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SWP

discussion
bulletin

Vol. 25, No. 8



Published by

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

116 UNIVERSITY PLACE •
NEW YORK 3, NEW YORK



POLITICAL RESOLUTION

Submitted to the 21st National
Convention of the SWP, 1965

by

Richard Kirk and Clara Kaye

"Adopted by the Seattle Branch"



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The Socialist Workers Party in the year 1965 stands at a crossroads.

World capitalism is in a fundamental crisis; the southern Negro revolt is stirring the world; China is realigning the old Third International against the Kremlin; Cuba steadfastly defends its heroic revolution; and newly-radicalized currents opposed to government policies are emerging in the U.S., counterbalanced by a growing and nationally unified fascist movement and a mounting Bonapartism in the State.

All these phenomena telegraph the imminence of a pre-revolutionary situation in the United States.

The need and the opportunity coexist today for the most significant regroupment and coalescence of revolutionary vanguard forces since the formation of the Communist Party after the Russian Revolution. The forces providing this opportunity emanate from the world crisis of capitalism which comprises four key factors:

1. The end of the post-war boom. The lack of new opportunities for capital investment is bringing to a close the post World War II economic upsurge which was powered by the replacement of fixed capital destroyed or made obsolescent by 15 years of depression and war.

2. The proletarian stage of the Colonial Revolution. After the first waves of the post-war colonial revolutions placed the colonial bourgeoisie in power, today in Asia, Latin America and Africa, the proletariat demonstrates the permanent revolution in life, tearing strategic politico-economic sectors out of the imperialist orbit.

3. The death-throes of European Reformism. The convulsions within the SP and particularly the CP - the key props of European capitalism - foretell their disintegration and the arrival of the European proletariat on the threshold of revolutionary politics.

4. The emerging revolution in the U.S. South. Currently creating vast turmoil in U.S. politics, the Negro movement is capable of paralyzing the government and inspiring sympathetic demonstrations of a revolutionary nature here and abroad.

These four main symptoms of the coming international showdown between reaction and socialism expose the severity of the crisis and provide the global backdrop for the intricate

socio-economic-political drama now unfolding in the U.S.

I. THE WORLD CRISIS OF CAPITALISM

A. THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE CRISIS

Since World War II, world capitalist economy has experier an upswing of extraordinary duration in the main imperialist centers: Western Europe, Japan and the United States.

The protracted boom, lasting for the better part of two decades, had its origins in intrinsic laws of capitalism, but its course has been sustained by the concerted intervention o the state into the national economy, particularly in the U.S. reflecting the advanced stage of monopolistic imperialism.

1. The Boom

a. The obsolescence, decay and outright physical oblit-eration wrought by a decade-and-a-half of worldwide depression and war effectively destroyed a large part of the fixed capit. plant of the capitalist world, creating a heavy demand for capital investment. This condition was the fundamental force bolstering the postwar upswing.

The mere need for fixed capital replacement assured that an economic rise would take place, provided, of course, the political situation could be stabilized and that sufficient capital could be mobilized for the initial investment thrust.

b. In addition, capitalism had at its disposal a vast accumulation of technical innovations, some of which had lain dormant during the great depression, but were production-test- ed in the massive imperialist war machines. These innovations laid the basis for the creation of whole new industries and technical revolutions in others. This chain of effects once set in motion was sufficient to engender a prolonged recovery.

c. Until the last three or four years, American prosperity has been marred by slow growth and several short-cycle rec-essions. The accelerated rate of growth in certain industries since 1962, which has imparted some of the feverishness of the classic capitalist boom to the U.S. economy, indicates not that American capitalism has solved its problems, but that a rapid accumulation of contradictions is underway, fomenting future explosions.

While the prosperity has been very real for the bourgeoisie, broad layers of the middle class and a considerable section of the working class, each recovery has left a substantial residue of unemployment and expanding areas of abject poverty have accumulated.

American capital has been frantically attempting to regain its unchallenged hegemony in the world market. The recent wave of investments has been largely concentrated on introducing lower-cost production techniques calculated to place U.S. capital in a better competitive position, for its relatively declining share of the world market threatens to turn into an absolute decline.

Europe has served as a major market for American goods and capital, and the receding of its boom denotes an immanent constriction of investment opportunities there. Particularly ominous for American capital is the growing friction with its European partners. European capitalists, feeling the squeeze from American subsidiaries and from outright American acquisition of native industries, are beginning to pressure their governments for assistance. At a time when the international exchange position of the dollar depends on cooperative European governments, this antagonism is serious.

The revival of imperialist rivalries among World War II allies and enemies alike (U.S., Western Europe, Britain, Japan) has generated new frictions in the capitalist world, and both Great Britain and the U.S. have suffered persistent negative balance of international payments since the late '50s.

2. The Coming Crisis

One, or several, of the monetary and secondary economic problems could trigger a crisis. However, short of a general capitalist crisis, monopoly capitalism possesses sufficient economic controls to minimize the effect of secondary contradictions, provided that relative political equilibrium can be maintained. It is within the domain of the basic laws of capitalism that the primary contradictions of the system take shape. Here exist the elements that pre-determine crisis for the system as a whole, and it is here, in fact, that the basic conditions for a coming general crisis are being shaped.

a. The postwar boom has depended ultimately upon the normal recuperative forces of capitalism; but these forces are inherently limited. The process of new capital construction is already far advanced and the point must eventually be reached

when the need to realize profits from existing fixed capital will come into decisive conflict with the urge toward new investment. The enormous capital investment generated by the boom, demanding realization, indicates that no resolution of this conflict is possible other than a general crisis affecting all the major world capitalist centers.

b. Recent changes in the economic conjuncture concretely indicate the drift toward crisis. Most Western European nations have had full employment for several years, but this was accompanied by a general downward trend of profits plus marked tendencies to inflation. Also, chronic excess capacity has appeared in several basic industries, and in recent months real manufacturing recessions have occurred in France, Great Britain, and Japan.

In the U.S. the wave of heavy investment that produced the first real boom in this country since the Korean War continues to absorb great quantities of capital and manpower, but close observers note a downward trend in appropriations for new capital outlays.

c. These signs all point in the same direction: toward a general realization-crisis. While it is impossible to give a precise time-table for the evolution of this crisis, it is clear that it must be soon, perhaps within months, certainly within a very few years.

When the crisis does mature, it cannot have any other than a deep and abiding character, due to the very magnitude of the postwar recovery and the corresponding velocity of the downward drag exerted by the huge amount of fixed investments. Moreover, no matter where the crisis first appears in decisive form, no country, including this one, can long escape it; the close interdependence of European nations, and the heavy concentration of American capital there, insure it.

d. The brewing crisis of capitalism has all the potential of a depression on the scale of that during the 1930s, but there are good reasons to believe that the crisis will not assume that same form.

After the 1929 crash, the bourgeoisie as a whole was stunned and paralyzed, incapable of decisive action for several years, suffering its own crisis of leadership. The working-class accordingly enjoyed a breathing-space in which to absorb experience and test its leadership. Its failure to adopt a revolutionary solution to the crisis resulted fundamentally

from the degeneration of the Russian Revolution, and not from any effect of the crisis itself. Such a favorable interlude is not likely to be duplicated in the next depression.

The capitalist system, especially in the U.S., has undergone qualitative changes over the past thirty years, changes intimately bound up with the development of monopoly capitalism to a new level. The concentration of economic power in the hands of the giant corporations has proceeded apace and the bourgeoisie has gone much further than in Lenin's time toward developing a consciousness and a modus operandi appropriate to this new level of power.

In the days of pre-monopoly "free competition," crises typically appeared as a bolt out of the blue, striking panic into the hearts of the bourgeoisie. They slaughtered capital values at a furious rate as one enterprise after another went under in an intensified struggle of each against all. The only hope of survival for the individual capitalist during a realization-crisis was to stay ahead in the competitive struggle, attempting to shift the burden of the crisis onto the workers and other capitalists.

In this way, equilibrium was restored to the system, at the cost of massive unemployment and hunger for the workers, and great losses to the bourgeoisie. Such a pattern was inevitable as long as the market was divided among many producers none holding a large enough share to exert a dominant influence.

Tendencies in this direction will undoubtedly be observed in the coming crisis, but powerful counter-pressures urge against this course, suggesting action in another direction.

Under monopoly capitalism, a few giants dominate production in each field, and the market no longer appears as a mysterious external force, blowing both good fortune and bad. On the contrary, the size of each capitalist's market-share renders relatively calculable the impact of his own actions on the market as a whole. This permits a degree of manipulation of the market.

Further, in the event of a crisis, the basic contradictions of capitalism, insofar as they affect the profitability of capital, are translatable into immediately visible figures on the corporate balance-sheet. Under these circumstances, the big bourgeoisie can be expected to perceive the crisis before it takes its full toll in unemployment and reduced production, and to prepare some measures of self-protection in advance.

Capitalism has become fully aware that the only competition open to it, other than the most well-regulated and "gentlemanly" kind, is full economic warfare -- the kind of struggle where somebody important is bound to go under and from which the victors emerge with heavy losses. In the next crisis, the capitalist class will most likely act to protect its investments in a much more unified and determined fashion than has been its wont.

Its internal organization is highly improved. A new directing stratum exists -- a national power-elite binding together Big Capital, its key representatives in the government, and military bureaucrats into a super-cartel, able to reach speedy consensus on matters of grave importance to the class as a whole without embarrassing public discussion, and then able to implement its decisions by virtue of its access to pinnacle levers of power.

3. Role Of The State

The immense powers of a mammoth state are today being flagrantly exerted on open behalf of monopoly capital. The state's former humble role as simple guardian of the marketplace pales into nothingness beside its present function as chief underwriter of the great corporations. It not only preserves capitalist property forms, but directly guarantees corporate profits, subordinating all such previous considerations as public opinion and competitive bidding and other superficial legalities of the market.

a. Even during the long postwar prosperity period, monopoly capitalism depended upon the direct daily intervention of the state to smooth its way. By virtue of governmental arms budgets, monetary manipulations, deficit spending, tax-cuts, investment credits, and dozens of other forms of direct and indirect subsidy, all backed up by the huge reservoir of liquid capital made available by mass taxation, the state in effect, has socialized the process of capital accumulation, including the risks and losses involved therein. Only the profits remain almost wholly private.

b. During a period of prosperity, the corporate giants are able to shift costs onto other shoulders through more or less concealed operations. In a full realization crisis, they can do so only by means of direct action against the working class -- wage-cuts, speed-up, longer hours, anything to wring out the last possible atom of surplus value. Only in this way can production be maintained on some sort of profitable basis.

In the "normal" capitalist crisis, the bourgeoisie obtains some help from the anonymous forces of the market. Unemployment and beggary could be of great value in forcing the proletariat to labor under conditions where both wages and working conditions are cut to the bone. But in his anxiety to protect his investment, each capitalist would greatly prefer that his own workers remain employed; still, he must bow to the market.

Here, as elsewhere, monopoly capitalism has other alternatives. Unemployment, after all, only becomes necessary because of the impossibility of realizing profits on capital under given market conditions and at a given high rate of surplus value; if the rate of surplus value can be forced high enough and quickly enough, the capitalist may continue to realize a profit on his capital, or at least on a greater portion of it, than if he had waited for the wage-rate to fall by "natural" means. To the extent that the monopolistic bourgeoisie are able to work out a program beforehand, they may be able to combine in a united front against the workers to drive down wages and increase the rate of exploitation before calamity arrives.

c. No realistic program of restabilization in the face of danger can be carried out without the resolute smashing of any capacity of the working class to resist. To this end, it will prove absolutely necessary to subdue and contain all independent expressions of opposition - the civil rights movement, the student movement, the general anti-imperialist movements - in order to further circumscribe the role of the labor movement and finally to destroy them all.

d. At the same time, the drive toward new arenas for profitable investment can only heighten the conflict with the colonial revolution and the workers' states. Merely holding back the revolutionary process will no longer do. The bourgeoisie must prove to itself its ability to make the world safe for capitalism once and for all; to this end only a policy of active counter-revolution will serve.

4. The Impulsion Towards Fascism

Capitalism desires two things above all - to realize the highest possible profits on new investments and simultaneously protect the profitability of previous investments. Competitive capitalism was periodically forced to recognize the incompatibility of these two goals, and accept heavy losses. The latest stage of monopoly capitalism, featuring increased control of the market, improved self-organization and all-out

government supports, possesses sufficient protective leverage to offer realistic hope to the ruling class that disaster can be avoided.

The super-state which is now in construction in all the imperialist centers, for the most part remains cloaked in the forms of bourgeois democracy. In this guise it has probably developed further in the U.S. than elsewhere. However, the super-state can have its full flowering only under fascism.

There is every indication that the present awareness of the capitalist class is great enough to prompt it to take action at an extremely early stage of crisis. Considerable pressure, for instance, will probably be exerted upon the working class through the medium of the state before the appearance of major shutdowns of production.

The class struggle will be intensified by stringent demands made on the workers, and it is improbable that the bourgeois democracy will be able to force significant concessions from them. The bourgeoisie will accordingly be impelled to move toward fascism, perhaps long before the crisis reaches its most profound depths.

But regardless of the bourgeoisie's precise political timetable, its drive to attain more direct political hegemony will require greater political strength than the bourgeoisie unaided can possibly command, and it will certainly demand the intervention of the state before any crisis is far advanced.

Thus, the economic crisis can assume a complex political character from the very outset, which will pose all the fundamental questions of the American Revolution.

B. THE PROLETARIAN STAGE OF THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION

The second mainspring of the unparalleled global tension is the proletarian stage of the Permanent Revolution in China, Latin America, and Africa.

1. China. The rapid rise of revolutionary China to the level of a world power and its influence among colonial peoples are promoting new social explosions in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The Sino-Soviet dispute has occasioned an international public discussion of the problems of proletarian revolution. Not since the early days of the Russian revolution has a major power propagated the principles of revolution; although the Chinese leadership refuses to identify Stalin with Stalinism, the persistent expose of the Stalinist doctrine of peaceful coexistence is a source of clarification of principle for all radicals.

Despite grave ideological hangovers from Stalinism and the perseverance of certain bureaucratic practices, the Chinese regime has attacked the problems of building towards socialism in a backward country with a keen empirical understanding of the unique economic, political and cultural realities involved. The CCP has presided over a great and continuing revolution that has avoided both the economic pitfalls of Stalinist misrule and the political degeneration accompanying it. International in orientation and increasingly consistent in its Leninist approach to the class struggle, China is, according to our co-thinkers, "the motor force of the colonial revolution."

2. Cuba. Following the diplomatic break between Cuba and the U.S., the life of the Cuban revolution hung by a thin thread, threatened daily with annihilation. Now, 5 years later, the U.S. cannot seriously consider the overthrow of the revolutionary regime save by direct military conquest; and, while this is the perspective of Wall Street, it cannot be carried out under present circumstances without creating the even greater danger of revolution throughout Latin America. Because of its dramatic accomplishments, the Cuban revolution constitutes a permanent dagger pointed at the heartland of imperialism.

Just as the Chinese experience spurred and instructed Cuba, the Cuban development in turn has stimulated a higher theoretical and strategic phase of revolutionary politics in Guatemala. With the spread of the colonial revolution, the quality of revolutionary understanding and devotion mounts ever higher; the conscious proletarian internationalism of a guerilla in Guatemala is both a tribute to the concept and the reality of Permanent Revolution and a deadly threat to imperialism.

3. Africa. The next big step in the colonial revolution will be the unfolding proletarian revolution in Africa and the consolidation of an authentic Pan-Africanism. The bloody repression in the Congo and the upheaval in Algeria result from the tremendous pressures applied by world imperialism

in its ruthless attempt to stop the permanent revolution from reaching Pan-Africanism.

Imperialism has thus far been able to contain the African revolution within the framework of capitalism but it will be unable to maintain this condition once the revolution in South Africa explodes.

The raging civil war in the Congo is to Africa what Guatemala is to Latin America - a crucible in which dynamic answers to continental problems of program and leadership are being forged. The Congo comprises an early stage of preparation in the unfolding Pan-African revolution, which will reach its climax in the Union of South Africa.

In recognition of the new level of the colonial revolution, the U.S. has signified (in the Congo, Vietnam, and Santo Domingo) that it will use its own military forces for maintaining the status-quo rather than depend upon native bourgeois power. This assumption of direct responsibility for further interventions, however, will severely strain U.S. military resources and intensify worldwide resistance to U.S. foreign policy from both allies and enemies.

C. THE DECOMPOSITION OF EUROPEAN REFORMISM

The deterioration of the prospects of European capitalism is symbolized by the plight of the traditional European reformist parties, whose function has been to safely channel the dissatisfaction of the proletariat into patriotic reformism.

Wracked by the power shifts within the Soviet bureaucracy, the Sino-Soviet dispute, the colonial revolution, and pressure from radical workers, the Communist parties in capitalist countries are in chronic crisis. The centrifugal force engendered by their contradictions provides the objective prerequisite for regrouping revolutionary forces on a vaster scale than has been possible since the formation of the Third International.

The Social Democracy, and the British Labor Party in particular, suffers from a similar dilemma of direction, and its internal contradictions pave the way for a working class rejection of reformism.

Revolutionary regroupment in the U.S. could be a salient factor in world regroupment, lending vital impetus to the process.

D. INTERNATIONAL CHARACTER OF THE NEGRO STRUGGLE

The civil rights revolt in the U.S. constantly threatens to paralyze U.S. imperialism at home and abroad. The effect of the Negro struggle on the world crisis originates in its internationalist proletarian character. This character stamps the Negro movement as the political means by which the world crisis of capitalism is transmitted to the United States.

European masses identify with the black skin, because it has become the class symbol of the era - the mark of resistance to oppression. No other American represents the basic condition of the international proletariat; European workers cannot identify with American labor unions because white workers in the U.S. project an image that is devoid of class-struggle features.

When the Negro demonstrates, the masses of the world are invigorated and redouble their effort to overthrow their yoke, for the Negro struggle shows what is best, most vital in the American working class; it even offers hope that the American proletariat, propelled by its most persecuted and conscious sector, will rise en masse to its historic revolutionary mission.

Negroes in struggle are relatively immune from Yankee chauvinism, and sense the response to them among the worldwide masses, a response expressed in an anti-imperialist content. Negroes absorb this spirit and re-express it in their own struggle; thus Selma and Saigon become components of the same struggle.

Trotsky once predicted that American Negroes would furnish leadership for the African Revolution. Apart from the individual prestige and influence of W.E.B. DuBois, this prognosis has not yet materialized, although episodes have occurred showing preliminary signs of such future inter-relations. The Montgomery Bus Boycott, for instance, was immediately duplicated in Johannesburg. Today African intellectuals find U.S. Negro leadership to be provincial and devoid of social philosophy, but this will be altered when Negro leadership that is proletarian and socialist emerges, as it will, in the course of the process of revolutionary regroupment in the U.S.

The basic similarity of social structure in the southern U.S. and South Africa creates an indissoluble tie between Black Americans and Black South Africans. In Africa, the Black proletariat is not burdened with a significant middle and upper

class of its own and no ground exists upon which reformism may be erected. Neither is there ground for significant reformism in the American South; political realities will not allow it. The new voices of proletarian Negro leaders now being heard in the South will travel swiftly overseas as the revolutionary content of the message they carry deepens; the ascending revolution in the U.S. South will indeed breed a leadership capable of sparking emulation in South Africa and providing encouragement and advice on the methods and program of struggle.

II. THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM IN THE UNITED STATES

A. THE GROWTH OF FASCISM AND THE BEGINNINGS OF BONAPARTISM

In the period of the death agony of capitalism, fascism is the totalitarian form of rule which the capitalist class resorts to when it can no longer maintain itself through the democratic process.

Fascism may be imposed when capitalism reaches a general crisis and the workers must be made to compensate for employer inability to realize a profit on investments. To accomplish this, the capacity of the working class to resist assaults upon its standard of living and its working conditions must be destroyed. This is the task of fascism.

Such a process does not happen overnight, and the capitalist class does not resort to fascism lightmindedly.

As the contradictions of decaying capitalism accumulate, the government first attempts to save itself and its parliamentary institutions by superimposing a dictatorship upon the framework of the bourgeois democracy. Congress and regional legislatures voluntarily surrender their powers on key issues to the central executive authority, which becomes, for a time, a bureaucratic military-police dictatorship: Bonapartism.

Bonapartism, a product of an unstable equilibrium in the class struggle, cannot last because it cannot solve the problems of the capitalist class. The firmer hand of a totalitarian system, plus a devastated working class are required.

Many factors have created the environment for the emergence of significant elements of Bonapartism in the U.S. today - the Kennedy assassination, the uproar over foreign policy and the

spectre of military defeats, the initial steps of the shift toward mass revolutionary action in the South, the explosiveness of the northern ghetto, the necessity for rapid and forceful governmental intervention into the national economy, etc.

Beginning as the protector of law and order after Kennedy's assassination, LBJ used his 1964 electoral mandate to take all major policy matters into his own hands. His exercise of exclusive control of foreign affairs and crucial domestic problems, and his individual command of the armed forces and economic manipulation, exemplify the transition to personal rule within the framework of bourgeois democracy.

The willingness of Congress to relinquish its prerogatives and transfer responsibility for all important matters to the Executive reflects the deep political crisis rocking U.S. imperialism even before economic contradictions have come to a head.

Johnson and Military Policy

The proliferation of teach-ins and ideological controversy on Vietnam policy both results from and masks the lack of any legislative or democratic means of changing the policy of the government. LBJ, protector of international imperialism, cannot await Congressional deliberation and rationalization before dispatching the arms and troops of counter-revolution. Bypassing a subservient Congress, he manufactures public opinion by going straight to the people via the controlled press and TV.

Johnson and Civil Rights

The determination of the southern freedom fighters, their deepening ability to rally national and international support, and the proletarian and revolutionary character of their struggle convince the ruling class that it can no longer exclusively entrust the preservation of the southern system to Dixiecrat regimes. Nor can it tolerate the naive illusion of civil rights liberals that the southern system can be reformed without generating gigantic national repercussions.

The Freedom Democratic Party has already exposed the incompetence of the southern system in handling its own domestic problems. Beginning as an independent movement that challenged voting restrictions and the white power in Mississippi, the MFDP proceeded to challenge the Democratic Party and then Congress itself. The "simple" democratic demand for representation threatens to evolve into an instrument of dual power in the South; the national structure of

the Democratic Party, i.e., the very foundation of the U.S. political system as established after the compromise of 1877, is potentially under siege.

Assuming full control on civil rights, LBJ used demagogy and legislative demands to soften the liberals and Negro leadership, meanwhile carefully reducing the southern radicals into dependency upon the government for protection. He has thus far preserved the southern system.

The willingness of southern Congressmen to forego the filibuster during the enactment of two civil rights laws in one year indicates no retreat on their part, but rather underlines the fact that civil rights has long since ceased to be a legislative issue. All power to enforce and regulate civil rights rests in the hands of the Texas Bonaparte in the White House.

Johnson and the Economy

The Taft-Hartley Act, the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Act, anti-communist legislation, etc., have long since guaranteed the subservience of the labor bureaucracy and served to concentrate trade union control in the White House.

All the major factors of economic development depend upon the federal government; the traditional pressure for local economic concessions once exerted by congressmen, previously a dominant activity of Congress, is now a purely secondary function.

Even social welfare measures, once a rallying point for class action, are now left entirely to the President. The liberals and labor bureaucrats gratefully accept LBJ's pennies while conservative Congressmen uncharacteristically refrain from any show of opposition.

Control of the class struggle by means of Bonapartism can only be temporary; under conditions of mounting class struggle Bonapartism is the harbinger of fascism. The massive deployment of American troops overseas requires not only public support which liberals can help manufacture, but a crusade-spirit which only a chauvinistic fascist movement can provoke.

In the face of economic stagnation and political crisis, the southern Negro struggle and the developing movement in the northern ghetto cannot long be restrained by mere promises. The need to repress an erupting class struggle

sharply poses the requirement for fascism, and the foundations for a growing fascist movement are already on hand.

Fascism and Goldwater

In the 1963 Birmingham protest the Negroes ultimately inflicted tactical defeat upon the city police and for a few short hours became the masters of this key industrial city. This unprecedented manifestation of the grave social crisis of the southern system triggered two simultaneous reflexes in the capitalist class: Federal troops were rushed to the scene (after Kennedy's injunction against "extremism on both sides") and the Goldwater boom erupted.

Important sections of Capital recognized an opportunity to (1) unite the northern ultra-right with the southern reaction on the basis of the white backlash and (2) thereby set the stage for a genuine fascist movement in the U.S.

Objectively, the building of fascism in the U.S. is facilitated by the existence of fascist-like regimes within the political structure; the southern states, essentially based upon the Klan, were not only a model for Hitler, but provide a stable base for fascist growth throughout the U.S. All previous attempts to build a nationwide fascist movement, however, floundered on the difficulty of working out an alliance between the northern ultra-rights and the Klan; the Klans and Councils were too consumed by provincialism to be concerned with a national movement. Birmingham shocked them into a cooperative mood.

The ultra-right, meanwhile, steered by the John Birch Society, represents genuine fascist forces; it is a cross-weaving of literally hundreds of anti-communist, racist and fundamentalist Christian groups. Each exhibits, in its own way, one of the cardinal features of fascism: readiness to contain the class struggle and destroy potentially revolutionary forces by extralegal means, and eagerness to create mass combat organs for this purpose.

Born as a terrorist periphery around the government's witch-hunt agencies and committees, the ultra-right grew strong implementing its part of the division of redbaiting labor. Those whom HUAC & Co. could not legally or strenuously prosecute, the ultra-right took care of. Then, they shifted their attack, in typical fascist style, from the communists to the liberals and finally to the government itself. Forced to retreat after the demise of McCarthy, they re-emerged onto the political scene towards the end

of Eisenhower's reign, when the Cuban Revolution made a shambles of U.S. foreign policy and the Negro revolt refused to be deterred by parliamentary maneuverings.

Birmingham and Goldwater supplied the ultra-right with an unequalled opportunity to utilize the apparatus of a major political party for fascist purposes. They were galvanized into unprecedented activity on behalf of Goldwater in the Republican Party; the reactionary columnists, followed by the press and slick magazines, furnished widespread publicity; the petty bourgeoisie and sections of the big bourgeoisie poured money into the coffers. This was the mechanism whereby the ultra-right achieved temporary capture of the Republican Party.

Goldwater helped the fascists win a signal victory against Big Capital in the Republican Party, he conformed to their wishes during the campaign, and most significantly, by orienting his program toward the southern and northern racists, he succeeded in acquiring at least a temporary alliance with the most reactionary southern regimes. As the centralizing force for the entire ultra-right, he thus laid the basis for close national collaboration among the fascist forces.

The Goldwater campaign was by no means a fullblown fascist campaign, but it admirably served the needs of U.S. fascism at the moment. Its object was not to win the election, but to cement alliance with the Klan and sow mistrust of the democratic process, and it succeeded.

Perhaps Goldwater has no greater personal ambition than to have his own television program. He obviously is no ideal Fuehrer. Nevertheless, he was eminently adequate for the 1964 phase of fascist growth. He may be superceded as the movement develops, but it would be a serious error of political analysis to mistake his advocacy of laissez-faire capitalism for inane, unrealistic, and outmoded conservatism. His nostalgia for the past is absolutely typical fascist demagoguery.

The capitalist class in general was not prepared to call in the fascists to assume mastery of the house of government, nor were the fascists prepared to take over this role. Had Goldwater won the election, it would have been a setback for them: they would have found themselves precipitated into the midst of a huge bureaucratic welfare state that they

are committed to destroy, and they were **not** yet prepared with the means of destruction. Forced to live with the welfare state, they would have had to temporize with and become dangerously absorbed by it.

The capitalist class used the Goldwater campaign to whip the Democrats and speed up the Bonapartist trend. Johnson, the Democratic Party and the Republicans in Congress are striving mightily to demonstrate that they can govern the country by means of a modification of bourgeois democracy in the direction of increased centralization, and thereby protect capital adequately. To them, the lesson of Goldwaterism is that the moment they falter in dealing with present or future crises, they will be cast aside by Big Business and replaced with the totalitarian state.

The U.S., then, does not stand on the brink of fascism; the present form of the coalescence of fascist groupings is an elementary stage of development. Still, it would be highly unfortunate if the SWP shortly found itself marching to the concentration camps with signs reading "this is not classical fascism." The crisis of capitalist democracy is very real. The colonial revolutions abroad and the Negro revolt at home shake up the equilibrium at the center of world imperialism. As the general crisis of capitalism matures, it will become increasingly apparent that Goldwaterism in 1964 was an important milestone in the development of American fascism.

The fascists know that in the final analysis, greater forces than those presently mobilized will be needed to stop the onrushing Negro struggle. They know that the basic social changes required to satisfy the Negroes' elementary demands can be achieved only by a social revolution. They are geared to stop this focal point of the domestic and world crisis -- the Negro movement -- as decisively as they can.

B. THE NEGRO MOVEMENT

1. Uneven and Combined Development in the U.S.

The emerging revolution in the south, initiated by the Negroes, is an expression of the uncompleted tasks of the bourgeois revolution. But the southern social system has become so intertwined with the basic socio-economic structure of U.S. capitalism that even though the present stage

of the Negro movement has forced concessions from the federal government, has compelled the bourbons to retreat, and is steadily gaining ground, no qualitative change has been effected in the southern police-states. Furthermore, Big Capital recognizes that any substantial change in the South would disrupt the entire politico-economic equilibrium of American capitalism.

The northern ghetto, responsive to the incipient southern revolution but propelled into action by its own conditions, breaks out in sharpening clashes with the power structure. The entrenched nature of northern ghetto conditions becomes more obvious every day to the community; there clearly is no cure for racial discrimination under the status quo.

There is no necessary conflict between the northern and southern movements; they are complementary parts of a single nationwide movement for liberation. This unified character is expressed in a constant north-south intermigration, which is an important vehicle for the interpenetration of experiences and ideas of militant Negroes everywhere. Apparent differences of aims and interest are a product of the profound crisis of leadership and not of differing objectives. The inherent drive of the entire Negro proletariat is for a new society that can encompass basic changes in the economic, social, political and cultural foundations of this society.

For fifteen years, the incipiently revolutionary Negro movement has been frustrated by its petty-bourgeois reformist leadership, but a new leadership representing the Negro proletariat is emerging. Robert Williams was a forerunner of this trend. From Harlem, Detroit, Mississippi, Texas, and hundreds of localities, the new leadership is starting to come forth. Boggs, Epton, Fanny Lou Hamer, Victoria Gray, etc., now express key aspects of the profound revolutionary spirit pervading the Negro working class.

The most acute manifestation of the uneven political development in the American working class is the existence of a tangible and concrete pre-revolutionary situation in the southern states, while in the north, the pre-revolutionary situation which will unfold in due order does not at present exist.

This unevenness imposes extraordinary burdens upon the leadership of the southern movement and even greater respon-

sibilities upon the revolutionary party in the U.S.

We can confidently expect that the revolutionary spirit generated in the South will radiate in all directions and that the general crisis of capitalism will eventually propel the northern working class into political mobility. However, the southern revolution cannot wait for a general crisis of capitalism; it is following laws of development that grow out of the sociology of the South.

The basic strategic problem is this: The Southern Revolution, with the forces it will be able to mobilize in the South, could realistically expect to win against the Southern police-state. However, its leaders must anticipate that when victory appears imminent, the capitalist class will require the government to intervene with "whatever force is necessary" to preserve the status-quo and stop the "Communist aggression" as defined by the Johnson-Monroe Doctrine.

In spite of the fact that a revolutionary situation in the North may not have matured by this decisive moment, it will be mandatory for us to be able to call forth a sympathetic movement of sufficient magnitude to prevent the government from carrying out the demands placed on it by the capitalist class; otherwise, the Southern Revolution will be drowned in blood.

This conjuncture must be elaborately prepared in word and deed by going to the mass movements now with the message of the Southern Revolution.* The main responsibility for this alerting action rests with the conscious revolutionary vanguard. Implementing this strategy of revolutionary defense will constitute one of the main bridges between the Negro movement and the working class as a whole, and, in a companion development, the living link between the Socialist movement and both.

* See Appendices I and II.

2. The Present Conjuncture of the Southern Movement

The crisis of leadership has deepened during the past two years.

In 1956, the essentially conservative Dr. King represented a militant wing of the civil rights movement. The power of the upsurge of the Negro masses during the past few years can be gauged by the fact that although it pushed the King leadership leftward, SCLC is today the right wing of the southern movement, and its leadership is tolerated only because the revolutionary spirit and perspective of most SNCC-FDP militants has not yet crystallized into a definite program.

The crisis of leadership derives from the fact that nobody presents a convincing answer to the basic problem: "How can you win in the South?"

The official view of all the leadership groups in the southern movement is that the federal government must step in and install democratic rights; this is the goal of the movement. But the government evinces no such inclination, using its power to essentially maintain the status-quo while it issues demagogic promises.

The basic distinction between SCLC, CORE and SNCC lies only in the degree of mass action each advocates to pressure the government to act decisively.

Caught between the maneuverism and opportunism of the northern liberals who help support the movement, and the authentic revolutionary spirit emanating from the Delta, SNCC officers are in a chronic quandary. They vacillate between militant anti-capitalist speeches and demonstrations, and compromises or silence when the unbearable tension between them and King's outright reformism demands a resolution.

They have discovered a unique method of bureaucratic control - utter administrative confusion buttressed by a doctrine of absolute activism - which provides no formal channels for policy debates leading to decisions. Their unanimity rule virtually precludes development by experience. As a result, the SNCC staff of active field secretaries and other militants is in a chronic and unbelievably bitter policy crisis.

The crisis of leadership has grown over into a crisis in the leadership. The internal convulsions are bound to produce a leap into an outright revolutionary orientation IF a large enough section of SNCC clearly understands this fact: The fulfillment of the promise of the Reconstruction and the destruction of the Police-state in the South will not be achieved except by revolution, the fire and the sword.

Hundreds, perhaps thousands, of southern black workers already know and understand the implications of this fact. They comprise a substantial wing of the Freedom Democratic Party. They are in the process of producing a new kind of leadership oriented to break the programmatic logjam of the reformists and solve the crisis of leadership in the South. Thereby, they are laying the basis for ending the leadership crisis in the North as well.

a. The Freedom Democratic Party

The MFDP is the most momentous political development of our time in this country. It is currently stirring up much consternation in government and civil rights circles. Its challenge to the seating of the Mississippi congressmen expresses its basic boldness and energy.

It is a genuine mass movement of Negro workers and sharecroppers of Mississippi. Existing for two years in the deepest south, it shows great capacity for survival and development. No other political formation of this type has been able to establish itself in the South since Populism was crushed at the turn of the century.

The leadership core of the MFDP is determined, outspoken, independent and radical; its objective is to take political power away from the Democratic Party in Mississippi. Although it has sought to utilize the national Democratic Party as both a sounding board for its political demands and a source of public support, the indigenous Mississippi leadership is quite aware of the character of the Democratic Party and considers its ephemeral alliance with northern Democrats to be a temporary tactic. But the confusion created by this tactic is deepened by the liberals and the Communist Party who use it as a gimmick to pressure northern radicals and Negroes into continued support of the Democrats.

The clash of the tactic with principle is becoming abundantly clear. The administration has proven itself to be a most effective enemy, and the impotent, hypocritical liberals are exposed as down-the-line Johnsonites. As the FDP extends into other states, which it must do, the leadership will have to determine if each local movement must enact the charade of pretending to be good Johnson-Democrats, when repetition of the masquerade will clearly demoralize and slow down the tempo of the movement.

Real independence means a definite break with the Democratic Party, and continued growth of the FDP requires that it assume a structural identity of its own. The leaders are capable of such a break; they broke more intimate ties with

the Mississippi Negro clergy and middle-class when they realized that these ties were a fetter on the movement.

The FDP will survive by extending the movement throughout the South and formalizing its objectively independent nature and program. It sorely needs a transitional program to provide a political foundation for breaking with the Democratic Party.

b. A Transitional Program for the Southern Revolution

FOR A SECOND RECONSTRUCTION IN THE SOUTH*

Constitutional law - the Bill of Rights - for the South. The South has no legal right to recognition as part of the U.S.

(1) For an Independent Freedom Party - the Freedom Labor Party.

As the Labor Party concept recedes in the North, it comes forward in the South as the only exact designation of the content of the real movement there. Linking up the civil rights struggle with the socio-economic needs of the southern working class as a whole will energize the revolutionary drive of all sectors.

The attempt to organize sharecroppers and farm laborers into unions is an inevitable product of the political organization of the southern masses, as has been demonstrated in Mississippi. It is also inevitable that the FDP will become a genuine interracial movement in the process.

The vast difficulty of organizing unions under the police-state regime will demonstrate to the poor white his need to solidarize with the civil rights movement, which represents a struggle for his civil rights as well.

Unions created by oppressed southern workers will be unions of a new model, unhampered by the conservatism of the northern labor movement and capable of intensive political and revolutionary actions.

The living labor-solidarity of the new unions would constitute the basis of the Freedom Labor Party.

(2) Towards Dual Power

Expand the Freedom Ballot. Elect Freedom Labor regimes in every state, demanding recognition by the federal government and Congress as the only lawful bodies of the South.

The skeleton of dual power already exists. The FDP refuses to recognize the legality and validity of the poor structure in Mississippi; it is organized to challenge and supplant

* See Appendix I

this power, and it knows that the showdown will take place in the street, and probably against federal troops.

(3) Defense Guards for the Freedom Ballot.

As the organized protective apparatus of the dual power, Freedom Ballot defense guards can become the workers' militia of the next stage of the revolution. It is essential that these bodies be controlled by the Freedom Labor Party. Careful study should be given to the development and successful operation of the Deacons self-defense movement in Louisiana. These are embryonic forms of the workers' militia.

(4) Destroy the Police State.

A basic political change is required to bring constitutional government to the South, but the police-state cannot be reformed. The ballot in the South is a sham today, and continued participation in the plebiscites of the state is fruitless. A break with reform is necessary. The police-state must be overthrown. The present power structure must be labelled for what it is, eliminated, and replaced by the new power of the victorious masses.

3. The Northern Ghetto

In the South, democratic demands are the motive force of the revolution. As happened in Cuba, the ultimate demands of the democratic revolution become the transitional demands of the proletarian revolution. But the North faces a more complicated problem; nothing short of socialism offers any meaningful solution for the ghetto, and different slogans and tactics are needed.

Attempts to ameliorate the desperate conditions of daily life through rent strikes, struggles against police brutality and illegality, the fight for jobs and better schools, etc., are primarily significant as stages of the process towards socialist political action, for such reforms or mobilizations, of themselves, cannot liberate the ghetto; unless they are tied to prospects for a fundamental social change, they breed demoralization and cynicism.

A conscious vanguard in the ghetto would tie itself closely to the southern movement.* It would express directly what southern spokesmen may have to say obliquely, thoroughly exposing the machinations of the Democratic Party, popularizing the program of the "Constitutional" revolution in the South, and mobilizing support and training cadres for it. Simultan-

*See Appendices I and II.

ously, such a northern leadership would organize socialist political action.

Lincoln likened slavery to a prison cell, sealed by a lock with seven interdependent keys, "...and these keys... distributed to the far corners of the earth." A revolutionary program unifying the Negro movement North and South is the master key to this lock. Many have searched for it, but few with the talents of Malcolm X.

a. Malcolm X

The story of Malcolm is the saga of a man growing politically and intellectually before our eyes - a process that the reactionaries had to stop. The murder of Malcolm was a blow to the Negro and socialist movements, and it thrust into the forefront the complex question of the character of the Black Muslims.

The 1963 SWP Resolution states: "The Muslims, headed by Elijah Muhammad, are the most dynamic tendency in the Northern Negro community today." All the Muslim sympathizers, the SWP included, have studiously avoided the question of exactly who killed Malcolm.

Malcolm knew that Mr. Muhammad's goon squad would murder him, and he widely publicized this apprehension, yet The Militant adopted the platitudinous position that he was "killed by capitalism." Well, so was Frank Little, so was Medger Evers, and so, in the final analysis, was Leon Trotsky, whose murderers in the Kremlin were a product of capitalism's pressure on the Soviet Union. It is obvious that Malcolm's break with the Muslims, his trip to Africa and the Middle East, and his pledge to return to the South, all constituted good reason for the white capitalist reaction to do away with him. But in all such cases of political murder, it is essential, and in the socialist tradition, to identify the specific source and analyze the motives involved. Otherwise, the victim dies in vain, the loss is absolute instead of relative, and nobody learns anything from the tragedy.

The dilemma of the SWO is that any analysis of the Muslims would reveal the serious basic error of the 1963 Convention line. The inability to distinguish between a reactionary and a progressive social formation has placed the party in an embarrassing position, as one by one the ingrained separatist movements reveal themselves to be extremely right-wing, while those who have progressed past separatism are starting to become dynamic contenders for leadership in the Negro community.

Supposed friends of the SWP turn out to be Goldwaterites. The Indemnity Movement, a peripheral Muslim organization,

shows little interest in indemnity and much concern with The Protocols of Zion, how the Jews control the Negro press and keep Negroes out of motion pictures, and similar dynamic topics. The Bay Area Afro-Americans are found to have close ties with the John Birch Society and conduct joint west-coast tours with them. Rev. Cleage deserts. The Black Muslims are shown to have working relations not only with cops but with the Klan.

An objective analysis of the Muslims reveals that they possess all the qualifications (enumerated by Trotsky and other Marxist authorities) of a fascist movement: middle-class leadership grouped around a Messiah, declassed social base, social demagoguery, ties with capital, exploitation of religious mysticism, anti-Semitism, subordination of women, race fetishism, and trained strongarm squadrons.

These squads have never been used against the oppressor because they are oriented in a different direction - against rebels. Beginning as a disciplinary force against recalcitrant members of the sect, then extending jurisdiction to the ghetto at large, they become an extra-legal political police force in the ghetto - and they are the assassins of Malcolm X.

The Muslims alone bear the responsibility for his murder, for it was perpetrated in the service of Muslim principle, policy and necessity, regardless of whether CIA or FBI agents were involved. The latter always stand ready to cooperate in the frame-up and/or murder of a militant.

Finally, the Black Muslims, in addition to everything else, betray a typically American feature; the top "prophets" are operating a hugely successful racket.

The white fascist movement knows that it cannot subdue the ghetto alone; it would be cut to pieces. It desperately needs as an ally, at least in the first blood-letting stages, an independent Negro separatist organization. It has to gain a point of support in the ghetto, support which the Muslims stand ready to offer in return for hegemony over the ghetto and economic partnership in the exploitation of the black consumers-goods market.

If fascism should succeed in the United States, the pattern of its relation with the ghetto would be generally as follows: the ghetto will be terrorized by a well-organized Negro ally of the white fascists. After the socialists, communists, integrationists, labor unionists and liberals have been eliminated, the ghetto will be safe for takeover by white fascist gangs who will then proceed to annihilate

*See Revolutionary Integration, by R. Kirk, 1963 Convention Resolution.

their erstwhile allies, the Muslims. The entire ghetto then becomes transformed into a gigantic gas chamber.

Malcolm was a defector who had to break with the Muslims in order to be free to lead his followers into the living struggle and free to start the difficult process of developing towards political radicalism and revolutionary internationalism. The Muslims had to split.* What was viable and militant about them could not be contained within the rigid structural framework of a utopian and petty-bourgeois monolith.

Malcolm was killed precisely because he split. An honest man, probing for answers, he finally began to expose the demagoguery and sinister connections of the Muslims. He was tearing them apart and that is why he was murdered. And that is why the SWP cannot say why he was murdered.

It is highly unfortunate that the SWP, eager to welcome what it hoped was the long-awaited Negro Nationalist-Separatist movement, renounced all its scientific criteria of evaluation and treated the Black Muslims with a respect bordering on adulation. Every dangerous, reactionary, and ignorant prejudice of the Muslims was justified - rationalized away on the grounds that an oppressed minority has an historic right to these notions as a result of its special experience, as if the starving, demoralized and desperate masses of German unemployed had no "cause" for their eager latching-on to Nazidom.

Muslims will someday "change" and "grow," we were assured. Even today, representatives of the party of Leon Trotsky in the U.S. condone Muhammad's alliance with the American Nazi Party and the Klan as justified by his "right of self-determination." It is devoutly to be hoped that the paternalism which views Negroes on the wrong side of the barricades as dynamically progressive will someday "change" and "grow."

It is necessary to state once again: The Black Muslims are a reactionary religious organization with a conservatizing and terrorizing effect on the community. If Malcolm's whole life and death proved nothing more, they exposed the nature of the Muslims. Malcolm's self-confessed "Zombie" days, his awakening and defection, and his evolution toward Socialism all reveal the significant peculiarities of the Muslim movement, as well as the differences and similarities between the Muslims and European fascist movements.

* See "Revolutionary Integration" by R. Kirk, 1963 Convention Resolution.

(1) Although both Fascisti and Nazi attracted serious rebel types from the plebian masses who developed an opposition to the middle-class leadership, this friction did not produce important convulsions until after the fascists took power. The Muslims, however, operate among proletarians of a super-oppressed minority group, which made it impossible for Malcolm to long resist the magnetism of the proletarian cause.

(2) During the past few years, the Muslims enjoyed a hey-day out of all proportion to their objective attractive power. They essentially fed upon a 40-year default of the Socialist and Communist movements - their failure to provide a revolutionary program upon which militant Negroes could erect a Socialist leadership. The consequent vacuum propelled a far better quality of rebels toward the Muslims than was their due.

(3) The provocative Muslim demagogy even fooled some radicals who had never actually read Hitler or digested Trotsky and Guerin. Instead of helping the captives of the Muslims to escape, these radicals locked the door after them.

^{equally} It is/necessary to state once again* that Nationalism, for Negro radicals and sophisticates, is a transitory and transitional form of recoil from the middle-class, reformist and legalistic integrationist leaders of the King-Wilkins variety. The flirtation of these Nationalists with separatism can only be short lived as the separatists expose their reactionary course. In life the content of northern "Nationalism" and southern "integrationism" are identical - towards revolution and towards an integrated socialist society in the U.S.

b. The Freedom Now Party

In a bold and serious attempt to solve the crisis of leadership in the North by building a new Negro vanguard, William Worthy launched the Freedom Now Party.

He conceived it as a militant, radical and transitional political formation which would break the Muslims' sectarian stranglehold on Harlem and direct the "nationalist" anti-white bitterness towards political defiance of the capitalist state apparatus. Worthy knew that only radical politics, i.e., going to the roots of the problem, could combat the growing forces of terrorism and Muslim abstentionism. He sought a bridge to radical internationalism, starting at the mood of the moment - race solidarity and independence ~~and opening the gap to socialist class-consciousness.~~

But an FNP, saddled with the nebulous and basically reformist program imposed upon it by the SWP, was doomed to failure. Instead of an anti-capitalist program and a truly dynamic new cadre, FNP got hung up on the fetish that "Black

(* Ibid)

is Enough." "ALL BLACK!" was trumpeted with the elan of the Marsellaise, and most Negro proletarian radicals were bewildered.

The conception that Black, alone, and by its very nature, must be progressive, betrays inroads of mysticism into a Party founded on materialism.

Further, this view is in diametric opposition to everything that Trotsky ever wrote, particularly his view of the Permanent Revolution. In reference to especially oppressed "peoples," Trotsky expounded the Bolshevik (as opposed to the Menshevik) position that the proletariat is the only class capable of leadership; therefore, he said, in the building of political parties among especially oppressed sectors, the proletariat has to maintain its independence.

But in the FNP, the Negro proletariat was virtually invited to get lost. For in the official SWP view, the Negro community is without class differentiation and conflict; everything is just Black, a homogeneous mass requiring only "unity" to solve race relations in the U.S. SWP Freedom Now propaganda was engineered not to stimulate growth of a revolutionary proletarian leadership for the Negro struggle, but to achieve a magical All-Black Unity.

Black unity, however, can be achieved only on the basis of the United Front for specific demands. To try to carry it further at this time, into the realm of a permanent political party, is fuzzy Peoples' Frontism. There are class divisions and conflicts in the Negro community; while they are rarely identical to the basic worker-boss confrontation in general capitalist society, they are so qualitatively real that Negro workers cannot and usually will not subordinate themselves to either the tiny Negro bourgeoisie or the growing petty-bourgeoisie. Yet this subordination was implicit in the All-Black Unity Party slogan.

The SWP majority proclaims that it alone fully appreciates the independent aspect of the Negro question; indeed, it has transformed the independence of the movement, labelled as an "aspect" by the 1948 Resolution, into the basic nature of the question. Yet the FNP experience illustrates once more again how the SWP completely discounts the specific laws of motion of the Negro struggle and subordinates them to the laws of trade union development.

The Negro question (like everything else) is reshaped by the Party to fit into Labor movement criteria. The All-Black

Unity Party slogan is conceived in terms of the Labor Party slogan, wherein program is not decisive because independent working class political organization by itself is progressive and leads to radical programmatic conclusions. All-Black political action appears to the SWP leadership to be the same thing. But it is not. Program, not race, is the decisive determinant here, because race by itself has no political character.

When "All-Black" becomes a program, no orientation to class struggle politics is possibly forthcoming, because All-Black derives from the theory of Negro Self-Determination -- a theory that pivots around the central point of the right of Negroes to secede from the American proletariat.

The effect of Nationalist theory, then, upon an organization originally capable of orienting towards the Negro vanguard of the working class, was that same curious amalgam of reformism and Laborism that has characterized most SWP theory and tactics in regard to the Negro struggle.

FNP was paralyzed by the spectre of "Self-Determination" hovering over it. It ended up catering to disoriented layers of the Negro population, and instead of raising political understanding to a higher level, it congealed a dead-end anti-white ideology. The crisis of Negro leadership was not helped by FNP; on the contrary, it was rendered more acute. Designated as transitional to Marxism, it actually encouraged a transition to much different quarters. Because it was reformist, and lacking class character, it was sociologically nowhere and had to seek a home. It became a transition to everything except the SWP -- to the Muslims, Progressive Labor, capitalist coalition politics or withdrawal from the struggle.

Unless the demon of separatism is finally exorcised, the SWP itself will not be able to structurally assimilate more than 1% of the Negroes who join it. It is not surprising that Negro worker comrades become demoralized and repelled by the tactic of subordination to the Negro middle class, as it materialized, for example, in Detroit, where the Party leadership engineered a bloc with Rev. Cleage around the minimum program of All-Black. While superior to the reformist integrationists, Cleage is likewise a conservative and a reformist, and is genuinely anti-labor as well; the limitations of the Negro middle class are clearly stamped upon him. A group of militants opposed him, demanding a more advanced program for FNP. The unprincipled character of the 1963 Convention line took form in the choice made by the SWP leadership to form an alliance with a conservative anti-labor

petty-bourgeois instead of with these militant workers. The latter feel that there is no working class solidarity in the SWP, and in this instance they are right.

C. THE EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN

The defiance of one woman, Rosa Parks, sparked the Montgomery Bus Boycott and inaugurated a new era in American politics. It was no accident that a Negro woman worker played this role. 200 years of history and two revolutions conditioned and tempered her for leadership of the Third American Revolution. The mass movement for civil rights in Mississippi is becoming more consciously revolutionary every day, and the leaders of this movement are predominately women.

They have the support of an important section of Southern white women, even though this support is characteristically quiet and even secret. For many decades hundreds of southern white women have worked clandestinely, in the crevices of the police-state, on behalf of their black sisters in bondage and the "Problem." (Cf. the works of Lillian Smith, particularly "Killers of the Dream.") They had come to realize the undeniable fact that southern white males were the lordly beneficiaries of a two-edged oppression: they robbed the Negro woman of any acknowledged paternity for her child, and they hypocritically degraded the white woman into a truly-segregated dependent chattel. The myth of "sacred" white womanhood is one of the focal points of the ideology of white supremacy and ties the struggle for the emancipation of women directly to the Negro struggle.

This heritage of the economics of color slavery was restored to the South after the KKK destroyed the Reconstruction and established the police-state, sharecropping and the chivalric code to insure segregation. But the revival of female lineage for Negroes ironically conferred a real benefit upon the black woman, for the patriarchal conditions that emerged molded her into a figure of independence, self-reliance, responsibility and resourcefulness. Always engaged in social production, she was integral to the economy, to the community and to the family.

Accordingly, as a worker, a Negro, and a woman, she represented the three strands of American repressive culture; every prejudice focalized on her and she felt deeply the three-fold nature of the fight for freedom. She was destined objectively for her function today as the vanguard of political consciousness, spirit and vitality; in Mississippi she runs for Congress, organizes farm labor unions and schools, and

confronts -- and confounds -- the Negro men of her own movement with her initiative and firm resistance to all their attempts to subordinate and subdue her. For every Gloria Richardson who retires into domesticity, scores of Negro women leaders are becoming professionals for the movement.

They face thorny problems. Indeed, they face a double problem, for the nature of both the Negro and woman questions is analogous. Each has a dual nature: exploitation on the job connects them each to the class struggle, while generalized political, legal and cultural oppression against them as special "inferior" groups confers an independent character to their struggle.

All Negroes are victims of color prejudice. Similarly what Lenin called "an entire sex," regardless of class distinction and regardless of whether they are wage-earners, is the victim of social prejudice. Women's "inferiority" derives from the condition of the majority of women, who are excluded by economics and tradition from participating in public social production and are confined instead to private domestic labor, leading lives of personal service to isolated families.

A man engages in social production, and thereby serves society; a woman essentially serves her man. Since the majority of women are peripheral to public industry and objectively dependent, all women are stereotyped as secondary. All come to represent an undifferentiated domestic function as a sex.

While the ruling class imposes a generally parasitic existence upon its wives, the wives and families of the working man are absolutely essential to the preservation of the capitalist system. The wife delivers and nurtures children, the future labor power of society, and her labor helps reproduce the daily labor power of her husband; yet both these functions are carried out with the smallest possible cost to the capitalist, who has providently arranged for the worker to bear the economic responsibility for his family. A wife assures his domestic needs in the cheapest manner. Accordingly, the family as the economic unit of society constitutes a permanent source of proletarian conservatism and the basis for capitalist superexploitation. Lord Delaware, requesting women for the American colonies, happily looked forward to "honest laborers burthened with children."

Wage slavery is the basic means of exploitation under capitalism, but it is also the foundation of "equality" in this society. In a market economy, human equality is estab-

lished through the exchange of commodities by their owners, and however depressed the wages and conditions of the proletarian, he still appears in the marketplace as the owner and seller of that most precious of all commodities -- labor-power. Through ownership of this commodity and through its exchange for wages, the mark of socially necessary human labor-power under capitalism, he not only asserts his social relationship and equality with others, he also establishes his political and economic strength -- his ability to bargain and change the conditions of his life.

The housewife, however, does not appear in the marketplace as a seller of commodities, and however necessary her domestic labor may be to the maintenance of the family, she does not sell her labor power. In a society whose distinctive feature is the social character of labor and the wage system, the labor of women is private, personal and unpaid -- hence, slave labor. Where a man sells his labor-power for a limited time, the wife sells all of herself to him. The formerly social and public productive labor of women has been reduced by bourgeois monogamy to the degradation of slave labor, dignified only by its modern-dress label -- Occupation Housewife. Housework is simply secondary to "the acquisition of the necessities of life by the man; the latter was everything, the former an unimportant extra." (Engels: Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State.)

But man is fundamentally a producing and creative animal; dependency and parasitism, even more than slavery, are degenerative to mind and body. The rebellion against this condition therefore transcends all classes of society.

"While upon the women of the working class the cross of capitalist society rests heaviest in all ways, not one of her sisters in all the upper ranks but bears some share of the burden, or to be plainer, of the smudge, and what is more to the point, they are aware of it. Accordingly the invocation of the "Rights of Woman" not only rouses the spirit of the heaviest sufferers under capitalist society, and thereby adds swings to the blows of the male militants in their efforts to overthrow the existing order, it also lames the adversary by raising sympathizers in his own camp, and inciting sedition among his own retinue." (Daniel DeLeon, preface to Bebel's Woman Under Socialism.)

Moreover, the capitalist system itself creates the conditions for the emancipation of women.

"However terrible and disgusting the dissolution, under

the capitalist system, of the old family ties may appear," writes Marx in Capital, "nevertheless, modern industry, by assigning as it does an important part in the process of production, outside the domestic sphere, to women, to young persons, and to children of both sexes, creates a new economical foundation for a higher form of the family, and the relations between the sexes."

It is therefore "plain," writes Engels, "that the first condition for the liberation of the wife is to bring the whole female sex back into public industry." However, the modern family is still "founded on the open or concealed domestic slavery of the wife" and within the family, the man "is the bourgeois and the wife represents the proletariat." The process of achieving "higher" relations is made demonstrably tortuous by the psychology of superiority induced in men as a concomitant of their privileged "bourgeois" status.

The Negro movement for emancipation, like the labor movement before it, is running up against obstacles imposed by these ancient prejudices. The doctrine and practice of male supremacy has a long history of corrosive effect on the solidity, momentum and morale of the movement.

The Masculine Mystique

Racial emancipation often becomes associated with a fetish of male supremacy -- "Be a Man!" The secondary role played by Negro men for so long in society, the economy and the family is frequently overcompensated for as they press for civil rights. Women are an available outlet for their self-assertion, and there ensues either a pater-familias despotism, as endorsed by the Muslims, or a more subtle and sophisticated assumption of male supremacy derived from campus sociology, orthodox Freudianism, and general practice. The male leadership is frequently insensitive to the drive of Negro women for acknowledged equality within the movement, for their right to do the work they are qualified and ready to do.

An added complication ensues when the intersection of chronic male chauvinism with the relatively advanced inter-raciality of the movement leads to the Negro women identifying the chauvinism of the men with the relatively advanced sexual code characteristic of many of the young white women working in SNCC. The frank rejection of middle class puritanism by these northern women represents a partial break with the feminine mystique. They want to live as entire human beings, on all levels of life, acting directly on society as men do. Yet they are not prepared to contend for equality

with men, for such a stance means a fight. Like most U.S. women, they are conditioned to be "feminine," i.e., softer and nobler creatures by virtue of their non-competitiveness. The potentially disastrous corollary of this submissiveness is their indisposition to support the Negro women who are contending and competing because their leadership role is jeopardized by the retrogressive ideology of the men. The Negro women find themselves isolated and defensively tend to adopt an objectively retrogressive moral code which deepens the gulf between the women still further.

The solution lies in the very process of working together, which offers promise of their ultimate convergence and alliance on the basis of their mutual oppression by men and by society. The Negro movement, North and South, to endure and develop, is going to have to rise to heights unachieved by any existing labor or political organization; it is going to have to come to grips with the woman question.

White women will have to develop consciousness and militancy on this question, and learn to bolster the course of Negro women towards equality and leadership. Negro women will have to see through the hypocrisy of white middle-class norms of family stability and propriety. Negro and white men will have to learn to subordinate subjective prejudices to a program and practice that incorporates appreciation of the woman question as an objective social issue that cannot be separated from civil rights. Equality and emancipation are indivisible.

The woman question will then be elevated from the back room into a proudly raised public issue of the Negro rights movement. Black and white women, exerting their strength through solidarity, will soon persuade black and white men to cease and desist from the habits and outlook of the slaveholder, and the movement will soar to new levels.

The murkiness of the subject of women's oppression is due to unconsciousness or denial of it among the majority of women. But as women begin to move in instinctive defense of civil rights, they will discern the similarity between the two struggles and arrive at consciousness of their own oppression. As happened in the Abolitionist movement, the Negro struggle becomes the training ground for the movement of women's emancipation, and each strengthens the other.

The overpowering social and cultural influence of the southern system upon the rest of the country has produced a twin oppression in every walk of life: race and sex discrimi-

nation go hand in hand, and one cannot survive without the other.

Concomitantly, the militancy of an ideologically emancipated woman can have far-reaching effects in any sphere where she finds herself; this is particularly true in the labor movement.

Women and Labor

The isolated home cannot possibly organize the woman at the point of her production; instead, it disorganizes and alienates her. Entry into public production transfers her from outer space into a socialized arena of struggle for both the class and her sex.

On the job, her double oppression usually makes her doubly insurgent.

The logic of feminism is to expand inexorably into generalized radicalism, and women become doubly mistrusted and disliked by the labor bureaucracy, which prefers to leave workers unorganized and wages unequalized rather than absorb new women militants into the union and into the leadership. The woman question runs like a red thread through the problems of organizing the unorganized, industrial unionism in the North and South, the gap between skilled and unskilled labor, unemployment and marginal employment, and the determination of union policy, especially in strikes. ("Salt of the Earth" vividly depicted the decisive importance of respecting and utilizing the advanced militancy of women.)

As the ratio of blue- to white-collar workers continues its reversal, women workers are becoming predominantly white-collar, and the labor force of key industries is becoming increasingly white-collar. Yet because these new jobs are filled mostly by women, they remain outside union jurisdiction, and the organized sections of American labor dwindle. The current impasse of the telephone union, among others, is a result of the tradition of second class economic and leadership status for women even when they form the bulk of the ranks. This paternalism is duplicated in virtually every existing union -- garment, auto and aircraft, printing trades, electric, laundry clerks, building service, etc., etc. Even waitresses and stenographers are usually represented by male officials.

To make matters worse, the failure of the labor movement to recognize the special problems and talents of the woman worker, to build a woman leadership, and to overcome its historic drag in this field, tends to be more or less duplicated

in the mass movements of the present day, jeopardising their future, as illustrated in the civil rights organizations. But as Negro insurgency in the South intensifies militancy in the northern civil rights and labor movements, the advanced nature of the drive for sex equality in Mississippi and Alabama will spread to the women in the labor movement and in political organizations elsewhere, spurring them to greater efforts and their organizations to higher development.

The intimate connection between the woman question and the future of American labor -- a connection today provided not only through women in industry but through women in the Negro struggle -- must not be underestimated.

D. THE LABOR MOVEMENT

A fundamental source of the culturally inherited conservatism of American white workers is their race prejudice. Closely allied to white supremacy, the doctrine and practice of male superiority is another mark of the backwardness of the class.

The white-supremacy fixation of many workers creates an irrational bond between worker and boss, and shatters the real bond between workers. The inability of the organized proletariat to build a class political party of its own is, in large measure, traceable to white racism. Accepting the policy of a labor federation or congress that includes Jim Crow locals, or that retreats from an organizing drive because it cannot and will not resist the barrier of racism, would be inconceivable to a class-conscious worker. The failure of "Operation Dixie" to extend unionism into the South accordingly sealed off the unions from further expansion, froze them into instruments of the largely white aristocracy of labor, paralyzed them before the onslaught of reaction emanating from the South, and rendered them defenseless against the runaway shop.

The feminine mystique, so prominent in the labor movement, remains, along with racism, a significant factor in union degeneration. The super-exploitation of Negro labor was challenged by the CIO 30 years ago. That women are a historically older, and often even more exploited, reservoir of cheap labor, is still regarded as "natural" by the bulk of trade unionists.

The basic unevenness of American political development is illustrated by the situation wherein revolutionary Negroes are driving forward while the privileged, conservative and

apathetic union movement lies dormant, its bureaucracy incorporated into the state apparatus and its locals serving as adjuncts of the Democratic Party. Truly, trade unions are drawing close to and growing together with the capitalist state machinery. U.S. unions have traveled a long way down that road of degeneration foreseen by Trotsky in 1940.

In the thirties, the CIO virtually transformed the organized labor movement from craft to industrial unionism. The dynamic virility of the movement contained classic revolutionary implications, promising first an advance toward a Labor Party. The extended war boom, however, combined with relentless government harrassment, reversed this trend to such an extent that the present union bureaucracy once again represents only privileged sectors of the working class. Even in the mass production industries, union control is largely in the hands of skilled and high-seniority workers who, in accordance with their own narrow outlook, operate at the expense of the lower-paid production workers.

Since the Wagner Act, the CIO had come to depend on government intervention in order to extend the union movement. NLRB mediation and assistance were the CIO's levers of growth. The Taft-Hartley Act, however, so narrowed the scope of NLRB aid that the expansion of unionism was virtually ended and its very existence lay at the mercy of the government. This laid the foundation for the bureaucracy to become incorporated, as a means of survival, into the state structure, where it became an appendage of the government (particularly the State Department). The payoff for the bureaucracy was considerable. On the one hand, through their complicity in the witch-hunt and deals with employers, they were rendered safe from attack by the rank and file; on the other hand, the government-sponsored, cannibalistic raids against "red" unions provided the additional members needed by a bureaucracy incapable of expanding into unorganized spheres.

Increases in productivity have long since become means of erosion of the working class, for the unions have inadequate contractual defenses against the elimination of jobs by new machinery, and they possess no program whatsoever for protecting the rights of laid-off workers. The introduction of automatic equipment and computers has already played havoc with railroad workers, miners, and others, and is capable of wiping out some trades during the next few years. Still, the union leadership stubbornly clings to its base among high-seniority workers. Transformed into job trusts, the unions seek only pensions, productivity bonuses, retirement pay, etc. -- all those fringe benefits that primarily benefit the high-seniority workers.

The introduction of modern machinery and industrial rationalization by corporate management since World War II has largely eliminated skill differentials between workers as the basis for wage differentiations. The new labor aristocracy in the industrial plants, therefore, derive their benefits and privileges mainly from seniority. Originally a means of protection, seniority is now the basis for new divisions within the working class. Seniority carries with it higher wages, better (easier) jobs, protection of job and conditions, and incentive pay. Younger workers are often left with little or no representation. In the ILWU a casual labor pool keeps them out of the union; in steel plants, a pool for lower-paid workers keeps them out of seniority units.

These labor pools, and other divisive forms of organization of the industrial work force, such as the long probationary periods in Auto, have created virtual caste divisions in which younger workers form a cushion of super-exploitation for the employers, partially compensating them for the privileges granted to older workers. This super-exploitation extends into the lower strata of the workers formally represented by the unions, as mechanization and automation, rather than ameliorating the tedious routing of mass production, create greater opportunities for increasing the intensity of labor.

The lower-waged newer workers, therefore, are paying for the wage increases (usually graduated into percentage increases), the fringe benefits, and the pensions for the high seniority employees.

The most exploited sections of the class are now differentiated by age, sex and race. Young workers, Negro workers and women workers constitute the bulk of workers outside the unions or reduced to second-class status within them. The once-radical older unionists today constitute the most privileged and hence the most conservatized section of the working class.

Is there any hope for American labor?

The white-male, skilled, high-seniority worker, with his economic and cultural privileges, is indeed a "beneficiary" of the system, yet he is nervous and apprehensive about automation and he mistrusts the labor bureaucracy. He recognizes, by and large, the contrast between his immediate interests and those of the unorganized, underprivileged and unemployed mass, and he is acutely aware of the role the union plays in preserving and deepening this contrast. The basic traditions of unionism -- solidarity, equality and struggle -- linger on, and, despite everything, there is usually a

militant, old or young, in every shop and every office.

A whole set of actual and potential factors portend the revival of old militancy: the necessity of capitalists to confront the working class with far greater demands upon their self-sacrifice than were imposed even during World War II; the whip of fascist reaction; pressure from the revolutionary Negro movement; the example of the coming labor party and revolutionary union developments in the South; and the pressure of a growing revolutionary cadre that could be created today from forces who are ready now, but are largely outside the unions.

Still, the tide of docility, cynicism and helplessness will not be easily turned. The technological revolution demands a revolutionary labor movement to wrest gains instead of reverses from cybernation, and the extant organized labor movement cannot rise to this level under its present leadership. The AFL-CIO apparatus is both bankrupt in policy and unrepresentative of the broad working class. The radicalization of the organized labor movement requires, therefore, a titanic explosion within the unions, and the current tendency of unionists to challenge the bureaucracy is only a precursor of this coming eruption.

In the final analysis, the source of a labor revival will be the youth, Negroes and women workers who constitute the most exploited section of the working class. Their deteriorating conditions of labor will engender in them an affinity with the growing political movements in the country outside the union movement, and they will find ways and means of penetrating the consciousness of the militants within the unions and stimulating them into motion.

A realistic approach to the class struggle in the United States today provides little ground for syndicalist illusions. Organized labor will, in all likelihood, be the last social formation to go into motion, and a Labor party emanating from the unions - the great hope of the early days of the CIO - cannot be expected to be the next major step in the arena of independent class political action. A mass base for independent politics is already developing from other directions. The tempo and scope of the radicalization of such forces as the Freedom Democratic Party, the Freedom Now Party, radicals regrouped around China and Cuba, defiant students, etc., will modify the need for and the nature of the Labor Party.

The very survival of labor organizations requires that a new revolutionary wing in the unions emerge. The initial impulse for this formation will come from people and issues

within the class, but outside the unions, rather than from economic issues within the union. The success of a new revolutionary wing in the unions will ultimately depend upon the impact generated by the revolutionary socialist party which calls for the leftwing, and upon its ability to propel toward the unions those workers already radicalized in areas outside the jurisdiction of the labor bureaucracy.

The ultimate fate of the remaining unions is intimately connected with their racial structure. The ability of a union to survive and reverse its degenerate trend depends in large measure on its racial composition. There are one million Negroes in the AFL-CIO today, a unique sector of the working class - a transmission belt between organized labor and the class struggle outside the unions. Unions with a sufficient Negro membership will be sensitive to the pressure of the fascist movement which basically aims to extend the southern political system throughout the country. And as the southern worker-Negro leadership clarifies its aims, it will have a decisive influence upon at least those unions retaining sparks of viability.

In the thirties, radicals believed the labor movement would "save" the Negroes. Today, the role of savior-leader is reversed: the climate of militancy surrounding the Negro struggle is contagious; it cannot help but affect the unions and to a certain extent it already has. But Negroes can no more save the present union structure than they can save the Democrats or the system; political democracy, a decent living standard and strong unions can only be won and sustained in the context of a struggle for a Workers' and Farmers' government. As the bloody battle for integration passes over into the fight for socialism, attracting to its ranks the most oppressed and most conscious elements of society - Negroes, youth, women, the unemployed and marginally employed, the improverished aged, rebellious students and intellectuals - the trade unionists will move.

The Negro question has always been a dominating issue of American politics, and it is the key to the great problem confronting us today: how will the gap be bridged between employed and unemployed, skilled and unskilled, male and female, black and white, young and old? It is the civil rights struggle that encompasses, embodies and represents every other oppressed grouping, whose best representatives identify with the Negro struggle. Freedom Now becomes the voice of the exploited everywhere and the force that knocks at the door of the privileged elements of the class, demanding their support on the basis of principle, solidarity and their own frustrated needs.

Black and white rebels from the outcast-ranks of the affluent society, organized by and around the Negro movement because there is no other institution in their lives that can organize them, are the forces who will shape the direction of general working class motion, eventually pressing the most exploited and aware sections of organized labor into action on behalf of their own grievances and the common misery of the class. In the process, a combined and fused leadership will emerge.

E. THE COMING PRE-REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION

The existence of a mass revolutionary force of Negroes within the economic content of an approaching general crisis indicates that the coming period in the U.S. will be pre-revolutionary.

In 1938, Trotsky placed the U.S. in a pre-revolutionary situation by virtue of the rise of the CIO. Proletarian Negroes are a more objectively revolutionary social formation than even the CIO sit-downers of the thirties, because the status-quo is intolerable to them and yet their most elementary problems cannot be solved within the system. The major demands of the labor movement in the thirties were won and consolidated, but only social revolution can establish racial equality. Furthermore, Negroes, as an objectively revolutionary people, must operate in the most conservative majority milieu in the world. The volcanic nature of this contradiction stamps the Negro struggle as the most profoundly revolutionary movement in the world.

The impact of Negro radicalism has thus far primarily jarred youth, radicals, women and the Church (due to the "new breed" of clergymen fresh from campus or pressured by the Negro ministry.) As the leadership of the civil rights movement matures, a chain-reaction in the working class can take place, and we will witness the northern workers, in turn, mobilizing against speedup, unemployment, injustice, fascism and war.

III. TASKS OF THE SWP

A. THEORY AS THE GUIDE TO ACTION

Referring to the formation of the C.P. in the United States, Comrade Cannon wrote in the History of American Trotskyism that "The great lesson of this experience is the folly of taking lightly the power of ideas or imagining that some substitute can be found for correct ideas in the building of a revolutionary movement."

Recognition of the power of theory was the guiding line of the Trotskyist movement and the source of its strength for over two decades. Since the split in the Fourth International, however, the SWP has demonstrated a dangerous unconcern with basic philosophy, political theory and scientific method. The leadership refuses to view old positions in the light of later developments; blithely ignoring the past, they start off eclectically in another direction, moved by their reactions to the new conjuncture.

The prevalent contempt for theory was symbolized by the fate of the Trotsky School. This institution, conceived as a means whereby party activists could intensively study Marxist philosophy and economics, was gradually reduced in content and prestige and then unceremoniously dumped.

The Party's general difficulty anent the Negro struggle primarily results from its frivolous theoretical approach to the question. At three Conventions (1948, 1957, 1963) the Party adopted contradictory Resolutions on the Negro struggle, each slanted toward current developments and adjusting theory accordingly.

The 1948 Resolution, oriented towards the unity of the independent Negro struggle with the proletarian struggle for socialism, was rejected in 1957 for an orientation toward the southern religious-pacifist leadership with its isolation from the labor movement, and this in turn was rejected for an orientation in 1963 toward the reactionary wing of the Nationalist movement - the Muslims. The latter two resolutions did not stand the test of three months of experience after the Convention, yet the Party has never critically reviewed them.

On the question of China, a theoretical rout took place after 1952. The Fourth International of July-August, 1952, featured a Fourth International Resolution containing the following prognosis (page 117, section 18):

"The CP entered upon the Third Chinese Revolution as a Stalinist party empirically freeing itself from the direction of the Kremlin. The international and national social forces which act upon it will determine its transformation from a highly opportunist workers' party into a centrist party going forward along the road of the completion of the revolution. But these same forces will modify the composition and, even, in a certain measure, the very structure of the Chinese CP. The realization of the agrarian reform has already broken up the organization of the CP in numerous villages where it was based on rich or Kulak elements. The unfolding of the class struggle in the village will promote a constant purge along

the same lines. The awakening of the masses will more and more accelerate the penetration of the proletariat into the CP. The break with the bourgeoisie will actually give the hegemony to the proletarian element from the viewpoint of the social composition of the party. This constant unsettlement of the CP which is itself as much an object as a subject of the permanent revolution, will inevitably loosen, at least during a transitory period, the monolithism and the degree of organizational control of the apparatus. It is not excluded that this unsettlement can result in a differentiation within the leadership of the party itself. It is more likely that this leadership, constituted over a long period, will maintain its outward unity throughout the entire ascending course of the revolution, and will preside in its great majority over the transformation of the Chinese CP into a left centrist party. This transformation, while reinforcing the basis of the power of the CP and its support in the laboring population, will also reinforce its independence and its critical spirit toward the Kremlin. The policy of plunder of the Soviet bureaucracy in its economic relations with China will have similar effects. Before a decisive defeat of imperialism occurs in the world, or at least before there is radical modification in the world situation, an open break of the Chinese CP with Stalinism is very unlikely."

This was our position in 1952 and it has stood the test of time with amazing accuracy. Actually, it was precisely the breathing space afforded by the "decisive defeat" of imperialism in the Korean War, and the "radical modification of the world situation" which accompanied it, that permitted the outbreak of the Sino-Soviet dispute. But in a completely unexplained reversal of theory, the SWP slipped away from this prognosis after the Cochranite split, and proceeded to the untenable position of characterizing the CCP as Stalinist and calling for political revolution. The weak political roots of this position inevitably distorted and twisted our basic theory out of shape.

The slogan of political revolution in China not only cuts us off from the unfolding colonial revolution and the growing internal conflict of the CPs, it prevents an objective analysis of China and breeds dozens of derivative tactical errors.

The contention that we cannot renounce this theory because the Chinese have repressed and killed Trotskyists raises a very grave issue, but not an objective criterion.

The Cuban government has suppressed "Trotskyists." Although we don't thank Castro for it, we realize that the Posadas group had placed itself in apparent opposition to the

revolution, making it unwise for us to base a sweeping socio-political evaluation of the regime on the criterion of repression.

Moreover, the facts about the Chinese persecution of Trotskyists are not at all clear. The general line of at least some Chinese Trotskyists places them in a similar ambivalent relation to the Chinese revolution as the Cuban "Trotskyists" are to the Cuban revolution. However well-intended, it is disastrous for a revolutionary not to recognize the revolution as it unfolds and it is precarious for him to fight the regime on secondary grounds.

In the USSR, virtually the entire leadership of the Revolution was subjected to a mounting repression for over ten years; frame-up, imprisonment, exile and murder were their lot. Trotsky did not include these terrible crimes of the bureaucracy as fundamental criteria for determining whether a political revolution was necessary to rid the USSR of Stalinist rule. On the contrary, it was only his concrete analysis - the bureaucracy is an encrusted petty-bourgeois caste that consolidated power by virtue of a Thermidorian reaction which created a qualitative change at a definite historical point - that led him to the conclusion of political revolution.

The majority warns that any change of its evaluation of the Chinese regime is dangerous because a revision of our historically vindicated position on the Soviet bureaucracy might result. But the opposite is the case. In assuming an identity between two such dissimilar phenomena as the Chinese and Soviet regimes, the majority makes a precise evaluation of either impossible. The concept of political revolution, a fundamental feature of Trotskyist theory, becomes utterly meaningless when equally adapted to both.

The majority has apparently recognized that what it calls "political revolution" in China would not take the form of insurrection, street fighting, etc. But instead of re-examining the slogan, it masks the contradictions involved with ambiguities.

The 1963 Resolution on China, for instance, states that "There are no legal institutional channels, through which the direction & policies of the one-party state can be changed or corrected in a peaceful way." But this assertion is ambiguously qualified by a previous reference: "It would be preferable if the resulting confrontation between the bureaucrats and the people could be resolved by mutual agreement of the contending forces. But, as long as Stalinist methods and concepts dominate the CP, this is the least likely of variants."

So the "political revolution" in China is all things - even the "least likely" variant of "mutual agreement" between workers and the bureaucracy.

Germain, at least, will not be led into this trap. Answering those who claimed that the XXth Congress represented the beginning of the political revolution, he said that there was a great difference between shifts in the bureaucracy, even when due to pressure of the masses, and the active intervention of the masses in a political revolution. The political revolution will begin, he said, with the appearance of the masses in the streets.

The majority cannot make such a judgment, because their concept of the political revolution is being broadened to include a relatively gradual reform process. Labelling this process "political revolution" is direct bridge-building to the concept of self-reform of the Soviet bureaucracy. The obvious differences in the regimes of China and the USSR force the majority onto this new and truly dangerous road to revisionism. Since the slogan does not follow from the facts, it becomes twisted out of all meaning.

None of the documents of our co-thinkers call for political revolution in China. On the contrary, they evidently anticipate a more or less orderly process of evolution there. Yet the majority claims that the SWP and our co-thinkers have identical positions.

By dropping the political revolution in China slogan, we could make effective use of our critical support. We could put ourselves in a position to demand that the CPC break its unprincipled idealization of the old-guard Stalinists - the original formulators of the doctrine of peaceful coexistence and the founders of the counter-revolutionary police-state in the USSR.

The present line deprives the Party of an opportunity to participate in the inevitable internal CPC battles over questions of principle. We are writing ourselves out of a titanic historical controversy.

We can no longer blunder and stumble into positions by delayed and hurried responses to pressures from the outside world and from internal needs. Study and research must be maintained on an intensive, constant level if we are to adequately keep abreast of current developments and anticipate the larger outlines of the future. Where theory is not a living and growing intrinsic part of everyday party life, not only theory but the entire party organism will degenerate, and this is particularly true when mass penetration and increased actions lie in store for us.

Anybody can plot activity, but revolutionary practice can only be directed by Marxist theoreticians. The hardening division of labor in the party between theoretician and practical-political is the end result of the pragmatic climate of "tolerating" theory as a third-rate sideline of operations, good for four ISRs a year and annual ceremonial bows. Theory is not a substitute for but a guide to action. We should "honor" it less and respect it more.

B. REGROUPMENT

The accelerating tempo of economic contradictions, foreign policy disasters and domestic conflicts telegraphs the imminence of crisis and the encroaching menace of fascism. The conjuncture has produced political repercussions in the major parties and disaster in both the CP and SP, where accelerated disintegration is creating new opportunities for revolutionary regroupment.

There is a new factor in the process of disintegration of the CP and what is left of the SP. In the most recent splits, instead of people quietly disappearing from political life there has been a tendency for new organizations to emerge.

Progressive Labor is the most impressive example. Impelled by the Chinese Revolution, Cuba, and the Negro struggle, and despite the neo-Stalinist attitude of its leaders, it was a definitively leftward split in the Communist movement. The excommunication of YPSL did not result in a stable, homogeneous, or definitively left-moving organization, but is nevertheless representative of the trend.

The leftward direction of CP splits is furthered by Monthly Review, which finally broke with Stalinism on the key issue of the Sino-Soviet dispute, exercised theoretical leadership on Cuba, and is developing into a genuinely Marxist theoretical magazine. It has great influence in the CP milieu.

The National Guardian, in perennial policy crises over elections, symbolized in its political paralysis during the recent election campaign the dreary, chronic crisis of the "Progressive" camp, which will only be resolved insofar as its followers embrace revolutionary Marxism. Their evolution is of special significance at this time, since the brutal pressure of the CP is decisive in confining the Guardian staff to a centrist role. A regroupment movement at this time, to which they are morally committed, would serve as an enormous counter-pressure.

A particularly favorable situation prevails in the U.S. which is not present in European regroupment. Outside the main established organizations which would be involved -- the SWP, YSA, part of YPSL, the Guardian, Monthly Review, PL, the May 2nd movement, etc. -- there are larger and newer organizations, not yet politically crystallized but moving to the left, which would be caught up in a regroupment mobilization.

Regroupment would catch the imagination of the young revolutionists in the South who are sensitive to the course and moods of the radical movement. They would welcome a call for revolutionary regroupment, feeling that they could participate in an essentially new movement on the basis of equality.

The radicalization of campus youth through civil rights support, anti-war protests, and "grass roots" slum and ghetto organizing is rapidly reaching a stage of transformation into socialist consciousness. Students for a Democratic Society is an outcome of this trend. This unmistakable socialist trend can be confirmed and accelerated by the discussion and action which will accompany a regroupment campaign.

At the time of the formation of the SWP in 1938, it was the optimistic consensus that the SP entry was the last maneuver with centrists we would be required to undertake, short of the development of a Labor Party. The founding convention took the view that by facing the masses directly, we could overcome, or at least counterbalance, the weight of the CP in radical circles, and enter upon the road of becoming a mass party.

Trotsky was not convinced of the absolute character of this turn, because only a little more than a year later, when the CP made its brief leftward turn, coinciding with the Stalin-Hitler pact, he proposed that we support Browder for President -- essentially a maneuver with the CP. His proposal was rejected by the leadership.

In 1956, the present N.O. leadership reluctantly accepted Comrade Cannon's proposals for regroupment, without, however, moving from the basic 1938 position. The outcome of that dramatic campaign among radicals, despite its lack of all-out support from the N.O., was an unprecedented prestige and influence gained by the SWP. We more than counterbalanced CP weight in the general radical milieu.

But we still are not on the road to becoming a mass party, and competing vanguard-type formations are rapidly appearing.

It is time to say that things didn't work out exactly as we had anticipated in 1938 and that the relationship of forces between us and leftward moving groups is such as to require a tactical shift toward consolidating the vanguard formations.

The seriousness of P.L. and the May 2nd movement, the most important of the regroupment phenomena, is demonstrated by P.L.'s national convention which publicly committed them to build a "New Communist Party in the U.S., dedicated to struggle for Socialism by revolutionary means." Further, P.L. is clear about independent politics, that decisive political issue which all the 1956 regroupment organizations were ambiguous about, except for the left-wing Shachtmanite youth who came over to us.

These factors alone should encourage us to demand close collaboration for united front activities and political discussion. It is doubtful that P.L. can overcome its prejudices against theory and internal democracy sufficiently to live up to its commitment. Its boldness and aggressiveness are counteracted by its adventurism. Its Stalinist theoretical approach to the Negro question (not basically different from the SWP's) is a handicap, but it appears to recognize this disadvantage and is able to compensate for it, because it has the only organized socialist-revolutionary force in Harlem and has sound connections with the southern struggle, where it is well-known. Despite its serious flaws, it can live and prosper because it has a going concern in the Negro community which gives it some self-corrective powers.

P.L. is a substantial cadre objectively moving in our direction. Politically, it is closer to us than was either the American Workers Party, with whom we carried through a fusion, or the left wing socialists of 1936 on whose account we entered the SP. Progressive Labor, having advanced far along the road of independent organization, should be influenced by us quickly and decisively -- or the danger exists of the development of a substantial centrist formation in the American working class, based at one of the key points of revolutionary sensitivity -- Harlem.

The political development of the leaders of the new civil rights, student and radical organizations cannot be left to spontaneity and the effects of occasional forays with The Militant. Marxism must be offered to the new rebels around an axis of structural unity resting on a class-struggle approach to the American Revolution. The awareness of the urgency of this need to consolidate the vanguard is what lends vitality and magnetism to P.L., yet only the SWP has the theory, experience and substance to promote and effect a new party.

Prospects of revolutionary regroupment figure prominently in the approach of our co-thinkers in Europe, yet such prospects are probably better and more significant in the U.S. than in Europe today. Still, the party leadership chooses to disdain and condemn these opportunities, reinforcing its isolation from the radicals objectively impelled toward us by the Negro struggle, China, Cuba and U.S. foreign policy.

Though belated, the SWP grasp of the Cuban revolution was far superior to its evaluation of China. Nevertheless, our false position on China, plus a lack of relation to the Negro movement in the U.S., prevent the Cuban revolutionaries from taking the SWP seriously, particularly after our peculiar and unexplained pullout from FPCC branches, and our virtual boycott of the first Cuban trip followed by sudden withdrawal from the second.

The excellent programmatic and organizational work performed by the SWP on behalf of the Cuban Revolution is being steadily nullified by its newly-acquired habit and image of sectarianism, and by a lack of political analysis and theoretical clarity.

In an area where we should lead, Monthly Review has taken over; instead of merely reporting, reprinting and over-adapting, MR presented the definitive "Trotskyist" analysis (Gilly). The very logic of their theory, and respect for it, will move the editors and close supporters of MR eventually into the political-organizational arena. They will become a powerful force in the former "Progressive" milieu, and a new formidable political tendency will emerge.

* * *

The SWP leadership mistakenly regards itself as the automatic center of radical development in the U.S. It solves the problem of its relations with and responsibilities to emerging radical tendencies by means of five classic sectarian formulae:

1. Attempted raids. These sometimes dislodge individuals here and there from emerging centrist formations, but such embittered relations ensue that all contact is broken and the type of interrelations which could eventually lead to fusion are rendered impossible, in violation of the objective logic of political development.

2. Magnanimous invitations to "Join the SWP." Illogical, since the SWP is not the center of all radical politics, this tactic leaves much to be desired in the context of the present relationship of forces.

3. Ignore the development.

4. Condemnation. The group is "insignificant -- we're bigger than they are." Or it is guilty of deviations from The Revolution Betrayed and we refuse to "water down our program." So regroupment is "absolutely excluded" and would "gain us nothing."

5. Sublime faith. The emerging movement is viewed as a "natural" to develop to revolutionary socialist conclusions by itself, thereby absolving the Party of any responsibility for intervening in its development. To intervene with a program is "anti-conjunctural," "out of this world" or "vanguardism." Instead, the Party fawns on the current mood, politically adapting to backwardness. This has been a major pattern in our relations with the Negro struggle.

In reality, a regroupment today would not only be more significant in the U.S. than elsewhere, but it is infinitely more realistic than in 1956-7, when the SWP surprised the radical world with its proposal, and when "Trotskyites" were still regarded as agents of Satan, even by the basically uncorrupted proletarian elements of the CP who wanted a return to Leninism.

Furthermore, the radicals who would favor regroupment today are already oriented to the proletariat, to the mass, to the-ghetto. They are disenchanted with Democratic Party and old-line peace group politicking, and are ready to move over the heads of the reformist organizations and orient toward Negroes, students and workers in motion. As a group, they are no longer deliberate representatives of the Kremlin or Peking, engaged in wangling support for those regimes; they are concerned first and foremost with reaching the home front proletariat, with making the decisive American revolution.

Under present circumstances, the road to the masses is through the vanguard. Of all the forces which are behind the present development of radicalized formations, the Negro movement is the force on American soil that constitutes a mass base for a newly regrouped vanguard. The consolidation of the vanguard would establish an unbreakable bond between revolutionary Socialism and the Negro masses.

C. DIRECT INTERVENTION

The driving needs of the bomb and the bipartisan Dr. Strangeloves to preserve the system at any cost are telescoping every world and domestic conflict into this epoch and preparing a brutal reaction against the masses.

When U.S. politics shifts into the coming pre-revolutionary stage, organized labor will not have a protracted period in which to absorb understanding through a "molecular" process and gradually arrive at readiness to build a left-wing and invite our small cadre to contend for leadership of a newborn Labor Party. The vista of eventual manifest destiny for the SWP is utopian, for leisurely decades of experience and lesson-learning can never again be offered by history.

While resistance to production-line exploitation is increasing, the unions are in the rearguard of political struggle today and most of today's militants and radicals are not in the unions. Yet it is the best representatives of the most exploited and ignored who must shape the direction of working-class motion by exerting pressure on the relatively passive proletariat. These representatives of the "other" America must themselves be organized -- by the SWP. Reality imposes the necessity of building a larger and dynamic revolutionary party now. There is no other way for an American Bolshevik vanguard to grow, and the conjuncture offers beckoning opportunities to intervene directly in the swirl of radical and radicalizing currents impelled by new conditions.

The SWP should behave like a combat party that connects with key organizations and arenas of struggle, and contends over policy and leadership from the inside. In special and promising areas, it must initiate actions and create organizations. Through such time-tested and traditional methods, the SWP can try to win to its close periphery or ranks the advanced layers of the oppressed now stirring or already in motion.

The new rebels demand, in effect, the Right to Live, and they will be heard. The oppressed housewife, the triply oppressed Negro woman worker, the jobless white student-militant insulted and vilified by authorities and press, the unemployed male Negro -- all are interlocked in a common struggle for survival, dignity and justice. They see the system as vicious, the Establishment as made up of liars and hypocrites, and the unions as nowhere. So Negroes are organizing and youth are organizing, and they will be followed by the unemployed, by the marginally employed and by women mobilizing for justice. Without a paycheck to provide them functional identity or a union to represent and bargain for them, the only identity of the large sector of displaced Americans is their race, sex or age; most of the unorganized and unemployed are Negroes, women and youth -- all oppressed categories in American culture, and all intersecting and interconnected constituents of the class struggle today.

The most oppressed, if led by Bolsheviks, will rise to the highest and broadest awareness; this is the A-B-C of Marxism. And only a party that knows who the oppressed are, why and how they are oppressed, and what type of resistance formations they need to pit them in struggle, can orient to and win the angry young people of both races and both sexes. But for successful intervention into any strata, program is primary, and our appraisal of the economics and politics of Race and Sex in 20th Century America must be a fundamental part of our program. If Marxist sociology can no longer cope with and encompass the Negro struggle, the emancipation of women and youth, and their points of contact and interconnection within the various struggles for civil rights, peace, education and jobs, then the future might as well be given over to the petty-bourgeois, neo-reformist academicians -- the psychologists and the anthropologists and sociologists who are seriously contending for leadership of "the Community" through their "functional self-help neighborhood projects," etc., etc., etc.

We should intervene, with a program and with cadres, in the labor movement wherever possible, and in the civil rights, student and women's organizations where the door is comparatively wide open.

1. The Industrial Proletariat and the Triple Revolution

Many liberals once made common cause with Labor in the hope that the union movement would provide a liberal counterweight to the reactionary power of the big bourgeoisie and serve to maintain a balance within American Democracy. The degeneration of the unions to a point where they are mere political appendages to the state power dashed the hopes of the liberals, who have been quick to liberate themselves from any previous attachment to the class struggle, such as it was, and to pursue their liberalism on strictly middle class levels.

Many new (and old) theories attempt to justify this escape, prominent among them being the Triple Revolution. By substituting statistics based on hypothetical trends for economic analysis, the authors have not only liquidated the class struggle but the proletariat itself.

The prognosis that cybernetics will dominate production under present politico-economic conditions is based on three false assumptions:

1. It ignores the elementary economic problem of realization of past investments which will soon reach crisis proportions.

2. It assumes extant conditions of the unlimited and free competition of early capitalism which forced a snowballing of mechanization, ignoring the monopolistic, centralized, controlled and manipulated capitalism of today.

3. Since only government financing could provide the capital for general cybernation, it assumes that the government would encourage unlimited cybernation before it hardens into a police state and prepares its gas chambers:

Cybernation has influenced the present increase in productivity of labor as follows:

The impressive increase in productivity during the past decade has still been below that of the 1920's. Furthermore, the greatest magnitudes of increase have been reached not in manufacturing, but in the primitive extractive industries, mining and agriculture, all of which are just reaching the stage of mechanization and are not as yet subject to cybernation.

In industry, cybernation is used chiefly not in the production process, but to reduce the overhead cost of the mountains of paper work in large corporations.

In all industry, partial automation appears as a result of the general tendency to increase the productivity of labor. Except in special cases, however, it has shown few signs of constituting a qualitative leap toward the virtual elimination of labor.

Certain manual trades and certain branches of industry are subject to cybernation because of specific problems. These branches of the economy will be deliberately cybernated when it becomes essential to do so for the profitability of other more fundamental capital aggregations; for example, cybernation in certain branches of the transportation industry could make production industries like steel or auto more profitable. Other economic sectors may be chosen because of specific opportunities in or pressure from the international market.

The trends described by the Triple Revolution document are not realizable by capitalism without the concomitant imposition of fascism. The scientific-objective necessity and possibility of a cybernated economy are the technological props and spurs to socialism which alone can liberate the productive forces from their capitalist shackles. The tremendous revolutionary implications of cybernetics on both production and political

levels should be appreciated and seized by the SWP as a cornerstone for agitation on the basic question of the private ownership of the means of production. "Under socialism nobody would work! Where are the incentives to labor? There will always be rich and poor...." Nobody needs to "work," in the old slave sense; artificial incentives can be superceded by basic human drives to grow and excel; classes are unnecessary - for there is potentially wealth for all.

We must take the Triple Revolution out of the hands of the liberals who use it to write off the proletariat, and place it as a weapon in proletarian hands for use against their exploiters. The pragmatic and myopic reaction of the labor officialdom to cybernation compounds the problems of the working class, but leaves the educational field free for revolutionists. A clarion call for socialism and a strong program of social welfare and transitional demands for the technologically unemployed is imperative. Cybernetics, when eliminating highly-skilled and expensive labor, drives even such progressive workers as typographical compositors into stubborn quarrels with the computers, for they see no other way out. If there is a way out, it is ours to propose.

The Triple Revolution is not an "abstract" phenomenon; it poses tasks for the party. Trotsky's analysis of trade unions in the epoch of imperialist decay carried the injunction not to renounce revolutionary activities in the unions but rather to intensify them. This can be done today by our most serious youth directly entering industry and bearing with them an ideological grasp of the exciting new discoveries and the prospects for a socialist America.

The central party leadership, which always has based its perspective upon the revival of the unions, minimizing all other arenas of the class struggle, today pays journalistic attention to union affairs, but in practice builds a wall of hostility and prejudice between the party youth and the opportunities for their entry into the industrial working class within and on the periphery of the unions. There are evidently more openings now in the mass production industries than have existed for years, and it is more necessary for student youth of today to gain the absolutely invaluable experience of daily connection to the proletariat than it was for the working-class and white-collar party youth of twenty years ago.

Even though there may be little scope for union activity today, proximity to the changing technology and the moods of workers is mandatory for both the education of comrades and the party, and for the exploration of sources for the leftwing.

The problems of the young, the unrepresented, the super-exploited, the women workers - all on the periphery of the unions or in their lower strata - demand the active intervention of young revolutionary socialists. These groups of workers, along with Negro freedom fighters, represent the Achilles' heel of the bureaucracy and can become a vital force in establishing the new concepts of unionism necessary to make unions once again instruments of the class struggle.

2. The Negro Struggle

A traditionally false appreciation of the Negro struggle, alternating between super-Nationalism, subordination to trade unionism, and adaptation to reformism, has so estranged the SWP, objectively and subjectively, from all the extant camps of the Negro community that it is isolated from the largest mass movement today, even while the southern welcome mat remains in place for everybody.

The failure of the SWP to intervene programmatically and with forces in the southern mass movement - to articulate a logical program and offer skilled personnel to the determined SNCC-FDP militants and Negro workers - is unprecedented in our history. To continue consigning the movement to the Social Democrats, Stalinists, pacifists, and do-gooders, and to fail to create a genuine revolutionary cadre there now, could spell disaster for both the southern movement and the SWP.

We must build a left-wing in SNCC in the North and South, and in the MFDP. We must undertake a campaign of encouraging comrades of all ages to go to Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia to learn and help and participate in the work and in the constant discussions of policy. In retrospect, our degree of orientation to this heroic movement will be viewed as the barometer of our dynamic as a Party.

In the North, a vast propaganda campaign of specially written socialist analyses of the Negro struggle, and its connection with the questions of foreign policy, jobs, unions, government, etc., is indicated. Into the Ghetto with revolutionary socialism! Ideas will eventually speak for themselves, and the right to discuss and work together can be won. The leadership of the ghetto is far from determined. Even Malcolm's leadership was indecisive because it offered more promise than program, and what political clarity he did achieve must now be developed by others still on the scene and able to grasp what was both positive and unfinished in his thought.

3. An Independent Youth Movement

The awakening of the committed generation occurred in response to the Southern sit-in movement. It quickly generated Northern sympathy and a radicalization among college youth ensued at a rapid pace, drawing inspiration from the civil rights movement, Cuba, China, etc. This process was greatly accelerated by campus reaction to the war in Vietnam which may yet transform SDS into a mass movement.

The upsurge of new layers among the youth has destroyed old formations, including some old opponents of the Trotskyist youth. The Student Peace Union is gone and the Shachtmanites no longer play an important role.

In place of the organizations of a few years ago, more militant and virile formations representing a new stage of consciousness have arisen. In addition to SDS, Friends of SNCC, the May 2nd Movement, the second-generation CP youth, and even the Marcyites have been able to establish effective organizations among youth plus ad-hoc committees by the hundreds. Pacifism, the ruling mood of the previous period, has been replaced by a militant anti-war actionism. The limited area of concern which characterized movements of the past period (civil rights alone, or peace alone) is replaced by a broad grasp of politics and a search for fundamental social solutions.

These young people are highly intelligent, relatively well-educated, in dead earnest about their beliefs. They are suffused with a democratic and critical spirit and heap contempt on the witchhunt, loyalty oaths and all other authoritarian practices geared to trammel free thought and investigation. Many of them are discovering the humanism of Marxism.

A genuinely independent movement of revolutionary socialist youth, with a broad mass character, is clearly on the order of the day as an indispensable tool for taking advantage of the present student revolts. A key task and objective should be to reach out and establish firm links with other sectors of the radical student movement, and then forge these links into a virile new organization in which the Trotskyist youth would be a part, playing the leading role in ideological clarification.

To accomplish this, however, the Trotskyist youth would need to alter the premises of its present existence; for its outlook on cadre selection and training is conservative and limited, aimed at attracting individuals only. In addition, it has been constricted by overcaution and is suspicious of penetrating or supporting struggles outside its control. It initiates very little. Dominated by the adult leadership, it is a youth edition that reproduces the adult strategic and

organizational rigidity. It should be freed from that and allowed to develop its own identity and vitality.

It attempts to compensate for its anti-interventionism with intensive activism in the field of propaganda. This exclusive emphasis obscures the fundamental need of the Trotskyist youth to orient politically to a much different situation than obtained only a few years ago. Any youth organization today that does not directly penetrate the radical milieus all around it is simply sectarian.

Organizationally, the stiff and stilted discipline of the youth formation makes it repugnant to developing Marxists. Under the slogan of "fewer but better members," the youth expels dissidents, demands slavish loyalty to leadership, discourages (by doing everything short of prohibiting) minority views and resolutions, and serves the adult apparatus so openly that it is virtually unrecognizable as an independent and as a youth organization.

"Unless they have complete independence the youth will be unable either to train good Socialists from their midst, or to prepare themselves to lead socialism forward." ("The Young Generation", Little Lenin Library, Vol. 26.)

Definitive independence, an internal climate of greater freedom, and a more fundamental education are the clues to a youth movement that moves.

The Trotskyist youth must be able to secure ideological hegemony over the youth movement as a whole. This can be facilitated by a party which aspires to ideological hegemony over the class, as Trotsky demanded of the party.

Among many youth of today there appears a desperate, nihilistic, individualistic trend, expressing some revolutionary instinct but comprising little revolutionary industry. A complete lack of connection with the production process and the labor movement and its traditions fosters anti-union feeling and a Bohemian approach to the question of poverty. They work only at unconventional jobs or just enough to get by, so as to have leisure - for no particularly constructive pursuits. Anarchist and vulgar-existentialist moods run deep and rampant. The theoretical training of our youth is too meagre to render them politically effective in this area.

Intensive education in matters of philosophy and economics is the most pressing necessity for young Marxists today. A youth Trotsky School would lend great prestige to the organization and provide the needed institutionalized setting for serious study. The ingrained pragmatic contempt of most American radicals, old and new, for "Talmudic" dispute and

basic logical and historical debates, must not be catered to. It must be grappled with and the Trotskyist youth must train itself to contend with and appeal ideologically to the thousands of young people already indignant over the gulf between "democratic" theory and practice, and the gross incapacity of the bourgeois educational system to rationally explain the off-campus international and domestic realities.

Real communist education for youth on the Leninist model - serious scholarship and energetic organizing - will guarantee the emergence of an assured young cadre eager to work in and with the proletariat.

4. For a Woman's Commission

A request to the P.C. to establish an SWP Woman's Commission to encourage the development of women inside and outside the party through a program of research, publication, discussion and experiment was made at the 1964 California Vacation School by comrades Karsner and Cannon. The proposal was supported by leading women activists on the Pacific Coast. The proposal has not since been heard of, to our knowledge.

The reawakening of the movement for women's emancipation occasioned the publication of Betty Friedan's "The Feminine Mystique," which had a tremendous mass impact. Her demand that women cease the reactionary and toxic idolatry of home-making and become involved in social production for pay, and in politics in earnest, rocks even radical circles, who for decades have steadily abandoned the Bolshevik course of shaking up the mass of women and agitating them to organize around the woman question. Such a policy, as outlined by Lenin to Zetkin, assumed the prior and extant existence of a core of already-emancipated women Bolsheviks who by example and capacity to teach and organize would lead women militants.

To a Marxist, the woman question should be a matter of program, demands, and organization. But what too often passes for the woman question in the SWP is a passive fatalism and paralysis, an acceptance in life of the secondary role, with "socialism" used as the rationale for the impossibility of urging women to change to relative economic, political, organizational and personal independence, and of expecting men to accept it. "It is too hard under capitalism," say the radical men and women who "understand" the problem. The few comrades who do not generally stop at abstract sympathy and who try to encourage women to resist second-class status and assume the full obligations of equality, are often ignored or labelled as "male chauvinists."

Workers who believe the bosses' line are called scissor-bills. Negroes who admire and serve the white man are "uncle Toms". Women who accept, temporize with, rationalize, glorify, or "tactically" overadapt to male supremacy are just as objectively and subjectively Uncle Toms (or Aunt Marys) as their counterparts in the unions and the race. The modern American socialist movement, saturated by the feminine mystique, is historically, if unwittingly, responsible for engendering a political mutation - the woman revolutionary, ready to take on the state, private property and the Pentagon, who is a scissor-bill on the woman question!

The characteristic role of women in the SWP has become a reflection of their role in capitalist society, and specifically in the working class. They take care of the house and children, and operate on the lower rungs of branch and National Office administration. The most talented and educated may write for The Militant, but the Party is run by men and political policy is decided by men. This waste of cadre material represented by the failure to encourage the potential of party women is chronic, as is the ingrained habit of appealing to the generosity and self-sacrifice capacity of Party women in order to gain their acceptance of the status-quo. Male supremacy, a de facto doctrine and practice in the SWP, is nothing short of a scandal.

It is high time that the Party grasped the dynamic character of woman's emancipation as a transitional slogan flowing clearly and directly from the pivotal place of the woman question in American life, where the oppression of women constitutes a burning injustice that intersects with every other political question.

It is time that the condescending word "secondary" stop being used as a blinder to shut out the reality of feminine masses in ideological turmoil over their role, seeking new answers and new pathways. Snobbery always feeds sectarianism, and vice versa; an issue may be logically secondary but politically primary, and a revolutionary activist responds to a cry for justice and direction without stopping to consult his list of value-judgments on the order of precedence of various "questions". Modern American life is connecting and compressing all questions; today's Marxist must have not only a world view and a revolutionary class-struggle approach, but a comprehensive grasp of the complex inter-penetrations of basic economic phenomena and super-structural categories. To the oppressed, their immediate suffering comes first, and telling a woman that her problem is secondary and derivative is contemptuous arrogance.

Serious radicals should not dismiss what Lenin called "the burning needs, the shameful humiliation of women under capitalism, defenseless and deprived of so many rights." More, they should be able to say, with him: "We recognize their needs, and the abominable privileges of the man. We hate, yes, we hate, everything -- and we will abolish everything -- which tortures and oppresses them."

Women's freedom was an uncompleted task of the second American revolution; a revolutionary party in the U.S. should at least try to emulate the Abolitionists in their joint devotion to the cause of Negro and women's emancipation. The Negro struggle meets and overlaps with the woman question at many points, and once again it can be seen how only Marxism, in all its broad and humanitarian ramifications, indicates the course of action.

A Commission to encourage and support the development of party women, to study and write and publish data and theory in this field, to update Engels' and Lenin's classic analyses, to seek ways of organizing women and connecting their special problems to the basic social crisis -- such a Commission could well be the touchstone of the SWP's ability in general to overcome a grave deficiency and move forward with doubled momentum.

Subordination and demoralization of the oppressed cannot be tolerated by a vanguard party. Lenin, the organizer, pointed the way: "It would be absurd, absolutely absurd, to overlook and ignore (women). We need to carry on work, special work, among them. This is practical, revolutionary expediency."

LV. A FOOTNOTE ON THE ORIGIN OF COCHRANISM

During the 1940's, the Negro community supplied the party with its first mass political base. The wartime betrayal of the Negro struggle by the CP presented the most brilliant opportunity ever offered us anywhere, and we eagerly seized it.

Almost overnight, we became a real influence in the Negro community, and before long this power extended into several unions, notably the auto union in Detroit.

Unfortunately, however, our theoretical tools for dealing with this favorable turn in our fortunes were primitive. We has a half-forgotten super-Nationalistic Resolution, both highly abstract and wrong (1939), and a leadership which looked at the Negro movement through the windows of the union hall.

We registered considerable success in Negro defense cases, protest actions and propaganda. But because we identified the Negro struggle with the national question in Europe, the militant Negroes looked upon Marxism as mysterious and unrelated to reality, because they were engaged in a struggle of a different kind and toward an opposite goal: equality through rev-

olution. Our preoccupation with Garveyism as the model of the future Negro course, plus the conviction that the Negro movement was just about like a trade union, made it impossible for us to adapt theoretically to the Negro struggle as such. A series of catastrophic episodes resulted (the most devastating being the policy of the leadership against interracial marriage in the New York local, and our ultimatic insistence on an NAACP orientation in Detroit), and most Negroes left.

The leadership never offered more than a superficial answer to the question tormenting the party: Why did the leave? Consequently, the problem festered.

The product of this infection was Cochranism. The Detroit unionists, with a strong predominantly-Negro base and a substantial apparatus that had long enabled them to keep the bureaucracy at arms length, were left high, dry and over-extended when their apparatus disintegrated and the mass base washed away.

The Clarke-Bartell faction became politically demoralized by the same phenomenon. Lacking a convincing explanation of their predicament, their reflexes ruled. The reflex of the unionists was to turn toward the labor bureaucracy as a substitute point of support. The Clarke-Bartell politicals sought the C.P. The two groups combined to junk the old Trotskyism, which stood in the way of their revisionism. What triggered their initial opportunism and disorientation was the Party's loss of our Negro cadre, a loss never to be recouped within the framework of present Party theory on the Negro question.

Obviously, one of the fundamental shortcomings of the struggle against Cochranism was that the majority never even considered a probe into this important source of Cochranism: the Party's failure in the Negro struggle.

Most of the party majority today appear to be more certain of the correctness of their Nationalist theory of the Negro struggle than they were 26 years ago -- notwithstanding 26 years of bitter experience. Their position is derived from the theory of the national question in Eurasia, promulgated by Lenin in 1913.

Yet, at the 1963 convention, Comrade Breitman assailed the Kirk minority for the "old age" of its position. "We heard this garbage from Kirk ten years ago," he said.

We respectfully call to the attention of Comrade Breitman and the Party the following words of Trotsky, reprinted in "The Age of Permanent Revolution," edited by Deutscher with the assistance of George Novak:

"Out of the party with passive obedience, with mechanical leveling by the authorities, with suppression of personality, with servility, with careerism! A Bolshevik is not merely a disciplined man; he is a man who in each case and on each question forges a firm opinion of his own and defends it courageously and independently, not only against his enemies, but inside his own party. Today, perhaps, he will be in the minority in his organization. He will submit, because it is his party. But this does not always signify that he is in the wrong. Perhaps he saw or understood before the others did a new task or the necessity of a turn. He will persistently raise the question a second, a third, a tenth time, if need be. Thereby he will render his party a service, helping it meet the new task fully armed to carry out the necessary turn without organic upheavals, without factional convulsions."

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APPENDIX I

A MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT AND PROTECTION OF CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS IN THE SOUTH

WHEREAS, the fundamental defect of American democracy has been its inability to bring the rule of law to large areas of the South, causing the citizens of these areas to live in constant jeopardy of life and liberty at the hands of lawless elements, and

WHEREAS, this lawless condition is supported, maintained and perpetuated by the whole Power Structure of the South, whereby there is no rule of law but of arbitrary violence secretly organized by Klans and Councils and supported by the State and local governments and police, constabulary, courts, judges, sheriffs, jailers, executioners and other public officials, and

WHEREAS, after the Civil War, the working people of the South, black and white, under the protection of Congress and the Union Army, did establish and maintain governments of a democratic character which, for the first and only time in the history of this area, gave protection to citizens under the Bill of Rights and the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments, and

WHEREAS, these governments were deprived of Federal protection by illegal, secret and subversive agreements between the Democratic and Republican Parties (the one most publically exposed being the Compromise of 1877), and by this means the democratic regime was subjected to violence and terrorism which finally achieved the overthrow of these governments by lawless elements under the banner of White Supremacy, and

WHEREAS, the present State governments of the South are the direct products of this violence and terrorism and unlawful overthrow of constituted democratic authority, and as a result of their origin and of the police-state and fascist methods by which they have been perpetuated, there exists neither Freedom of Speech, Freedom of Worship, Freedom of Assemblage, Freedom of the Press, the Right to Vote, the Right to Trial by a Jury of Peers, Protection against Illegal Search and Seizure, the Right of Due Process of Law, the Right to Petition for Redress of Grievances, nor any of the substantial rights of the individual to which, according to the Constitution, all American citizens are entitled; nor do working people have the right of collective bargaining, a right which cannot exist without a foundation of all the above Constitutionally guaranteed rights, and

WHEREAS, this lawless Southern System has had profound influence on culture and practices in every part of the country, and furthermore, through various individuals and organizations and under the sponsorship of powerful capitalistic interests, tends to extend itself throughout the U. S. and thereby constitutes a

grave danger and threat to the civil rights and liberties of all, and to all democratic institutions including labor organizations, places of worship, political organizations etc., and

WHEREAS, there is no legal framework in the Southern system of lawless government whereby change toward a constitutional form of government might be initiated, and

WHEREAS, Article 4, Section 4 of the Constitution requires the Federal Government to guarantee to every State a Republican form of government, and

WHEREAS, there can be no Republican form of government without the freedom of citizens to exercise the above mentioned rights, which are denied to whites only to a lesser degree than to blacks, BE IT THEREFORE

RESOLVED, that we, the undersigned citizens, do hereby memorialize the Congress of the United States to place the people of the Southern States under its protection as did the great 39th Congress, and proceed to bring these areas under the rule of law by the following measures:

1. That in the States of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas, Virginia, Tennessee and Kentucky, the Congress of the United States shall declare that there exist no legal governments.
2. That no Congressmen chosen under these State governments be seated in either the House of Representatives or the U. S. Senate.
3. That all State and local governments be required to disband, and all police, constabulary and other military bodies created under these State governments be disbanded and disarmed.
4. That law and order be maintained by a voluntary Peoples' Militia which shall be constituted by those citizens who have proven their respect for Constitutional law by their struggle against the Southern police state. This Militia shall be operative until such a time as a republican form of government may be restored to such areas and guaranteed for the future.
5. That full rights of citizenship shall be proclaimed for all citizens of the age of 18 or over, except those proven to have participated in the suppression of human and Constitutional rights.
6. That the States of New Mexico, Arizona, Maryland, Delaware, Oklahoma and West Virginia, and the Southern parts of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri, be placed under probationary status for six months, during which time they must establish the full authority of constitutional law under pain of similar measures as are applied to the first aforementioned States.

7. That all areas where constitutional rights are in any way violated, including specifically large Northern cities, Indian reservations, and areas of large-scale agriculture, shall be immediately investigated, and drastic measures, consistent with the above principles, be taken to assure the immediate and unconditional rights of persons throughout the land.

Circulated during the 1964 Election Campaign by the Freedom Socialist Party of Washington.

APPENDIX II

Protest against the Washington State Candidates Loyalty Oath

This oath, which I hereby sign under protest, is a violation of the republican form of government which is guaranteed to the citizens of the State of Washington by both the United States Constitution and that of the State of Washington whereby the citizens are legally entitled to make their democratic choice of all candidates who may wish to come before them.

I sign, however, only with the understanding that nothing in this oath shall prevent me from pointing out to the electorate, while running for Federal office, that the people of many Southern states are totally deprived of a republican form of government by the existence of police states controlled only by Klans and Councils and other lawless elements and not by the people, and that if the people of these states should be forced to resort to revolutionary means to establish a republican form of government, that I, as a representative in Congress, or as a candidate for such an office and a refugee from said police states, would consider it a betrayal of the United States Constitution to fail to support them.

Waymon Ware

Freedom Socialist Party Candidate
for Representative,
Seventh Congressional District of
the State of Washington