., becomes a "right-wing extremist." In this way an imaginary difference is created between the liberal "progressive" elements (Lyndon Johnson in the 1964 elections, to judge from C.P. policy at that time), and the radical-right reactionaries (the warlike Goldwater who -- horrors! -- advocated bombing North Vietnam). What is really involved, of course, is merely a tactical difference within the ruling class.

The Chinese have charged the Soviets with talking about revolution while in practice collaborating with U.S. imperialism. They have pointed out that Soviet revolutionary talk is an integral

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LETTERS FROM CONNECTICUT

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ity on the basis of its policies and actions here. At this stage, it ought to look favorably on proposals for regroupment.

For instance, the Freedom Socialist Party in Washington was a tendency in the SWP which took a pro-Chinese position and favored regroupment with PL. It left the SWP because it refused to compromise its revolutionary position on Vietnam. If PL really has an interest in regroupment, just exactly what sort of group would it look on with favor??

_____ says I misunderstood your remarks about Stalin. He says you are reevaluating the question, and I ought not to have concluded that you have embraced Stalinism. Is _____ right?

I was too abrupt in rejecting your proposal to discuss Stalin around the World War II question; it is a valid question.

Trotsky's view of Stalin was that internally he would do in his own way, bureaucratically, the same thing a revolutionary regime would do, namely, build the economy and military strength of the USSR. The crime of Socialism in One Country was in the abandonment of the revolution outside as Soviet Russia's best defense.

Internally, Stalin compromised the cause of socialist progress on matters where the needs of the bureaucracy and of the revolution were in conflict. But, as a union bureaucracy will defend a union against destruction of the bureaucracy's base, thus Stalin would defend Russia in war. It is no contradiction of Trotsky to say that Stalin acted to prevent military defeat of the USSR.

How good his best effort was is another question, and cannot be decided by the fact that Germany was defeated. Assessing the cause of Germany's defeat in terms of the competency of national leaders is a very complex question, but

the Western powers also played a role in that defeat, even while allowing as much destruction of Russia as possible.

The main fault of Stalin's policy was political, not military. Lenin and Trotsky employed revolutionary propoganda in the earlier imperialist attack on the USSR to such effect that the French command was reluctant to return troops to France for fear they would infect the workers at home. Under Stalin, the USSR followed a propoganda policy of chauvinistic attacks against the Germans as a people, and calling for the total destruction of the German nation. This policy insured that there would be no revolution in Germany as there had been in 1918. Such a revolution might have had deep repercussions in the USSR.

The policy followed was an implicit concession to the U.S. for their aid in the alliance. I believe that the U.S., however, calculated its position in relation to the USSR in exact accordance with its own capitalist interests. The aid given was 100% self-interested and was not won by Stalin's concessions, and class collaboration. In this connection, the second front was finally started to prevent the Red Army from marching through all of Europe.

The last question is whether Stalin misled the USSR militarily as well as politically. The latter-day explanation of the Stalin-Hitler pact is that it allowed time for military preparation. The ease with which the German Army plowed through the Ukraine is not good evidence for this theory. It is difficult from here to prove that, on the contrary, Stalin was lulled into a lack of preparation, and bungled the whole military effort, but Zhukov's charge cannot be dismissed on the basis that he had "person-

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A SAD TALE

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4)

Will the real local anti-war leaders please step forward and LEAD a political breakaway from the discredited old parties -- a breakaway that is a breakthrough to revolutionary new political frontiers. Unless this occurs, the anti-war movement itself will wither away. The issue of war is the issue of political power; U.S. imperialism's compulsion to smash the colonial revolution can be met head-on and halted only by the counter compulsion to take the power out of their bloody hands.

* * * * *

And now -- the commercial.

We in the FSP originally planned to field a socialist slate of candidates in this campaign. At the same time, we were publically urging the anti-war movement to create its own political arm and launch an independent anti-war, anti-capitalist party that would objectively analyze the interrelations between the war, poverty, labor, civil rights, civil liberties, etc.

When Rev. Shaw announced his plans for a new party and invited participation in shaping it, we decided to cooperate, on the basis of his professed intention to form an independent party.

We knew that much of the basic policy was already worked out, and that the prognosis for achieving a principled and militant program geared toward the Negro freedom struggle and the working class was very dim. Still, we felt it was our responsibility to try to prevent this new formation from drowning in the tired old cliches and fatal swamps of yesteryear. Surely, we believed, the newer and youthful elements in the anti-war movement would be suspicious of reform politics because of its basic dishonesty and flagrant opportunism, and they would be open to frankly radical politics and a program of telling it

like it is.

So for over 6 weeks, we attended meetings and committees and subcommittees, presented written and oral proposals, and generally propogandized loudly and often for independence, principle and integrity. We undoubtedly made some enemies, but we definitely encountered a whole new host of friends. And, most important to us, we demonstrated the ability of our brand new party to simultaneously "go where the people are" and still hang tough on principle.

At the risk of sounding immodest -- may we suggest that we are the ONLY formation in this area with the stance, style, habit, program and practice of revolutionaries. Oh, we have some faults, but who's perfect? We would never dream of inviting anybody into an illusory Utopia, but we feel perfectly free and objectively vindicated in inviting you to join with us in the exciting process of helping to bring about socialism in our time.

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A FEW COPIES OF OUR FIRST (AUGUST) ISSUE OF THE FREEDOM SOCIALIST ARE STILL AVAILABLE.

PHONE ME. 2-7449

FSP ANNOUNCES RECONSTITUTION AT PRESS CONFERENCE

The Freedom Socialist Party of Washington held its first news conference on August 19 at the Olympic Hotel in Seattle. Representatives from all four television stations, both daily newspapers, and key radio stations were present, and most of them carried the story that evening or the following day. Waymon Ware and Frank Krasnowsky were spokesmen for the Party.

Below is the text of the FSP statement distributed to newsmen at the conference; the statement was received with great interest and occasioned two hours of questioning and discussion.

...

Statement of Freedom Socialist Party on WHY WE ORGANIZED A NEW SOCIALIST PARTY

We represent revolutionary socialists from nearly all the existing socialist parties.

Some of us represent the former Seattle Branches of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, which broke away from their national organizations because of serious programmatic differences.

Some represent the militant tendency of the old Communist Party, a group which left many years ago after it became clear that the C.P. had ceased to operate upon genuine socialist principles and tactics and merely worked to reform the existing system.

Some represent a younger generation of radical youth who are sincerely concerned with pressing for a fundamental social change and are contemptuous of those so-called "radical" organizations which are obsessed with creating an image of respectability and/or becoming an influence in the Democratic Party.

Some younger members are former adherents of the Socialist Party of Norman Thomas, which has gone over to the Democrats completely.

We are a party of militant and radical trade unionists, youth, Negroes, women, pensioners, students and professionals who believe in a new social system and a new way of life for the United States.

...

We are attempting to express the need in this country for a vast reorganization and regroupment of the radical movement upon a principled program of revolutionary socialism and internal democracy. Millions of Americans are becoming conscious today of the desperate need for basic social change. The civil rights movement, the anti-war movement, the new upsurge in the labor movement -- all create the foundation for a new and broadly based socialist movement.

...

We are distinguished from all other socialist trends by the following:

1. We are for regroupment of the revolutionary socialist movement, and for a regeneration of socialist theory and thought.

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LETTERS FROM CONNECTICUT (Continued from Page 14)

would be to mobilize enough mass pressure to keep Epton free, but with your policies his fate is sealed.

... You have found comfort in being part of the "ideological representatives of the international revolutionary wing." It will not guarantee your success. The American revolution will be fought out largely on American questions. This is not an anti-internationalist view. It is a fact that the Russian, Chinese and Cuban revolutions were fought with little international connections. Their domestic questions are our international problems. Don't underestimate our domestic questions which will be the decisive international questions of tomorrow. Yes, it is better for an American party to be right than wrong on the Chinese question, perhaps decisive. But uncritical support of the CCP will not assure a successful revolution here automatically. It is not just a matter of joining the millions.

I don't take a view of the Indonesian defeat that is crudely critical of the CCP. The relation of the CCP and the ICP was a complex one. But the ICP followed a STALINIST policy, whether or not the CCP was to blame directly or failed to get the ICP to change its course. Why didn't the ICP arm the peasantry against the counter-revolution? Hadn't that been the lesson of the Chinese revolution? Why did the ICP rely on a bourgeois figurehead? Wasn't that Stalinism in action?

The disaster was not just in Indonesia. The whole balance of world affairs has been shifted favorably to imperialism. PL is correct in blaming the CIA

for its complicity, but that is merely complimenting them on their victory. Write it down now as a rule: Every counter-revolution from now on will be abetted if not engineered by the CIA.

Barring a miracle, the Vietnamesc revolution has been turned in favor of imperialism by virtue of the Indonesian defeat, because the key to the Vietnamesc struggle was the Indonesian revolution at the backs of the imperialists. The course of world events has been turned by this defeat which rivals on the other side the Chinese revolution in scope. The Chinese regime has publicly acknowledged that its position has worsened. That, at least, is an understatement. ...

Regards,

Dave

Dear _____:

...For many years, and still today, the Communist Party in the U.S. has operated on the basis of a sort of contemptuous complacency. Things may look bad in the U.S., but there isn't much you can do about it, and it doesn't really matter, because the USSR is growing in strength and will overcome all obstacles somehow. This blind faith in Soviet progress is substituted for a revolutionary policy here at home.

I may be wrong but it seems PL has a touch of similar contempt, based on its being, in its own lights, part of the "revolutionary millions." The masses of Asia may defeat U.S. imperialism in the field, though the decision is in doubt, but they will not replace the American working class in displacing capitalism here. The leadership in the U.S. will not fall automatically to PL on grounds of its position on China. It must establish its position and author-

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LETTERS FROM CONNECTICUT

BY DAVID DREISER

(Comrade D.D. is an experienced and knowledgeable Marxist theoretician and organizer. A founder and key spokesman of the former Kirk-Kaye tendency in the SWP, he has since resigned from that party in order to assist the Freedom Socialist Party in its national strategy of probing realistic potentialities for revolutionary regroupment.

His record in revolutionary socialism spans 25 years. From his earliest days in the movement, he turned his attention toward fundamental theoretical problems of Marxism. While a CIO shop steward at the Firestone Tire and Rubber Co., he was purged in a witch-hunt against militants. He became a proficient writer and speaker on matters of ideology and program, and has made lasting contributions to our understanding of many questions, notably the issue of race relations in this country.)

July 4, 1966

July 28, 1966

TO THE CONFERENCE OF THE FREEDOM SOCIALIST PARTY OF WASHINGTON:

Greetings! Please accept our heartiest congratulations on the occasion of this Conference to constitute a permanent membership organization.

It is sincerely to be expected that your Conference will establish a firm choice for Freedom, Peace and Socialism for the workers of the state of Washington against all the bureaucratic and compromising pretenders to the name of Socialism.

But of even more significance, it is to be expected that your Conference will be a vital step in the broad process of regroupment of socialists throughout the United States whereby we can look for a new unity and a national movement.

We are with you in spirit, and wish we were with you in person.

YOUR FRIENDS AND SUPPORTERS
IN CONNECTICUT

(The following are excerpts from two letters by D.D. to an old friend who has become a supporter of the Progressive Labor Party. The correspondence deals with such issues as regroupment, Indonesia, China, and Stalinism.)

Dear _____:

... What does regroupment mean? It means the concession by a party or group that there are other tendencies worth considering as allies, first on a limited organizational basis and perhaps later joining politically. This in turn means that the political questions that separate such groups are open to discussion, that the conclusion is not made in advance that only one group has the right answers.

We look at PL in this spirit. Seattle has demonstrated its efforts in this direction by attempting to organize an Epton defence in Seattle, but these efforts have been thwarted by the PL representative there. ... Robertson's group has tried to help with Epton defence and received the same treatment in the East.

It is apparent that PL is opposed to a policy of regroupment in general and insistent on a go-it-alone policy on Epton defence. This is a very serious and ultra-sectarian approach. The policy appears to be to assure Epton's being jailed as a martyr. That is no victory. American jails are full of Negro revolutionists!! A victory

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PRESS CONFERENCE (CONTINUED FROM PAGE 6)

2. We are for the struggle for Black Freedom and Black Power in the context of the general working class aspiration for socialism.

We call for a Second Reconstruction in the South, i.e., the present southern states should be declared illegal because of their inability to provide a republican form of government, as guaranteed by the Constitution. We call for new regimes created by the decisions of universal suffrage and maintained by a Peoples Militia.

3. We are for advocating to the anti-war movement the truth that only fundamental social change can end the war in Vietnam or any other war of U.S. aggression against the colonial revolution.

The capitalist class and the government in Washington which it basically controls, considers Vietnam central to its basic aim of ruling the world and defending its economic interests. The U. S. will not withdraw from this conflict unless it is militarily defeated by the National Liberation Front of Vietnam or by political upheaval at home or abroad.

4. We are for the elevation of the Woman Question, i.e., the secondary economic, social, political, legal and psychological status of women in the U.S., to a first rate issue for socialists.

5. We are for alerting socially-aware movements to the imminent danger of Fascism in this country.

U.S. capital must turn to Fascism as the only means of maintaining its political and economic equilibrium. The one-man dictatorial rule in the White House, the present solidarity between northern fascist trends and the KKK, and the growing consolidation of all neo-fascist movements, all point to a new stage of Bonapartism in the United States.

A YOUNG MARXIST LOOKS AT PEACE POLITICS & RADICAL PARTIES

BY RICK SALING

Until recently, the Peace movement had been following an essentially "Popular Front" policy. By presenting moderate and respectable demands, it aimed at attracting independents and groupings from as far to the right as possible, even at the expense of excluding others further to the left. SANE and TTP were the most extreme examples.

This strategy was essentially passive and status-quo oriented. It tried to assemble the largest possible collection of then existing political groups, and it

planned tactics by conceding to official attitudes of already organized formations instead of orienting to the mobilization of larger masses of people and creating new organizations.

Among certain "new leftists", this ties in with a resistance to a final break with the Democratic Party. This is probably due to a natural desire to avoid what looks like "old left" factionalism. Also, since until recently the movement was weak, they didn't want to further weaken it by excluding anyone willing to work.

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REPORT OF AN OBSERVER

FIRST NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SPARTACIST LEAGUE MARKED BY SERIOUSNESS & YOUTH

BY DICK FRASER

It was with considerable gratification that I attended, as a fraternal observer, the first national conference of the Spartacist League, held in Chicago over the Labor Day weekend.

The Spartacist League is one of the tendencies created by the centripetal forces of the Socialist Workers Party. As a faction in the SWP, it was expelled a few years ago and has since grown into a national organization of modest proportions.

It is staffed largely by young people and their ability to hold a serious national conference was in itself a big achievement for them.

Discussion at this three-day gathering centered on the Negro question and on Tasks and Perspectives of the Spartacist League. I was happy to participate in the former, which opened with a Resolution proposed by Lynne Harper (well known to Seattle socialists) and M. Small.

A prolonged discussion on the Negro struggle ensued, constituting the first objective and realistic official discussion of this vital question that I have heard (outside the Pacific Northwest) in my thirty-some years of continuous activity in the revolutionary socialist movement.

The discussion refracted, in its own way, the basic polar opposition between Negro nationalism/separatism and revolutionary integrationism. But there was hardly a trace of the vulgar petty-bourgeois nationalism characteristic of the SWP, and the majority stood firmly on the ground of revolutionary integration.

An unfortunate tendency prevailed among many speakers to seek differences where they didn't exist and to escalate minor differences or shades of innuendo.

Still, the result was a meaningful discussion which will certainly aid this organization in establishing itself firmly in the Negro community in the several places where it already has a foothold, particularly in Harlem and in certain places in the deep South. Both areas had impressive delegations at the Conference.

The discussion on tasks and perspectives ranged over both the strategic and organizational problems of the League. Jim Robertson, National Secretary of the League, and one of its principle founders, advocated the perspective of socialist regroupment, much along the lines we have pressed, at the same time pointing out important ideological areas which particularly identify Spartacist and its contributions to the development of socialism in the U.S.

Dissident and critical views were expressed by several participants who were granted extremely generous debating time. Implicit in the sentiment of some critics was an attitude of too great self-sufficiency, a tendency to view the present form and activity of the League as eternal.

This sectarianism is not unnatural in a small organization with largely propagandistic tasks and and an intense internal life, and I do not view it as a dominant trend in the Spartacist League. Its members are imbued with a revolutionary determination to become a force to be reckoned with in the emerging socialist movement.

We share with them a belief in the basic scientific validity of Marxism, as taught by Karl Marx,

(Continued on Page 9)

READ THE FREEDOM SOCIALIST

EXCERPTS FROM AN

OPEN LETTER TO REV. SHAW

AND THE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE OF THE PEACE AND FREEDOM PARTY By Frank Krasnowsky

... 1. A serious peace program must begin by recognizing that PEACE ON THE BASIS OF THE STATUS QUO IS BOTH UNTHINKABLE AND IMPOSSIBLE. Colonial peoples are seeking to establish their freedom under their own control, and peace maintained by their continued subjugation is immoral and undesirable. The real fight for peace in the U.S. involves recognizing the validity of the colonial demand to get rid of imperialism... U.S. IMPERIALISM MUST KEEP ITS HANDS OFF THE COLONIAL REVOLUTION

2. The immediate true responsibility for the war in Vietnam lies with the U.S. government, the administration that controls it, and the Democratic party which the administration politically represents. Without U.S. intervention, there would be no war in Vietnam. A real peace party, therefore, must call for the IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL U.S. TROOPS. Unlike Turn Toward Peace and World Without War, we cannot envisage peace through imperialism and the Democratic administration.

3. For moral, principled, practical and tactical reasons, the movement must not only oppose the Democratic Party, but also those so-called peace candidates who run as representatives of that party or seek to represent it. The assertion that the new party will only run candidates where no "peace" candidates already exist implies support to the Democratic Party.

...it must be patently evident that to work within the Democratic Party for peace is as senseless as working within the Ku Klux Klan for civil rights.

An independent campaign Will Not "split the progressive vote". The shoe is and has always been on the other foot. The role of the Democratic Party over the years has been to split progressive and socialist forces by the illusion that the Democratic Party can be changed and captured. This futile policy has resulted in a situation today where there is no major political party organized for progress and against the war, in spite of the fact that millions oppose the poverty-breeding economy, and hundreds of thousands favor socialism over capitalism.

A first principle of an organization seeking to mobilize "real political power" against the war must be NO SUPPORT TO THE EXISTING POWER STRUCTURE AND NO SUPPORT TO ITS CANDIDATES OR WOULD-BE CANDIDATES.

4. ...I approve whole heartily the desire to link the fight against war with the fight for civil rights, anti-poverty and civil liberties. I suggest that the new party seek to ally itself with those who have already declared their independence from the parties of the ruling class -- the Black Panther Party in Alabama, and sections of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party.

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KRASNOWSKY'S
KOMMENTARY (Con't. from Page 11)

of satisfaction. The appearance of PLP some years ago gave us hope that there might be a new influence for a leftward development in CP-circles in the Northwest.

Now, however, the facts are in, and PLP is continuing the same old CP line of taking young radicals into the liberal and Democratic camps ... PLP's radicalism is being used as a cloak for their opportunism ... the main perspective seems to be to revive the old political alliance between the CP, the liberal pacifists and the Democratic Party ...

Fraternally,

Frank

FSP PUBLICATIONS
IN THE HOPPER

We are in the process of publishing or arranging for the publication of the following documents:

INTRODUCING THE FREEDOM SOCIALIST PARTY OF WASHINGTON.

WHY WE LEFT THE SWP, by Kirk, Kaye, Krasnowsky, Ware & Dreiser

A REVOLUTIONARY PERSPECTIVE FOR THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT, by Shumm & Kaye

REVOLUTIONARY INTEGRATIONISM, by Kirk & Kaye

ON THE ORGANIZATION QUESTION, by Kirk & Kaye

LABOR & THE NEGRO STRUGGLE, 1964 FSP Statement

FOR A NEW RECONSTRUCTION IN THE SOUTH, 1964 FSP Statement

THE UNFOLDING OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION: STRATEGY & PERSPECTIVE, by Kirk & Kaye

A YOUNG
MARXIST (Con't. from Page 7)

This is analogous to the situation in Mississippi before 1965. NAACP and SNCC collaborated in FDP during the 1964 summer project, when it was still a great achievement just to stay alive. Now, however, FDP's goals are more ambitious and NAACP has split away.

In the past, the peace movement would either gain or lose ground as a reaction to government actions, e.g., the virtual collapse of the movement after the test ban treaty. In this sort of situation, Popular Front strategy seemed reasonable to many people. But now the movement is at a stage where its success or failure depends not so much on what the government does as on our own actions. Hence, the question of what tactics to use is vital.

The main tactical question right now is "What does independence mean?"

An excellent answer is offered by CIPA (Committee for Independent Political Action). According to their program, "Two-party politics in the U.S., including pressure group activity, operates to sustain and extend the power of the large corporation and their institutional supports ... Political power must be taken from the corporations and placed in the hands of a representative government committed ... to the radical transformation of American life ... The first task of radicals is to build their own movement ... CIPA views electoral activity at this stage primarily as a means of changing people's consciousness ... Liberal reform politics is part of the corporation consensus. Indeed, liberalism is the dominant ideology of the corporate system ... Operating as individuals within the framework of two-party politics, radicals not only serve as activists for their ideological opponents, they give up their real chances to influence liberals."

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SPARTACIST CONFERENCE

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 8)

Engles, Lenin and Trotsky. Spartacist's approach to the Negro question, which we view as a decisive key to the American revolution, is in close proximity to ours in the FSP. Despite some serious differences with Spartacist over various issues, our agreement on questions as basic as those cited above lays a foundation for fraternal collaboration during the coming period.

* * * * *

It was a pleasure to see our old friend and comrade Art Phillips, who was also a visitor at the Conference. We had some fruitful discussions about the future of the socialist movement in the United States and I anticipate that our preliminary conclusions will be useful in stimulating the process of revolutionary reorganization on a national level.

GREETINGS DELIVERED TO THE SPARTACIST CONFERENCE BY DICK FRASER:

On behalf of the Freedom Socialist Party of Washington, I wish to greet this national gathering of the Spartacist League.

It is an admirable achievement for a small organization to be able to expand into so many cities across the country and then to organize such a representative conference.

Let me tell you something about ourselves. We are an independent local organization with some national supporters, brought together in the spirit of revolutionary regroupment. Ours is, however, a much narrower regroupment than we believe to be possible on a national scale in the not-too-distant future.

The main body of our party comes from the former Seattle Branch

of the Socialist Workers Party. Others come from the Communist Party and the ranks of the independent socialists and previously unaffiliated "new left" youth.

We anticipate a close collaboration with you in the future. We feel a mutual political attraction, I believe, because of a common belief in persistent adherence to the ideas of Leon Trotsky, and the close proximity of our approach to the Negro question, a decisive key to the American Revolution.

We wish you well. We hope your conference will be successful and we expect it will mark an important episode in the process of rebuilding the revolutionary socialist movement in the United States. Thank you.

TO: Freedom Socialist Party
Freeway Hall 3815 5th Ave. N.E.
Seattle, Washington 98105

- Please send me more information about the FSP.
- Please add my name to your mailing list and inform me of public meetings & forums.
- I would like to join the FSP
- Enclosed is a donation to help defray expenses.

NAME _____ (Please print)

ADDRESS _____

CITY & STATE _____

ZIPCODE _____ PHONE _____

EXCERPTS FROM E.S.P. STATEMENT ON BLACK POWER

DISTRIBUTED IN SEPTEMBER TO 1000
PEOPLE ATTENDING JAMES MEREDITH
MEETING IN SEATTLE

SUPPORT BLACK POWER-- DEFEND CIVIL RIGHTS MILITANTS

The concept of BLACK POWER...has been used as an excuse for a national campaign against Negro militants and a national conspiracy to destroy SNCC.

Bayard Rustin says he is "FOR" BLACK POWER--"but not like SNCC and CORE." Dr. King is "FOR" BLACK POWER-- but strictly to turn the other cheek.

The American Nazi Rockwell attacks BLACK POWER in order to organize racists in the white Christian middle class and motorcycle gangs for fascism.

The Philadelphia police use it as an excuse to frame up SNCC leaders with planted dynamite, and Carmichael is jailed in Atlanta for "inciting to riot."

WHAT IS BLACK POWER?

Stokely Carmichael...defined BLACK POWER as neither a slogan nor a specific tactic. It is, rather, symbolic of a new leadership in the Civil Rights Movement which has finally rejected the illusion that victory over the racist police states in the South can be won with love or with confidence in the Federal government.

The program of this new leadership appears to be the following:

1. For Black leadership of the Negro Movement.
2. Against the white power structure: Negroes to have a fair share of the power: "Break the white stranglehold on the Negro community."
3. An all-out struggle against racial discrimination and segregation -- but no integration into the "American dream."
4. No support to U.S. war in Vietnam--for international solidarity with the colonial revolution.
5. For the right of the Civil Rights movement to defend itself -- arms in hand if necessary -- against the racists.

The Freedom Socialist Party of Washington hails this promising development...WE CALL UPON ALL SUPPORTERS OF HUMAN FREEDOM TO EXPRESS THEIR SOLIDARITY WITH BLACK POWER AND DEFEND ITS AUTHORS AND SUPPORTERS AGAINST THE PRESENT PROSECUTION!!!

WHAT IS THE FREEDOM SOCIALIST PARTY?

The struggle of Negroes for freedom was central in the decision to form the FSP. Freedom from racial oppression can never be won so long as the white capitalist power structure stands, yet none of the traditional socialist organizations has been able to relate itself to this revolutionary struggle.

We...call for a regroupment of the revolutionary socialist movement and a regeneration of socialist theory and thought. Recognizing that the Negro movement is objectively motivated toward a new and different social system, we support the struggle for Black freedom in the context of the general working class aspiration for socialism.

* * * * *

KRASNOWSKY'S KOMMENTARY

BY FRANK KRASNOWSKY

Instead of presenting the transcript of one of my Friday Night KRAB-FM broadcasts in the column for this issue, I have excerpted sections from a letter I wrote last month to a young man who participated in the Northwest Regional Conference Against the War in Vietnam last year, and who is a member of the Progressive Labor Party in another state.

* * * * *

Sept., 1966

Dear _____:

Your suspicions ... that PLP's political position in Seattle is a right turn away from national PLP policy to date ... have now been fully confirmed.

In the local movement to put an independent anti-war party on the ballot, PLP has emerged as the principal force against clearly establishing the organization as independent of and opposed to the Democratic Party. (They) have entered into a bloc with the old-time opportunists, the Democratic liberals and the right wing pacifists of the peace movement and are directing an increasingly militant anti-war movement backward into Democratic Party channels.

The issue was joined here around a simple demand that the new Peace and Freedom Party, a sort of political united front against the war, adopt a policy of no support to peace candidates running in the Democratic Party. While the P&FP has publicly announced and generally agreed upon a program which declares its opposition to both the Republican and Democratic Party, and asserts its political independence, statements from leading figures in the organization, as well as public statements by the organization, have not been

consistent (with this objective). On the contrary, it appears that the central object of some of the initiators is to ... use the organization as a way of providing pressure to work out a deal with the Democrats.

The initial call for a conference to form the new organization expressed the intent of running candidates where no peace candidates were running -- a tacit declaration of support to Democrats running as peace candidates. Rev. Robert Shaw, F.O.R. pacifist and likely candidate of the new party in the 7th Congressional District, began the first public meeting of the new organization by expressing support for the National Conference for New Politics, an organization whose sole intent seems to be to run peace candidates in the Democratic Party.

We in the Freedom Socialist Party here sought a forthright policy of independence from the capitalist parties. In this we were supported by some leading activists (in the anti-war movement). After pressing this position at two meetings, we ... were defeated in the organizing committee on a motion that no public spokesmen of the new party support or indicate support to candidates of the major parties.

The vote was 8 to 7 against us, as PLP people spoke vehemently against our proposal and blocked with the reformists against us. Had PLP taken a stand against capitalist politics, the vote would have been virtually unanimous, for not only would some of the other voters have shifted their support, but those who abstained might have voted for the motion. As it was, however, PLP did the job (of insuring class-collaboration).

I am sending you the above information with no particular sense

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