



# Bulletin

OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

Vol. 1, No. 3

Oct. 12, 1964

10 Cents

## Report From Mississippi



Some weeks after returning from Mississippi where I participated in one of the supportive phases of the Mississippi project I am still struck by the one major conclusion to which my observations led me, i.e., that the situation in Mississippi

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cannot be resolved in favor of the Negro people short of civil war. I hasten to add that such a civil war cannot possibly be won by the Negro people alone. Only in conjunction with the poor whites of Mississippi, only a civil war fought as part of a general social overturn in the country as a whole, can possibly bring to the Negroes of the South as well as the North those things that are the natural counterpart of true equality: freedom from terror, decent food, clothing, housing and schools, medical aid, good job conditions and of course the jobs themselves. Such a social overturn, even if it be the desire of a majority, will bring from the rich and owning classes that are the power behind the national as well as the state governments, ten times the violence now directed at the civil rights fighters in Mississippi.

No doubt there are those who will say that such a statement is an inflammatory one and does a greater disservice to the cause of civil rights than it does service. No doubt there are those who will say that such a conclusion only leads to riots and the use of violence by Negroes. I must insist that all those who refuse to look at the realities of the situation and who continue to urge on Negroes anything but the natural conclusions from this kind of outlook in the end only aid the racists and incidentally reveal their own deep-seated fears and prejudices.

Nowhere was this more obvious than in a conversation with one woman working on the project, who, when she ran out of arguments against the need for Negroes to arm and organize themselves in their own self defense, stated: "Don't forget, Jack ... you're white too."

### The Daily Routine in Mississippi

In order to make my point clear let me give you a better idea of the kind of existence that is almost, but not quite, daily routine on the civil rights project in Mississippi. This routine is illustrated by quotes from unofficial summaries of phone reports received at COFO headquarters.

HOLLY SPRINGS -- ... Local Negro beaten in jail, witnessed by Elwood Berry, in jail from Freedom Day arrest July 24.

GREENWOOD -- Silas McGee, the young man whose beating in Greenwood's Leflore Theater led to the first arrests under the new civil rights law, and his brother Jake were mobbed by 150-200 whites as they left the theater. As they walked to the car where Greenwood staff members waited to pick them up after receiving a call from the brothers, Jake was hit repeatedly by the whites, received cuts and abrasions of face and shoulders and glass in the eyes when a coke bottle was thrown through the car window. Both treated at Leflore County but then trapped at

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The above article was written by Jack Arnold who recently spent a period of time in Mississippi. Photo on cover, also by Jack Arnold, is of a group of Freedom Fighters having a Freedom sing in Clarksdale, Mississippi.

hospital along with the SNCC people until 1 A.M. as cars of armed whites blocked all roads leading out of hospital. FBI, local police, highway patrol and sheriff refused to give them protection for three hours as they waited inside hospital. (Emphasis added - J.A.)

MERIDIAN -- Summer volunteer arrested on traffic charge of reckless driving and speeding. He was doing 30 mph.

CANTON -- (From a sworn affidavit of Steven Smith of Marion, Iowa.) ... The first man left and the third man took me back to the car of the highway patrol man. He opened the car and told me to get inside. I got inside and sat on the back seat. He told me to move over and got in ... He said, 'I can't kill you, but you know what I'm going to do to you.' I answered, 'No sir.' At this time he pulled his gun out of his holster and started to hit me on the head with the gun butt .....

Although I spent a month in Mississippi working on a phase of the project I was not unfortunate enough to run into the kind of treatment that was for COFO workers an everyday occurrence. All I got a look at was the petty everyday harrassment. The work I was doing required that I spend a lot of time driving. I was pulled over by police, Highway Patrol, and sheriffs any number of times. Inevitably the reason they gave for stopping me was an alleged infraction of a minor traffic rule. Each time they checked the identification of each person in the car, as well as my driving license, and each time we were let go without a ticket, proving that their purpose was not enforcement of traffic laws but rather harrassment and intimidation.

The following analysis of violence in Mississippi is excerpted from an analysis of affidavits submitted by plaintiffs in COFO v. Rainey, an omnibus suit filed in the U.S. District Court at Meridian this past summer. Readers will remember that Rainey is the sheriff who figures in the arrest and subsequent disappearance of the three civil rights workers found murdered later in the summer.

"The use of violence by white men to keep Negroes 'in their place' in Mississippi did not begin as it is sometimes asserted, with the coming of the civil rights movement to that state. Violence was basic to the system of slavery, and it has never been abandoned as a means of 'controlling' the Negro population. Only the forms have changed.

"But there has been an amazing consistency in the forms of organization used by the white man to meet the challenge of civil rights since the freeing of the slaves. The authors of Reconstruction Legislation realized that they must meet two closely related forms of resistance: (1) One was open violence, the use of brute and indiscriminate force by private white citizens and clandestine organizations against the Negro population to ensure that it was permanently terrorized and intimidated

from asserting its rights; (2) An equally serious challenge coming from the leading officials of the white community-- government officials, law enforcement officers, and members of the judiciary. By their refusal to indict and prosecute those who committed acts of violence, and by their refusal to enforce the newly passed civil rights acts of the Reconstruction Period, they became accomplices in a conspiracy to 'Keep the Negro in his place' -- a conspiracy which constantly resorted to both private and highly organized forms of violence. ...

"One hundred years later, Negroes in Mississippi and those who come to help them ... face (a situation) fundamentally identical to that which the legislators of 1866 faced in attempting to bring change to the South. Negroes and the civil rights workers in Mississippi today face both open violence and official negligence and complicity, just as they did in 1866 ..."

#### The Real Role of the FBI

The whole world knows how great a law enforcement agency the FBI is, especially if you read and believe their own self-inflating stories of the arrests and apprehensions of dangerous criminals that they engage in. But one has to hear it from the "horse's mouth" to find out that in Mississippi this great and fearless agency of law and order is just an "investigatory agency." I got this rare opportunity one evening when notice was received that a number of doctors participating in support of the rights workers had been threatened by telephone five seconds after they entered their rooms in a large downtown Jackson hotel.

It fell to me to call the FBI and demand that they get down to that hotel and make sure that no harm befell the doctors. All that I could get out of the FBI agent in charge was, "I'm sorry but we're just an investigatory body." When I suggested that if they went down and investigated right away their presence alone would serve to protect the doctors all I got was a repetition of the same line. But let me caution our readers not to decide to rob a bank on the basis of this information. You will soon find that where the property of the rich is concerned the FBI is definitely not "just an investigatory agency."

Now why is it that I go into all this? Surely you've read of incidents similar to these in the daily press. I do so because it is not possible to stress enough that these occurrences are not as episodic as the daily press seems to make them. Instead they are everyday occurrences, a way of life almost, that makes it absolutely necessary that the entire COFO organization in the South operate under conditions of military security. The same evening that I had my conversation with the FBI, two young Negroes were shot in separate incidents in Jackson, another young man had his scalp split open when he was attacked in front of COFO headquarters by club-wielding racists, a number of crosses were burned in various places in Jackson, and a car carrying a group of COFO workers was made the target for a hail of

bullets. The point that I am trying to make was most clearly made for me by the Jackson police the next day when they stated that they believed that the crosses were burned by civil rights workers because they were all burned at about the same time.

How much more need be said to make the point that within the orderly processes of society there is no way that Negroes in Mississippi can obtain a redress of their grievances. The local police are obviously and clearly in direct cahoots with the racist murderers and the federal agencies, if not working directly with these murderers, are looking the other way when they go about their filthy business. While the President of the United States -- it matters not whether it be Kennedy or Johnson or any of the others before them -- speaks in order to gain votes about how important it is to give the Negro people their rights, the Justice Department tells us how they are observing or investigating the situation, or as they stated the other day they are not a national police force and are powerless to step in and change things. Every great once in a while, if under extreme pressure they are forced to produce the evidence that leads to a trial for one of the racists, we find that no white jury in the South, and all the juries are white, will convict ... not even when the evidence clearly shows the accused is guilty.

What then must the civil rights movement do in order to overcome these obstacles? What program must they pursue and through what means? How can they act to bring about the great social revolution that everybody, no matter how conservative, seems to speak about in the movement? It cannot be done peacably and it cannot be done by the Negroes alone.

(To be continued in a subsequent issue.)

EDITORIAL

FOR A UNITED DEFENSE OF WITCHHUNT VICTIMS

A Federal Grand Jury has indicted nine American students on charges of "conspiring" to -- arrange a trip to Cuba so they could judge developments there first hand. Two of those indicted, Levi Laub and Philip A. Luce, are also awaiting trial for their efforts in support of the right to travel last year.

These indictments follow by only a short period the indictment of William Epton, Harlem Progressive Labor Movement leader, on charges of "criminal anarchy" because of his courageous defense of the Harlem Negroes during the recent uprisings there. Also a number of students who sought to protest United States imperialist actions in Vietnam at a Times Square rally face prosecution for defying a police ban on demonstrations in that area.

In all these cases the pattern is similar. Wherever students, workers and Negroes seek to struggle against oppression at home and American attempts at oppression abroad they are meeting with increased government prosecution. The government -- city, state and federal -- is seeking to crush precisely those new vital, fighting, militant forces which are now emerging on the American scene. It is these forces, rather than the tired old radical groups, which the government really fears.

It is a matter of extreme urgency that all socialists as well as militants of all persuasions in the Negro and working class movement rally to the defense of the Cuba Trip students, Bill Epton, and the other victims of government persecution. The great need at the moment is a broad united defense in which all political tendencies are invited to actively participate. The American Committee for the Fourth International will be more than happy to participate in any and all such defense efforts.

As a first step we urge all militants and socialists in the New York area to turn out for the projected rally of the Ad Hoc Committee to Combat Fascism. Sponsors of this rally include the Freedom Now Party, Harlem Defense Council, May 2nd Committee, Progressive Labor and Student Committee for Travel to Cuba. The rally is set for 8 P.M., Thursday, October 15 at Manhattan Center on 34th Street near Eighth Avenue.

### GM WORKERS FORCE STRIKE ON REUTHER

#### Men On The Line Take On World's Largest Corporation

#### In Struggle For Human Working Conditions

"What a blessed land we have. What a blessed people we are -- divinely blessed," mused Hubert Humphrey, addressing an audience in Terre Haute, Indiana recently. Hubert was leading up to his favorite theme of how this country can and should get even more blessed by attaining the Nirvana of the dissolution of all rancor and antagonisms. "What America needs," Hubert continued, "is not division. What America needs today more than ever before is an understanding of its own strength, an understanding of its own tradition and appreciation of its own Constitution, of its own system and above all of the dedication and faith of its own people."

While Humphrey was making his speech about unity and the burying of divisions, another "division" was getting out of control in cities like Flint and Detroit, Michigan. This division is known as a strike and it has shut down most of General Motors' plants, halting production on GM's new models. It seems that the General Motors Corporation and GM workers have different ideas about how the "system" should operate. The basic issue is simple. The company wants to run production with a free hand so as to maintain its higher rate of exploitation over its domestic and foreign competitors. On the other hand,

the workers want more control over work rules and particularly over production standards so that they can make some headway towards eliminating what local leaders have referred to as "sweatshop" conditions. (See: BULLETIN OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM, Vol. 1, No. 2, Sept. 28, 1964).

### In the Middle Sits Reuther

Sitting somewhere in the middle is Walter Reuther who boasted about the "rich" settlement at Chrysler, bragged about the "chocolate frosting" added to the cake in the Ford settlement and before the strike was talking about making it "a la mode" at GM. It seems while Reuther was wrapped up in his cake and trimmings the workers on the line were more concerned about preserving their constitution as human beings so they could eat this "blessed" cake.

Reuther didn't want a strike, and as we explained in the first issue of the BULLETIN (Sept. 14) he did everything possible to avoid it. But Reuther is finding it is not so easy to come to terms with GM while the eyes of the militants at GM locals are on him. As we go to press there is little likelihood that the strike will be settled immediately. Agreement has been reportedly reached on economic issues on the national level but Reuther dares not settle before appreciable headway is made in settling some 17,900 local grievances at 131 bargaining units as well as the problem of general working conditions.



These existent national issues fall into four categories: overtime, where the union opposes compulsory overtime which at times extends the work day to 12-16 hours; union committeemen, where the union wants committeemen to be able to give workers' complaints and grievances full time attention as they do at Ford and Chrysler; grievance procedures, where the union wants an immediate explanation from the company every time a worker is disciplined (it also demands the right to talk privately with a worker who has filed a grievance rather than in the presence of a company representative); and last but certainly most pressing, production standards where the workers want to do something about the speedup. In addition to all this, of course, are the 17,900 concrete, individual local complaints ranging from such things as filthy working conditions to



sanitary violations and the penalization of militant workers.

### Threat to Reuther

Unless he can "deliver" Reuther faces the threat of wildcats like those in 1961, which kept GM shut down for two weeks after a contract had been signed which left work rules unresolved. In addition Reuther is threatened with a recurrence of the rank and file revolt which last year replaced more than one third of all elected officials in local elections. As Norman C. Miller in the Sept. 24th Wall Street Journal points out: "The upheaval carried with it an implicit warning to the union's leaders in Detroit and the UAW's top officials are intent on avoiding another big shake-up in the 1965 elections. There is tremendous pressure from the rank and file on the local leaderships which in turn are breathing heavily down Reuther's neck. Some local leaders are threatening that their locals will ignore any national contract and will continue the strike if local demands are not accepted by the company."

Faced with the apparent adamance of GM and the militancy of the workers, Reuther may have to sweat this one out for a while. It is also possible that Reuther, with all his cunning, will come up with some "clever" idea for a settlement which makes it appear that the company is conceding. Meanwhile, as the New York Times (Sept. 27th) said under the headline "The President Watches," "President Johnson was known to be deeply concerned about the effect the shutdown might have on the nation's economy. With elections approaching, he cannot afford to have the general prosperity wrecked because of its possible consequences on his campaign."

Ah, yes, those rude GM workers are disturbing the dream of that druggist from Minnesota and his rancher pal from Texas.

### RALLY TO LBJ!

They're jumping on the Johnson bandwagon with such frequency these days it's hard to keep track. One of the latest to boost LBJ is Roy M. Cohn. Remember him, Joe McCarthy's right hand man in his battle against the "red menace"? Another Johnson recruit is William Randolph Hearst, Jr. who brings with him the whole Hearst newspaper chain including the New York Journal American.

You need some more encouragement to vote for LBJ? Well, perhaps this will do it. After reading J. Edgar Hoover's report on the summer "riots" of the Negro masses in the Northern ghettos the N.Y. Times reported that Johnson: "ordered the FBI to make riot training available to all police departments. He also ordered intensified riot training for National Guardsmen." This is the man Martin Luther King wants the Negro masses to

vote for!

If you like Roy M. Cohn's brand of "patriotism"; if the Hearst papers express your political outlook; if you support the police suppression of the Negro people rather than the fulfillment for their right to a decent human existence, then-- you should vote for LBJ.

### SOCIALIST PARTY SUSPENDS ITS YOUTH

#### The Independent YPSL Faces Certain Disintegration

#### Unless It Starts Taking Marxist Theory Seriously

The suspension of the Young Peoples' Socialist League by its parent organization, the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation, because of the YPSL's refusal to support Johnson against Goldwater, is a significant political development. It comes about six years after a rejuvenated YPSL was formed out of the unity between the SP and the Independent Socialist League along with its youth organization, the Young Socialist League.

The Independent Socialist League (ISL) had its origins in the 1939-40 struggle in the Socialist Workers Party, when a large petty bourgeois minority broke with Trotskyism, abandoning the basic method of Marxism. This minority, led by Max Shachtman, one of the leading American Trotskyists, followed a long and tortuous course of political degeneration through the late 1940s and 1950s until it finally gave up the ghost, uniting with the rabidly pro-imperialist Socialist Party. This final capitulation by Shachtman in 1957-58 was the last vindication, if any was still needed, of the basic class and methodological criticism to which Shachtman and his group had been subjected by Trotsky in the year before his death.

The Shachtmanites, however, had attracted some youth, primarily students, during the 1950s. Although some of these youth broke with Shachtman and played an important role in the founding of the Young Socialist Alliance, many went along with his unity with the SP. The revived YPSL organization which issued out of this unity was able to achieve a certain numerical growth at the beginning.

Shachtman's movement to the right was, if anything, accelerated with his entry into the SP. Many of his young supporters found themselves pushed into increasing opposition. Dreams of "taking over" the SP, of transforming it from within, went by the boards. These "left wing" YPSLs were unwilling to go along with the extreme right wing line put forward by the SP, with Shachtman beginning to outdo Norman Thomas himself. Many of the left wing upheld "orthodox" Shachtmanite theory, and often referred to themselves (in private) as Leninists and Trotskyists. Others played with various "libertarian" and anarcho-syndicalist theories.

### YPSL Begins to Disintegrate

Over the years the YPSL, led at times by both right and "left" wing groupings, plummeted in membership from a high of 1,500 members to a present membership under 500. In fact only two functioning chapters, in Chicago and New York, have survived despite the opening opportunities of the last few years and the increasing numbers of young people interested in socialism.

The YPSL left wing dominated the last Labor Day Convention. It is composed of numerous tendencies which have for practical purposes constituted themselves as a majority bloc, but which have never bothered to probe the political and theoretical differences among themselves. It is this confused, amorphous amalgam which controls the suspended YPSL.

The new left wing, including all of its groupings, will go the way of many similar "left wings" of the past, unless it breaks with the root cause of the disintegration of the YPSL, of the decay of the Shachtmanite tendency as a whole. The disintegration of the YPSL is not merely a question of the splintering of tendencies. It is revealed most clearly in the confusion, the lack of theoretical clarity and sharpness delineating the various groupings themselves.

### The Course for Serious Revolutionaries

YPSL left-wingers who are serious about building a Marxist movement in this country must avoid the pitfalls which prevented YPSL from becoming a revolutionary organization. Otherwise a rather fruitless effort will merely be repeated.

One's development as a revolutionary begins by seeing that the main enemy is at home, and not in the Soviet Union, thus breaking with an obsession which has inevitably placed the Shachtmanites of all varieties on the side of the U.S. State Department in the Cold War.

The YPSL's continued exclusive orientation towards radicals and students has accentuated all the petty bourgeois weaknesses characteristic of the Shachtmanites. While a campus orientation remains very important for revolutionary youth, it is about time that those YPSL members who are serious about Marxism learn something about the working class and the Negro movement. In the process they can acquire personal stability and seriousness, and break from the attitude which many YPSLs have of looking on revolutionary politics as an amusing game.

Finally, most important, and related of course to the above, the YPSLs must start taking a really serious attitude towards theory, as some of them are already doing. They must combine activity with a serious study of Marxism and Marxist theory, up to and including Trotsky's Revolution Betrayed and especially In Defense of Marxism. Then perhaps they may be able



to avoid the fate that befell Shachtman and subsequent generations of young people recruited to the Shachtmanite organization. It takes more than good intentions and instincts to become a Marxist. The YPSL dissidents can only help to build a Marxist movement and tackle the theoretical questions facing us today by taking these first steps.

### THE DEATH OF A SOCIALIST YOUTH NEWSPAPER

After seven years, the National Committee Plenum of the Young Socialist Alliance held Labor Day weekend decided to stop publication of the YSA's monthly newspaper, the Young Socialist, and begin publication in a new magazine format to be produced by voluntary labor 5 times a year.

The characteristic hard hitting style and format which a paper makes possible will be lost. Any possibility of bringing the Young Socialist to workingclass Negro and white youth appears to be being tossed aside.

The dissolution of the Young Socialist newspaper is a major step backward for the YSA. It is of course closely related to the political crisis affecting both the YSA and the Socialist Workers Party, with which the YSA maintains relations of fraternal political solidarity. It is significant that 7 out of 9 original editorial board members of the Young Socialist have either left political activity or been expelled by the YSA or SWP.

The problems of the Young Socialist newspaper were not ones of format, but of orientation and political line. To the extent that the Young Socialist duplicated the Militant, this was at least partly due to the complete lack of orientation of the Militant and the SWP itself towards the mass movement. There is a need for a hard hitting socialist youth newspaper in the United States. The cessation of publication of the Young Socialist newspaper is no solution to the problems of the YSA. It is a serious retreat, not an advance.

### MCDONALD ASKS TOTAL JOB SECURITY FOR STEEL WORKERS

#### But Can the System He Supports Provide It?

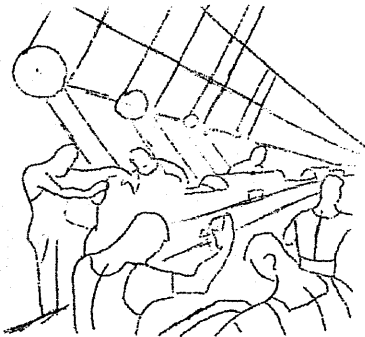
At the recently concluded convention of the United Steel Workers, USW President David J. McDonald devoted most of his speaking time to the theme which is currently enjoying great popularity both among captains of industry and "leaders" of labor. Defeat Goldwater at all costs! However, somewhere along the line, in between speeches by LBJ and George Meany, McDonald found time to introduce a theme which is a bit more disturbing to big business, particularly in the steel industry, and undoubtedly of greater concern to the rank and file steel

worker--steel workers are entitled to "total job security."

This concept is referred to as bold and far-reaching by the press and at least one top steel industry executive called it "pure socialism." While the McDonald proposal outlines a relatively ambitious program of demands for job security which all union militants can applaud, it follows well established precedents such as the concept of the "guaranteed annual wage." But the concept goes beyond the annual guarantee and proposes some sort of permanent lifetime protection for some (unspecified) portion of high-seniority steel workers and their families. It promises to insure them against: technological layoffs, layoffs due to market contraction; illness, accidents, etc.; old age and death benefits.

### Specter of Unemployment

Behind the proposal is, of course, the specter of "technological unemployment" arising from the process of innovation in the methods of steel production. This process has been accelerating for the last decade and the industry has plans underway which involve enormous capital outlays in research and new plant and equipment to increase this acceleration. The union claims that more steel is now being produced than a decade ago with 130,000 fewer workers.



Despite some initial reactions of horror by steel executives the Sept. 25th Wall Street Journal happily reports as follows on the emerging mood of optimism in top circles of the steel industry: "But a close examination of union and industry preparations for the impending round of bargaining discloses that the outlook is not quite so grim. The USW apparently will not seek to win career-long income protection for mill hands all at once. Indeed, it's likely to open with a general approach some industry men are calling 'reasonable.'"

### What About Younger Workers?

The steel companies have additional reasons not to be frightened. It is entirely possible that an agreement will be reached with the union to combine the existing benefits into one package, extending their scope a little bit and at the same time limiting the coverage to perhaps  $\frac{1}{4}$  or  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the steelworkers. This could possibly leave steel workers with as much as 15 years seniority out in the cold and even more at the mercy of the process of technological innovation which continues apace. Furthermore, the workers that have not achieved the seniority necessary for "total job security" will be under the gun to make the grade and can be pitted against the older workers to raise production standards.

The only way that such a trend, which has already begun, can be countered is for the union to make the demand for "total job security" applicable to all members of the union. It would seem that the first step to counter the ravage of accelerating productivity would be for the union to DEMAND a shorter work week for all workers--a 30 hour week with no reduction in take home pay.

### THE COMING GENERAL ELECTION IN BRITAIN

#### A Young American, Who Recently Spent a Year In England, Tells How Wilson Pretends to Fight the Tories With--Toryism

After thirteen years of Tory rule in Britain, all observers there are in agreement on this single point: British working people are fed up with Conservative government. They are fed up in such a way that it will be difficult for any government to fool them any longer. This is because, for the most part, they know what they want, and they want things which the Tory party could not give them even if it wanted to. A few of the things which the British workers want include adequate housing, secure jobs which pay enough to support a man's family decently, hours and working conditions which are reasonable enough to allow a man a little leisure time and safeguard his health, and a government which will stand up to the American big business interests which are rapidly becoming a dominant influence in the life of the British worker.

They need houses built at the rate of about 500,000 a year, and priced to sell (or even to rent) at a figure a worker can afford to pay. They need jobs which pay about eighteen pounds per week (that's not quite \$54); and they want to work 35-40 hours in the week, not 60-70. About American big business: most of the workers are tired of feeling that their homeland is merely a "launching pad" (that's what they call it) for American Polaris missiles, and may well become a target if the "cold war," in which they have no interest, suddenly becomes a hot war. Most important in the immediate sense, they are tired--literally tired--of having to work in American-owned factories.

#### Tory Failures--The Reason Why

We stated above that the Tory Government could not find an answer to these problems even if it wanted to. And that's true. Only a few of the most perverse old Lords and Earls would mind making the workers happy if it kept the Tories in power a bit longer. The fact is they can't. They can't provide adequate housing (and by that we don't mean six families to a toilet, because that's what many of the British people already have) because to build at the rate they'd have to build, they'd have to nationalize the building industry. They would have to really nationalize it, so that the profits were



diverted completely out of the hands of the big contractors and into the pay packets for more construction workers. Workers on a building site already do twelve hours a day. You can't make them do twenty-four because you've got that same old nasty problem--they might die on you. So the Tories have gotten a bit bogged down on the building problem.

Now what about secure jobs? Well, how much security can you offer a worker when any day somebody might come along and invent a machine to replace him? If you're a Tory and you're trying to run the government of an imperialist country which is falling below the economic level of all the others, how can you discourage the introduction of machines which will increase output? In fact how can you run a capitalist government at all, if all you have is workers pulling at your coat-tails and asking for more money?

Running the government of an imperialist country today is the hardest job going--we wouldn't wish it on our worst enemy. Well, there's one thing you can do if you find yourself in that position. You can increase profits so that you attract investment and increase output, balance your payments (or try to) and that way you keep your position on the world market. Only to start with, how do you increase profits? Naturally, you introduce a wage-freeze. How else? The money has to come from somewhere. So you take it away from the workers and give it to the capitalists ... but ... what do you do about the workers? They'll be angry. So angry, in fact, that they might consider getting rid of you lock, stock, and barrel. "A knotty problem," muse the bosses. "In fascist Germany they had a solution. But that's messy and dangerous. We'll have to think of something else. Ah, a light dawns! Take it to the workers' leaders and we'll work this out together."

#### Labour Party Sell-out

There's nothing new about Labour leaders collaborating with the capitalists; in fact they're the agents of the capitalists, as Leon Trotsky pointed out in 1925. Of course they shake their fists at the capitalists and use working class slogans, so that the workers take them for friends at first glance. They've never gotten around to doing anything about the fact that 48% of the wealth of Britain is in the hands of 1% of the people, but they keep saying they will. They keep saying that and anything else the workers like to hear.

So to make a long story short, Harold Wilson, leader of the Labour Party, agreed to the necessity of a wage-freeze, went on television and pacified all the capitalists by telling them they have "nothing to fear" from a Labour government, and saw to it that the right-wing union leaders accepted these "facts of life." At the recent Trade Union Congress conference, union leaders made it clear that they accept the idea of a wage freeze. It's in the bag now; the British people are going to get a Labour Government in October which is sworn to Tory policies.



diverted completely out of the hands of the big contractors and into the pay packets for more construction workers. Workers on a building site already do twelve hours a day. You can't make them do twenty-four because you've got that same old nasty problem--they might die on you. So the Tories have gotten a bit bogged down on the building problem.

Now what about secure jobs? Well, how much security can you offer a worker when any day somebody might come along and invent a machine to replace him? If you're a Tory and you're trying to run the government of an imperialist country which is falling below the economic level of all the others, how can you discourage the introduction of machines which will increase output? In fact how can you run a capitalist government at all, if all you have is workers pulling at your coat-tails and asking for more money?

Running the government of an imperialist country today is the hardest job going--we wouldn't wish it on our worst enemy. Well, there's one thing you can do if you find yourself in that position. You can increase profits so that you attract investment and increase output, balance your payments (or try to) and that way you keep your position on the world market. Only to start with, how do you increase profits? Naturally, you introduce a wage-freeze. How else? The money has to come from somewhere. So you take it away from the workers and give it to the capitalists ... but ... what do you do about the workers? They'll be angry. So angry, in fact, that they might consider getting rid of you rock, stock, and barrel. "A knotty problem," muse the bosses. "In fascist Germany they had a solution. But that's messy and dangerous. We'll have to think of something else. Ah, a right daws! Take it to the workers' leaders and we'll work this out together."

#### Labour Party Sell-out

There's nothing new about Labour leaders collaborating with the capitalists: in fact they've been the agents of the capitalists, as Leon Trotsky pointed out in 1925. Of course they shake their fists at the capitalists and use working class slogans, so that the workers take them for friends at first glance. They've never gotten around to doing anything about the fact that 48% of the wealth of Britain is in the hands of 1% of the people, but they keep saying they will. They keep saying that and anything else the workers like to hear.

So to make a long story short, Harold Wilson, leader of the Labour Party, agreed to the necessity of a wage-freeze, went on television and sacrificed all the capitalists by telling them they have "nothing to fear" from a Labour government, and saw to it that the right-wing union leaders accepted these "facts of life." At the recent Trade Union Congress conference, union leaders made it clear that they accept the idea of a wage freeze. It's in the bag now; the British people are going to get a Labour Government in October which is sworn to Tory policies.

The only trouble is that the workers don't understand the same "facts of life" that their leaders do. They're not even satisfied with the conditions they've got now, let alone worse ones. Massive strikes have occurred in the automobile industry, on the docks, and even in the Post Offices! In fact the postal workers, when told to go back to work by their leader, Ron Smith, climbed all over him in the street, and Mr. Smith had to rely on the cops for protection. In the Yorkshire mines, workers striking for a 15 shilling-a-week pay rise were sent back to work with seven shillings and six-pence by a Communist Party leader, Will Paynter, who was aware of the Tory facts of life! Yes, even the good old British Communist Party has knuckled under. Some of the workers call it "H.M.C.P." (Her Majesty's Communist Party).

### The General Election Campaign

Many observers are wondering why the Labour Party is soft-pedaling its election campaign. Walk through any British town and you'll see four Tory posters to Labour's one. Switch on the BBC and, within the hour, you'll probably hear some Tory telling you what a nice guy he is. Why is this, people ask? Is Labour weak? No, Labour is most definitely not weak. Labour could win the election by a landslike, because they know the British working class (which forms the huge majority of the people) is sick to death of the Tories. But how can you make the people drive out the Tories and yet accept Toryism, a government policy that operates for the boss and against the worker?

Harold Wilson, Labour leader, is a sharp politician and he knows the answer is simple: don't win by a landslide, win by a little. Let the Tories have the campaign field. Let them sing their own praises might and main. (They'll have to do a vague job of it at best, anyway. They've got nothing to recommend them.) So when Mr. Wilson's party wins, he can tell the people, "look how small our margin was, folks. We can't do anything to make the bosses mad. We'd lose all their friends' votes; then the Tories would win next time, and our most important task is to keep the Tories out!" So, by making your main aim that of keeping the Tories out, you keep Tory policies in. Simple. You can almost picture Wilson giving his Tory friends a sly wink and saying, "It's all sewed up, boys. Everything's coming up roses."

### What's Next?

Well, unfortunately for Labour, as well as for the Tories: "You can fool some of the people all of the time, and you can fool all of the people some of the time," but you can't fool Marxists any of the time. There is an organization in Britain called the Socialist Labour League, and it is a Marxist party which is truly Marxist, as opposed to the Socialist Workers Party in the U.S. and the Communist Parties throughout the world which make a mockery of the name. This is a party which anticipated the crisis in Britain, and is making sure that it won't catch the workers unaware.



Socialist Labour League members put forward the simplest ideas for raising the national living standard--nationalize the building industry, reduce hours and increase pay, withdraw Britain from NATO, get rid of the American missiles. The Labour Party couldn't endorse these proposals because it couldn't allow them to be put into practice under a capitalist system.

We don't blame them a bit. The system would fold up like a house of cards if they did. This is not just a little game of tug-of-war in which we're trying to make them share their profits with us. The British economy has reached the point where merely to demand adequate housing, secure jobs with decent pay and hours, and peace, is to demand socialism.

In the process of watching the Socialist Labour League members make these socialist demands on the Labour Party, British workers are beginning to realize this essential fact. In ever increasing numbers, they are joining the League and accepting its leadership. The clearly bourgeois Economist magazine states that the Socialist Labour League has control of the docks in northern England. The Communist Party reluctantly admits that the League is gaining dominant influence among the building workers. The Tribune nervously charges that the League is in full control of the Labour Party's youth movement.

British capitalism has reached the point where, for the sake of its own survival, it must both cut pay and introduce automation to replace workers on a mass scale. The capitalists hope that the Labour Party can lull the people into docility so that the bosses can make them bear the brunt of the economic crisis. The Labour Party hopes that by confusing these issues and telling the people they must bear this burden in order to protect themselves from the Tories, it can catch them off guard, unled and unorganized. It hopes it can stop the workers from trying to smash this state which exploits their labor for the bosses' benefit.

But meanwhile, the Socialist Labour League is quietly building its following, educating the people, preparing them for the hard times which lie ahead, and offering an answer - the only answer - to bosses power: workers power, Socialism.

Watch for

A discussion article based on the important theoretical questions raised by "Washington's 'Grand Design' for World Domination", a statement by the National Coordinating Committee of the Progressive Labor Movement.

Issue Out October 26th.