

olutionary regroupment. We therefore wish to take a first step towards reorganizing the socialist vanguard by giving form and voice to this need locally.

"We will then do what we can to influence national developments in this direction."

THE CONFERENCE unanimously accepted the recommendation of the existing Executive Committee to change the structure of the party to a permanent organization and to adopt a wideranging program on international and national issues.

On July 17, the Conference convened again to complete its agenda. Dividing into five major Workshops, it produced firm policy proposals on the following subjects: General Organization -- Structure, Rules & Procedures; Program Development, Education & Propaganda; Relations with Other Political Groups & Broad Organizations; Communications & Publications; and Literature -- Bookstore, Library & Press Distribution.

The General Session ending the Conference adopted the general line of the proposals. In the following week, a 9-man Executive Committee was elected, and by July 24th, the main officers and department personnel were elected and began to function.

WE URGE YOU to study our program, visit our headquarters, write to us, talk to our members, and join our brave new party. In our ranks you will find theoretical stimulation, the traditions of Leninism in politics and organization, and an arena of intensive thought and activity designed to carve out a principled and bold program for a Socialist U.S.A.

policy would become a shambles. But military defeat is not the realm of the anti-war movement. It can influence policy only if it is capable of inflicting a POLITICAL defeat to the war by harnessing mass opposition to the war into a threat to the political rule of Big Business.

The anti-war movement can learn from the Negro struggle. After 6 years, the leftwing knows that racism is not an "error" but is ingrained in the politico-economic fabric of U.S. capitalism. The call for Black Power asserts that black workers must rely on their own strength to begin the building of a political party independent of the existing machines, and capable of shattering the walls of segregation and discrimination.

The 2 movements are essentially interconnected. Chief victims of the war and draft, Negroes are consistent opponents of the war, and form a natural ally and vanguard of the anti-war movement. Both movements are objectively opposed to the vital interests of the ruling class, which requires racism at home and imperialism abroad to maintain itself. Each movement must struggle against the entire basic system.

The uniting of the anti-war forces and the Negro struggle within a new independent political party aimed at wresting power from the ruling class and its twin political machines can effectively change the prospects and policy of the White House, the Pentagon and Wall St.

This is the only PRACTICAL road open to the anti-war movement.

Hoping to end the war by supporting Democratic Party peace candidates is as clever and realistic and tolerant as seeking to end racism by working through the Ku Klux Klan.

Write or Phone for Copies of "THE FREEDOM SOCIALIST"

THE FREEDOM SOCIALIST

VOICE OF THE FREEDOM SOCIALIST PARTY of WASHINGTON

Vol. I, No. 1

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Freeway Hall, on Lake Union, Seattle, is Headquarters and Home for the Freedom Socialist Party of Washington. It's in the University District.

ANNOUNCING: A NEW PARTY... WHAT IS THE FSP?

WE ARE a new revolutionary socialist organization comprising three main groupings:

1. The entire former Seattle Branches of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance which resigned from SWP & YSA in May, 1966.
2. Individual independent radicals who were part of the 1964 united socialist electoral coalition which created the FSP.
3. A new segment of radical youth who have recently adopted Marxism as their political philosophy.

WE FORMALLY RECONSTITUTED the FSP just 3 weeks ago. On July 9, a Reorganizing Conference was held to which were invited all signers of the FSP Primary Day Nominating Petition to the State of Washington (1964), plus "all revolutionary socialists who wish to help build the FSP."

THE CONFERENCE CALL explained that the FSP, after conducting a "fine campaign around the candidacy of Waymon Ware for Congress, 7th District", achieved such political impact and organizational harmony that "many campaign workers suggested that the electoral coalition take on permanent form.

"We, therefore, expressly left the door open to such an eventuality, and we now propose to activate the party as a membership body based on the same basic program of international working class solidarity and preparation for the coming American Revolution.

"Our recommendation flows from 2 main considerations: (1) The 1964 campaign demonstrated that we have developed definite and unique positions on several key problems of the socialist

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VISIT OUR BOOKSTORE AT FREEMAN HALL

On Sale: Marxist & Socialist Publications from Varied Radical Sources
Books -- Newspapers -- Pamphlets -- Magazines
Expanding Literature Stock -- A Library for Browsing/Borrowing

KRASNOWSKY'S KOMMENTARY

The unresolved dilemma over political action alternatives -- real independence vs. Democratic Party "independence" -- is the key problem of the anti-war movement.

The liberals and reformists wish to improve the Democratic Party, while the radicals oppose the 2-party system in principle and in practice.

On the far right of the movement are the State Dept. pacifists, a minute sector of the living movement. They oppose colonial revolutions against tyranny and similar "violence." They advocate peace through "negotiations", i.e. defeat of the NLF and a return to the Geneva partition.

Yet come election time, they get all dressed up and holier than thous, and spurred by self-styled tacticians in "Reaching The People" they parade as "the only practical alternative to Johnson."

A vote for any Democratic candidate is futile and self-deating. It demonstrates that the ruling class has again succeeded in bottling up the rebels within the Democratic Party and averting a threat to the minority rule of Big Business. Demonstrations and elections help the power elite to gauge the scope of the task of

WHAT IS THE FSP? (Continued from Page 1)

movement involving the interrelations between the Negro movement, the question of women's emancipation, the fight against fascism, and the working class struggle as a whole.

"This imposes upon us the political responsibility for establishing an independent organizational identity in radical politics.

"(2) Our 1964 coalition arose in the context of national trends which were objectively heading toward the emergence of a regrouped nationwide revolutionary

BY FRANK KRASNOWSKY, From His KRAB-FM BROADCASTS (Fri. Nites)

changing public opinion.

For example, after a strong showing by anti-war Democrats in the N.Y. and Bay Area primaries, and after the polls reported a majority of the country opposed to Vietnam policy, the government bombed Hanoi and Haiphong and all the media were mobilized to SELL this outrage to the people.

Johnson's new Asia Doctrine has been in his mind for 5 years (says Wm. S. White); his Pacific policy is revealed as neither a blind error nor a desperate impulse, but a longrange, cold and deliberate course. The U.S. now claims hegemony over the entire colonial world.

And why not: The State Dept. policy of global counter-revolution has been remarkably successful in Ghana, Algeria, Congo, Indonesia and Latin America. The ruling class is not about to change its ways when it is winning.

To END the war in Vietnam, the anti-war movement must recognize that the war is absolutely essential to U.S. capital. The debate in Congress between doves & hawks only emerged after the NLF fought U.S. troops to a standstill. Should China and the Soviet Union resolutely defend Vietnam, U.S.

(Continued on Page 6)

Marxist party. Since then, the exciting militant upsurge of the past 2 years points to even more imminent horizons for revolutionary regroupment.

"Many Marxists working together in the civil rights and anti-war movements are coming to realize that they must find a way to live in a common political party, testing out ideas in the living movement and delineating their differences in a rational, disciplined and comradely fashion.

"But the established radical parties are unconcerned with rev-

Page 2

cont. on page 6

OUR PROGRAM (cont. from p.4)

anti-capitalist political action. No support can be given to the "liberals" who provide window-dressing for this reactionary capitalist machine.

6) For Women's Emancipation

The special oppression of an entire sex in the U.S. is masked by the general prosperity and the feminine mystique. The socialist movement has by and large perpetuated the secondary status of women by accepting and even glorifying this prejudice, or by a half-way approach to the issue. Woman's emancipation must be restored to its rightful place in the theory, program and practice of the revolutionary movement.

7) For a Proletarian Anti-War Policy

The United Front for limited specified demands is the proper form for the broad movement against the war. But the duty of socialists is to tell the truth about this war: that the capitalist class has a fundamental stake in it and will not quit short of military/political defeat in Vietnam or virtual civil war at home.

III. ORGANIZATIONAL PRINCIPLES

1) For Internal Democracy

A living democratic centralism means elected leadership responsible to the membership, majority rule, unity in action, free and critical internal discussion, and guaranteed minority rights.

2) For an Independent Socialist Youth Movement

PERSPECTIVE

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

BUILD THE AUG. 6 ANTI-WAR RALLY!

Several local peace groups are sponsoring the traditional rally at the Canadian border. The sponsors are primarily the more "moderate" groups, and the speakers' list reflects this, but there is no restriction on signs displayed or leaflets handed out at the rally.

The AFSC leaflet advocates:

End the bombing of North Vietnam. Institute an immediate cease-fire. Establish a provisional government in South Vietnam to include Buddhists, Catholics and members of the National Liberation Front. Withdraw all foreign troops in South Vietnam. Implement the 1954 Geneva Accords. Provide large-scale economic and technical assistance to both North and South Vietnam.

At least two points deserve comment. First, it is not clear who is going to "establish a provisional government..." etc., or if there are any Buddhists or Catholics the people of South Vietnam will have in a democratically-elected government. Second, "Withdraw all foreign troops in South Vietnam" does not specify U.S. troops, and is open to the curious interpretation of some pacifists that North Vietnamese in South Vietnam are foreigners.

We shall call for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops, and for support to the NLF.

As the civil rights leadership matures, a chain-reaction occurs in the white working class, mobilizing them against speedup, unemployment, fascism and war.

The coming mass radicalization must be accompanied by a regeneration of revolutionary thought and a massive reorganization of the socialist vanguard.

These are the indispensable elements for the victory of the American Revolution.

This Program expresses our understanding of what is historically necessary.

page 5

PREAMBLE

The need and opportunity both exist today in the U.S. for a fundamental regroupment of socialist vanguard elements into a new revolutionary movement.

The forces providing this opportunity flow from the crisis of U.S. imperialism, a crisis rapidly maturing as the post-World War II boom draws to a close.

This 20-year-long economic upsurge was powered by the need to replace fixed capital destroyed by 15 years of depression and war. The lack of new opportunities for capital investment limits this expansion, forcing the U.S. into aggressive action to solidify new spheres of investment.

The war in Vietnam results from this impasse and is part of a permanent series of barbarous wars against the colored colonial world.

Begun in China and continued in Cuba, the current proletarian stage of the colonial revolution constantly threatens to detach more strategic politico-economic sectors from imperialist exploitation, for it has demonstrated that a socialist economic framework is the only answer to the problems of developing nations.

The Negro revolt continues to create vast turmoil in U.S. politics, paralyzing and exposing the government, and inspiring sympathy demonstrations here and abroad.

The young generation is now in the forefront of the anti-war movement which comprises militant sections of the old pacifist movements, radical student organiza-

tions, and widening sectors of the civil rights front.

The above symptoms of the crisis of capitalism point toward a coming international showdown between imperialism and the social revolution.

I. FOR WORLD SOCIALISM

1) For Genuine Internationalism

The socialist revolution is worldwide and unified, though separated from nation to nation in time and national peculiarities. The working class is essentially an international class with identical interests. That these interests may be sacrificed and bargained away for the benefit of a given workers state is foreign to genuine internationalism and results in international class collaboration. "Socialism in one country" is a reactionary theory.

2) Defend the Colonial Revolution by Promoting Our Revolution

The center of gravity of world revolution has temporarily shifted to the colonial sector, but all revolutions are in jeopardy until the ruling capitalist class in the industrial centers, particularly the U.S., is displaced by proletarian power.

3) For Socialist Democracy

Anti-democratic and bureaucratic practices and trends have developed in some workers states as a result of poverty and industrial backwardness. But for the revolution to advance, democratic control by the working class of all economic and political institutions must be fought for. (Con't. on Page 4)

IN OUR NEXT ISSUE:

Letters from Connecticut --

By David Dreiser

The FSP, As I See It --

By Fred Berg

Labor, Civil Rights & Anti-Poverty -- By Jack Wright

SPECIAL PUBLICATIONS:

"Why We Left the SWP"--Kirk, etc.

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OUR PROGRAM

(Continued from Page 3)

4) Defend the Chinese Revolution

Key stimulus to the colonial revolution and new polarizing center for the world communist movement, China has been chosen as the main target for imperialist attack. We support the efforts of the Chinese communists to resist imperialism, to avoid such disasters as in Indonesia, and to advance to a more consistent concept and practice of revolutionary internationalism and socialist democracy.

II. FOR SOCIALISM IN THE U.S.

1) For a Complete & Basic Social Change

Reforms cannot cure capitalism. The ruling class must be removed from political power, and the means of production and distribution nationalized, creating the economic foundation for a society based upon planned production for use instead of production for private profit.

COMING LOCAL EVENTS FOR YOUR CALENDAR ---

- Aug. 13: FSP FORUM on "Politics & the Anti-War Movement". Lee Mayfield & Frank Krasnowsky, speakers. 8:00 pm.
- Aug. 20: BANQUET to celebrate the founding of the FSP. Richard Frazer & Waymon Ware speak on "Black Power & Workers Power." 5 p.m.
- Aug. 27: FSP FORUM on "The Anti-Poverty Program -- A New War on the Poor"
- Aug. 12 & Every Friday Nite: MARXIST CLASSES, Sponsored by Independent Socialist Union. 7:30 p.m. - CAPITAL, taught by Clara Kaye. 9:00 p.m. - American History, taught by R. Frazer. 5224 19th Ave. N.E.

SAT., AUG. 6, 11 AM, Blaine, Wash.
CANADIAN-AMERICAN BORDER RALLY
To Stop the War in Vietnam Now
International Peace Arch Park
For Transportation, Call:
SCEWV, ME. 2-2463; AFSC, ME. 2-0502

2) For Immediate and Unconditional Economic, Political and Social Equality for Negroes

The racial organization of U.S. society is an integral part of the capitalist structure. The struggle for Black freedom is intimately linked with the class struggle of the working class as a whole, and the aspiration for socialism.

Small reforms cannot solve the problem of racism; basic social change is necessary.

We endorse the determination of the freedom movement to develop independent organization and leadership, but we do not believe that race relations can be solved by racial separation, or that U.S. Afro-Americans constitute a separate nation, or that socialism is the exclusive province of whites.

3) Toward the Proletariat

Only the working class in the final analysis can lead the socialist transformation in the U.S. The present and protracted corrupted condition of trade unions and of skilled and privileged workers does not render this truth obsolete.

Today, Negroes represent the working class in struggle, and their liberation movement will spur and lead the development of class-consciousness in the working class as a whole.

4) Alert Against Fascism

U.S. capital must turn to fascism as the only means of maintaining political and economic equilibrium. Symptoms of this ongoing attempt to destroy all democratic institutions abound: the nationwide consolidation of the fascist movement during the Goldwater campaign, the unprecedented solidarity between northern fascist trends and the KKK, and the one-man dictatorial rule in the White House.

5) For Independent Politics

The Democratic Party can never be the vehicle for more than token concessions. Its function is to lure radicals away from independent