

Bulletin

OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

Vol. 2, No. 17

Oct. 18, 1965

10 Cents

How To STOP The Vietnam War



The BULLETIN OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM is published fortnightly by the American Committee for the Fourth International. The American Committee is in political solidarity with the International Committee of the Fourth International. Subscriptions are \$2.00 per year. Send to: P.O. Box 721, Ansonia Station, New York, N.Y., 10023. Make checks or money orders payable to: Wohlforth.

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UNDER THE BIG UMBRELLA

We All Stand for Ending the War in Vietnam

But at What Price and How?

The peace movement is marked today more than ever by a confusion as to purpose. This confusion has been with it since the origins of the current massive anti-Vietnam struggles and it remains the most important stumbling block to the effectiveness of the struggle.

Last April the strategy was to get as many people to Washington as possible. In this the SDS leadership was successful. But the mammoth demonstration had no direction, no clear purpose. True, everyone was opposed to the War in Vietnam as it was then being pursued. But marching side by side were those who opposed the war because they supported the right of the Vietnamese to revolution, and those who opposed the war as a poor method of maintaining the exploitation of the Vietnamese people. It was these latter elements, like Senators Gruening and Morse, who dominated the speech making.

Then came the Assembly of Unrepresented Peoples in Washington. This was a good idea, a very good idea for it was a recognition of the need for discussion as to the direction and purpose of the struggle. This was a step forward. But what came out of it? Is there any greater clarity now as to purpose than before? Yes, there is some but it is coming slowly.

In New York City it seems to be coming very slowly indeed. A Vietnam Day March has been called for Fifth Avenue and is being sponsored by, once again, all those who can fit under that big, big umbrella--- "End the War in Vietnam". On the one extreme there is SANE. This is the organization which distinguished itself in an earlier period by running a witch-hunt within its ranks that decimated it as an effective force for peace. But this did not bother them, for they do not view themselves as a real power anyway. They are the State Department's peaceniks. They favor the achieving of "peace" through the Johnson Administration. To them the Vietnam War is but a tactical mistake of Johnson's. Their task is to seek to find a more "peaceful" way to preserve American dominance in the world.

Around Sane are other right wing groups like the pacifists, Bayard Rustin, Mike Harrington and the Socialist Party, Women's Strike for Peace, and the Communist Party. These groups together can be viewed as the "coalitionists."

The Program of the Coalitionists

Let us take a look at the program of the "coalitionists." Their goal is an openly reformist one. They seek to achieve what can be achieved through the establishment and in particular through the Democratic Party. They see their role as the left wing of the capitalist party in power. Their aim is to "influence"

those who administer the state along a more "liberal" path domestically and internationally.

At present their attitude towards Johnson is deeply split. On the one hand they applaud his domestic reforms and on the other hand they attack his international militarism. What they do not see is that Johnson's policy is a consistent one. Johnson seeks to preserve the dominance of American big business internationally and domestically. Here, in this period, this can best be achieved by concessions at home and war abroad. In another period perhaps Johnson will be forced to resort to war at home (as his representatives in Watts were forced to do) and concessions abroad. Or war everywhere. What is essential is the aim, not the tactic.

A Look at the Left

Now let us look at the left wing which is also gathered together under the umbrella of the slogan "End the War in Vietnam." This is made up of two distinct forces. First are the radical socialist groups: Socialist Workers Party, Progressive Labor, Workers World, American Committee for the Fourth International. These groups, despite fundamental differences, at least share the following in common: a rejection of coalition politics, a recognition of the imperialist character of American foreign policy, and a defense of the right of the Vietnamese people to revolution. The challenge before these groups is what role they play in the education and development of the other major section of the left--the newly radicalized forces in SDS and the various independent Vietnam committees.

The major weakness in SDS and the forces around it is that they have not yet fully broken with the coalitionists. Generally SDS and the independents have a far more radical approach than the coalitionists. Yes, they really do want the U.S. out of Vietnam now, no matter what the consequences. Yes, they do sympathize with the Vietnamese Revolution. But they are not yet ready to break fully with the coalitionists.

They are hypnotized by numbers. They are willing to confuse the aim of a demonstration for pure quantitative success. Thus, we march down Fifth Avenue arm in arm with the avowed enemies of the Vietnam people. Thus, we all hold up our banners "End the War in Vietnam" when we mean by it: "U.S. is to get out only when other means for the preservation of imperialist control of the region replace American troops."

The History of the Numbers Game

There is a history to this numbers game. This is not the first time mammoth anti-war demonstrations have taken place in the United States. Back in 1934 the Oxford Pledge and peace strike movement swept American campuses. It started with a simple declaration that youth would refuse any longer to go to war to defend imperialism. The first year some 25,000 students responded to the joint call of the National Student League (in a sense a predecessor to the DuBois Clubs) and the Student League

for Industrial Democracy (a predecessor to the SDS). In Vassar girls marched under the banner "We Fight Imperialist War" and this was the general tenor of the struggle at that time.

But this was only the beginning. The Communist Party soon dropped its opposition to war and began to espouse its "collective security" slogan. The peace strikes, however, did not stop. In fact they got bigger and bigger. By 1937 some one million students went on "strike". But by now these "strikes" had become part of the establishment--a way of actually mobilizing support in the U.S. for war. So respectable had they become that the Farmer-Labor government in Minnesota declared a school holiday on the day and many college presidents participated. So the bigger the "movement" became the closer war came. A movement, begun to end war, ended up preparing for it. Great quantitative success was made possible by a complete change in the qualitative content of the movement.

This, too, can happen here. As long as the coalitionists are considered a legitimate part of the movement, as long as they are catered to as they were during the negotiations for the march in New York City, then history will repeat itself.

The Cement That Binds Us

The cement that binds together the present supporters of the Fifth Avenue March is only the momentary tactics of the U.S. These, will shift in the future and our "friends" of today will stab us in the back. Once the U.S. is prepared to negotiate a settlement of the Vietnam struggle--and it is only a matter of time--then our coalitionists will be parading up and down the street putting pressure on for a settlement in the "interests of peace" which maintains U.S. influence in the area and destroys the Vietnamese revolution. You will be asked to forget about the Vietnamese people and let the big powers wheel and deal in the interests of "peace." In the forefront of this counterrevolutionary propaganda will, of course, be the Communist Party.

Faced with this fundamental contradiction in the very character of the peace movement what then is the role of the radical groups? Let us look at the SWP because it, more than the smaller groups, has played an active role in the situation. Of course the SWP would agree with us in our criticisms of the coalitionists. But the SWP supports the bloc of the coalitionists and the militants. Its whole role on the Vietnam Day Committee was to maintain this bloc. However, as we have clearly showed it is precisely this bloc which holds back the development of the peace movement. By means of this bloc the militant forces are tied to their own enemies. The SWP by seeking to maintain a bloc with the Establishment "lefts" is itself functioning as an agent of the Establishment, has not fully broken from the Establishment.

What to do Next?

What program does the peace movement have for the fu-

ture? Here we are afraid there is great confusion, and little direction. Both SDS and the Vietnam Day Committee are now giving stress to the internationalization of the struggle. This is all to the good. But it has little meaning unless there is clarity on the program around which to rally forces the world over against the Vietnam War and what forces one is to seek to rally. Obviously the one is closely related to the other.

A sign of the unclarity on these two points are the concrete proposals these groups have so far put forward. SDS is considering another Washington March. This one is to have "international" representatives. But in no other way does it seem to be different from last April's March. The problem with a repetition of the last March is that it is not at all clear that SDS wishes to go programmatically beyond the April 1965 level to a break with the coalitionists. An SDS member, Dick Shroff of the University of Michigan Chapter, raises this objection in the SDS newsletter:

"I am very much opposed to a second March on Washington as it is presently presented....I would hate to see the same affair taking place next April as took place this last April. I think we need to take a more radical and militant stand on the war. Attempt to get more people who have actively committed themselves to U.S. withdrawal there."

SDS is also considering a student strike. The Vietnam Day Committee is putting its emphasis more on civil disobedience. They state "an active minority of 1,000,000 people marching on Washington or 100,000 in coordinated civil disobedience would likely be sufficient to stop the war."

The National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam which has its origins in the Washington Assembly of August, is talking of another meeting in Washington set for Thanksgiving. This time it is hoped some form of national organization will be set up. But the question that must be posed first is that of program and orientation. Otherwise the Thanksgiving parlay will turn out to be another step cementing the bloc of the militants with the coalitionists. This will be retrogressive rather than progressive.

We feel that the struggle must go beyond bloc with coalitionism in program, and beyond the student movement in orientation. By their very character the students will play the central organizing role in the struggle at this stage. They are capable of taking the movement much further than the middle class adults who dominate the Sane, pacifist groups, Women Strike, CPT, etc. The question is not to turn one's back on the students but what orientation to suggest to these students. For certainly the students well realize that they alone can stop nothing.

Towards the Working Class

In August we issued a statement to the Assembly of Unrepresented Peoples urging an orientation towards the working class and the Negro, Puerto Rican and Mexican minorities. It is

these people who have both the power to stop the war and who are being asked to fight it. This proposal was not merely a matter of Marxist "orthodoxy". Today it has substance to it in the real objective events of our time.

True, the vast mass of the working class supports the war. Some even are making a little money out of it. But what is true today, which wasn't true during the Korean War, is that certain sections of the working class are no longer being included in the "consensus". It is the low paid minority workers who can no longer be absorbed meaningfully into American prosperity. It is these forces in particular who can be shown the connection between the U.S. policies in Vietnam and big business oppression at home.

Since we wrote our appeal the Watts uprising took place. This was not simply a black against white struggle but an armed uprising of the working class Negroes who no longer have any hope of advancement in capitalist society. What is true of the Watts Negroes is true of Negroes, Puerto Ricans and Mexicans throughout the country. It is also true of poor whites. It is these forces which the students must seek to reach. In our opinion the Watts uprising did more to unsettle the Johnson Administration than all the teach-ins and marches combined.

Yes, we must keep up the teach-ins, the marches, the student strikes. But we must break with the illusion that 100,000 students or middle class elements will stop the war by lying in the streets. We must clarify our program, break with those who have not broken with our enemies, and with a smaller but more cohesive force, reach out to the millions who stand outside the "consensus".

Just Who Is Sectarian?

Does this sound sectarian? We say those who value the collaboration of a few thousand tired liberals more than the millions of workers, are the true sectarians. Those who resist breaking out of the college campuses and reform Democratic clubs, are the truly isolated ones. The creation of a future quantitative force capable of stopping the war makers requires a concentration of qualitative development now.

Of course SDS is for an orientation toward the working class. But it sees this as only part of an orientation towards the "community". But we are sorry to say that the "community" as a cohesive entity exists only in the minds of the SDS national leadership, not in the social reality of America today. The striking fact about urban America (there is little left of rural America) is that "community" does not exist. Yes, "community groups" abound but these are made up of upper middle class women who have appointed themselves the spokesmen for others who are not consulted. Not only does "community" not exist but it is utopian to try to re-create it. That is a task for another epoch. Class, however, does exist.

SDS puts on the same place "modified labor strikes" with "sermons from ministers." Oh, boy. That will really shake up Johnson--sermons from ministers! If the peace movement could only gain one rank and file worker for every 100 ministers it now possesses, its relative social strength in the United States would increase one hundred fold. Anyway the Pope is on Johnson's side.

Real Internationalism

Once things are seen in class rather than classless terms the question of an international movement also begins to jell. We consider it progressive that SDS and the VDC are now looking internationally for allies. But what forces internationally does one orient towards? Again the orientation seems to be towards the student and the middle class peace groups. These forces have proved their ineffectiveness in past wars. It must be to the international working class and the colonial masses that we orient.

Our first international ally must be the National Liberation Front in Vietnam. We must view the NLF as our ally; we are in a common battle against the same world powers. Next we must seek to work in conjunction with working class struggles in other lands. England gives us a good example of this. There our co-thinkers, the Socialist Labour League, has struggled to build a mass working class movement opposed not only to capitalism in general but keenly aware of the traitorous role of the Labour Party leadership which maintains itself in power due only to the good graces of the world bankers which are backing up the pound. At the Blackpool Conference of the BLP, over 2000 workers and young people demonstrated under SLL leadership against the sham policies of the BLP linking up its support to American action in Vietnam with its anti-working class program at home. This was the only really meaningful struggle against the Vietnam war in England. It is this kind of struggle internationally which we must support and collaborate with. It is this kind of struggle which we must seek to develop here.

* * *

COMING IN FUTURE ISSUES: Vietnam Dialogue -- A continuing discussion of the program and orientation of the Anti-Vietnam Struggle. Participants in the movement are invited to contribute to this discussion.

ALSO: Behind the Indonesian Upheavals

Cuba: The Meaning of the Guevara Riddle

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WELFARE DEPT. FIRING
SPURS S.S.E.U. PROTEST

Development following the recent dismissal of Iris Ascher, a caseworker and member of the SSEU, from the department of welfare illustrate the rottenness of the welfare system and also point the way to win new allies for the union in its continuing battle with the city.

Miss Ascher was notified by welfare commissioner Lou Elheim several days before achieving 18 months on staff (which would have entitled her to civil service status) that she could either resign or be fired. In spite of her two satisfactory evaluations after 6 and 12 months on staff, the commissioner, in classical bureaucratic fashion, upheld the dismissal evaluation of the case supervisor for fear of undermining discipline and authority. The charges brought against Miss Ascher are charges which could be used to dismiss any case worker in the department. She was accused of failure to follow up her own recommendations for clients and her supervisor's instructions and of objecting to a 6 AM raid on one of her clients. Most of the specific examples used against her took place during the vacation period when she was forced to cover a great many extra cases, contrary to the union contract. This contract which was won during the recent strike is still not being implemented by the city. The sea of paper work, the infinitude of forms and procedures, and the departments army of career bureaucrats make it impossible for a caseworker to be much more than a paid snoop for the city, subject to arbitrary dismissal at the whim of a supervisor. No caseworker can track down every father of every illegitimate child on his case load.

The dismissal was approved despite an excellent rebuttal written by Miss Ascher. A protest signed by almost 100 of her co-workers and, most significantly, circulated by her clients and signed by 40 of them, stating that she was "the best investigator we ever had", was also submitted. To the welfare administration this is of course, evidence that she must have been incompetent.

SSEU members devoted a Saturday to blanketing East Harlem with leaflets, particularly in the projects where a great many welfare clients live, calling them to a demonstration protesting the dismissal. The leaflet tried to show that the city was opposing both client and worker and that the worker who tries to aid needy clients is squeezed between them and a callous administration. When a 70 year old lady receives \$45.80 a month for food, laundry, personal care, partial clothing replacement and household supplies, when a semi-monthly budget of \$19.85 is computed by welfare as \$11.90 food, \$1.20 personal care, \$4.30 clothing, \$2.10 old age expense and \$.35 household supplies, when every coat or piece of furniture must be begged for, it is not hard to understand the response.

Hundreds of clients joined caseworkers in a rally in front of the East Harlem Welfare Center calling for reinstatement of Miss Ascher and improved conditions for themselves. A huge throng pressed into the center demanding to be heard by the administration. The sight of so many clients with an understanding of the situation and the guts to stand up and speak was a frightening apparition for the administrators (the union was called unprofessional for appealing to clients!) and a revelation to many case workers grown cynical. The union has the opportunity to take the lead in building a powerful force by organizing clients around a program based on their real needs and not the calculations of a department of home economics. Action is what will impress city bureaucrats, not consultations with assorted political appointees. The one thing they fear most is organization independent of their cynical manipulations.

INDIA: A SUBCONTINENT IN TURMOIL

The India-Pakistan Cease Fire Settles Nothing In Area Which Can Make Vietnam Look Like Child's Play

The Cease Fire in India is a superficial pause in continuing developments which could make Vietnam seem a minor skirmish by comparison. The recurring military conflict between New Delhi and Rawalpindi is but a facet of a complex of economic, social and communal crises threatening to fracture the Indian Union into a number of warring "nations." Since 1960, this same Indian sub-continent has become one of the most rapidly expanded investment markets for U.S., West European and Japanese capital--while remaining the fifth largest investment of threadbare British Imperialism. Vietnam itself is just a very important flank of Imperialism's Indian campaign. Threatened explosions in that sub-continent would bring their crises to every community and factory in the "advanced" capitalist countries. The recent Pakistani-Indian war's main danger lay not in the war itself, but the likelihood that such a war would trigger a wave of riots and revolutions throughout the gut-sick Indian Union.

CBS set the general tone of the leading U.S. press in claiming the Cease Fire as a victory for the United Nations. Public urinals can justly claim such "victories" many times a day over those they merely serve. The UN demanded a military stalemate by political decree; a military stalemate had, in fact, existed for over a week before the UN's powerless decree. The "victory" of the UN lay in these facts. Neither side had any hope of a real victory; neither side had the sources of national capital to finance an expanded war. A continuation of the military stalemate could have brought down both the current Pakistan and Indian regimes, yet the first government to sue for peace was in real danger of being thrown out as an "appeasor" by its oppositions at home. Both regimes desperately required a detente; the UN's "order" provided the face-saving device both sides urgently required.

Apart from the impotent UN, real power was involved in the situation. China's regime is playing a shrewd game of power-politics in the sub-continent. Rather than engaging herself in Vietnam, China is plainly attempting to counter the U.S. Vietnam flank maneuver by concerting her forces directly where she can hurt imperialism at the cheapest cost with the greatest effect. The expedient "understanding" between Peking and Rawalpindi is effectively aimed at undermining the authority of the New Delhi regime, thus advancing the conditions for civil war within the Indian Union itself. The Chinese ultimatum to India had the effect of pinning down first-line Indian troops, preventing New Delhi from massing its more numerous military forces to defeat the Pakistanis. The fear of U.S. response to such interventions by China threw Moscow into a paroxysm. In these terms the Indian sub-continent is shaping up as the "Balkan cockpit" for this decade.

It would be nonsense to suggest that either Rawalpindi or New Delhi was acting as a "stooge" for any great power in the recent military confrontation. In the immediate situation, purely national-state political and economic issues were at stake. This was strictly a "Balkan" affair which, however, threatened to have world-shaking side-effects in which the interests of all the great powers were desperately involved.

The Issue of Kashmir

The province of Kashmir, one of the richest watersheds of the sub-continent, is an obvious economic bone of contention between the two food-short Pakistan and Indian Governments. In Britain's 1947 division of India into Pakistan and the Indian Union predominantly Moslem Kashmir fell to India by the fluke of being ruled by a Hindu Maharajah. The Moslem population understandably objected to being delivered to New Delhi and --as they say in Dublin--the fight was on.

The threatened war was postponed with promise of a forthcoming p'ebiscite, which New Delhi understandably has maneuvered to forestall. Equally understandable, the oppressed native population of Kashmir has resorted to all the financial, military and political help it could obtain from Pakistan in organizing a "war of national liberation" against the New Delhi-rigged puppet government put upon its back.

In mid-August of this year, New Delhi proceeded to apply the lesson of U.S. bombing of North Viet Nam to its problems with guerilla warfare in Indian-occupied Kashmir. Indian troops moved across the cease-fire line to occupy Pakistani military positions. After suffering several attacks from Indian troops, Rawalpindi, on the first of September dispatched an armored column toward Indian-held Jammu, threatening to cut the main supply line of the New Delhi forces in Kashmir. If this attack had been continued, Pakistan would have succeeded in liberating all of Kashmir by force.

Such a defeat of New Delhi would have been such a blow to its authority at home that seething Sikh and other minorities might have been encouraged to openly press their demands for concessions and perhaps even independence. Military considerations ruled out an effective counterattack by Indian forces in Kashmir. Logistics dictated an Indian counterattack from the railhead at Amritsar toward the major Pakistan city of Lahore. The optimal expectation of the New Delhi regime would have been the capture or seige of Lahore itself. That would have been a major political coup for New Delhi, enormously strengthening its prestige and authority at home. At the least, the Indians could hope to divert Pakistani forces from concentrations toward Jammu, and thus effect a stalemate in the Kashmir campaign.

That is the situation today. Absolutely nothing is settled. A temporary military stalemate along one front in a general situation which may break out afresh in any of a number of political and military dimensions. India can not tolerate a plebiscite in Kashmir--in which she would be devastatingly repudiated; while Indian occupation of Kashmir continues, so will the potential for guerilla resistance and the circumstances for new military confrontations between Rawalpindi and New Delhi. Nor can the U.S. permit itself to pressure India for a plebiscite, since an electoral defeat in that issue would advance the political conditions for revolts in India itself.

Both Pakistan and the Indian Union are major interests of U.S. Imperialism. Pakistani economy is being built up as a showcase of U.S. foreign policy. Populous India is one of Imperialism's main hopes for a stabilizing new wave of imperialist investment-expansion. Both countries' armies are entirely dependent on US military grants and logistic support. The economic stability of both capitalist regimes depends entirely on economic aid from the U.S., Western Europe, Japan, and from international imperialist lending agencies. Even despite massive foreign investment in the past five years, despite massive grants, food subsidies, the Indian economy is a shambles of economic stagnation with a population constantly on the verge of starvation. Imperialism must desperately attempt to maintain the political status quo between and within these two countries while preparing the ground for the new wave of imperialist investment planned for the future. Both countries' regimes are, in one sense, entirely the creatures of Imperialism--oppressors of their people in the interests of imperialism. Yet even these stooges are prisoners of the domestic political situation and compelled, as in the recent military adventures, to pursue courses which are violently contrary to U.S. interests.

Peking's Policy

Peking's maneuvers in this situation demonstrate that the Chinese regime is acutely aware of the contradictions in the situation--quite unlike American radicals, such as the SWP and PL, who really understand nothing of current world or national politics. In the short term, from the interests of

the Peking regime as a state regime, China's power politics maneuvers represent a rather shrewd and effective countermove against U.S. Imperialism's games in Southeast Asia.

However, contrary to Peking's efforts to solve world problems on the level of power politics, nothing good can come out of the situation in the Indian sub-continent unless there is a Leninist party on the scene capable of mobilizing the Indian people for socialist power. India today is in a permanent state of crisis, over-ripe for the organization of a mass "Bolshevik" party. Without such a party, China's power politics will merely produce conjunctures in India which will result in the more intensive repression of the Indian people, the emergence of the Indian equivalent of an imperialist-allied fascist regime in the subcontinent. From all the evidence at hand, Peking's policy in Southeast Asia today must be compared with Stalin's policy in Spain and elsewhere during the '30s, and in India in 1946, when the Stalinists sold out a revolutionary situation in that country on orders from Moscow. Peking has apparently learned nothing from the lessons of Algeria, from its own sorry role in being the first national government to formally recognize the counterrevolutionary Boumedienne regime.

In all honesty, Peking's role in the Indian situation must be compared with the traitorous role of the ex-Trotskyist adherents of the Pabloite "Fourth International" in Ceylon, where the LSSP centrists' connivance in dirty parliamentary racist power politics aided the return of a most reactionary regime to almost unchallenged power.

What Next in India?

In balance, unless Rawalpindi betrays the Kashmiri freedom fighters, New Delhi has suffered a serious political defeat in the events of the past month. Stepped up guerilla activity in Kashmir is most probable in the period ahead, while, at the same time, seething minorities in the Indian Union will show increasing reluctance to fight the oppressive battles of Hindi chauvinists. The New Delhi regime must pass from crisis to crisis, with the Union itself threatening to disintegrate into separate states as the internal situation becomes progressively worse and the political situation increasingly unstable.

In the end, this must lead either to a strong dictatorship or a socialist regime. In the course of these struggles, interrupted revenues, threatened investments and so forth will have their effect on the financial centers of the main imperialist countries. In desperation, the U.S. may find itself dispatching battalions of "military advisors" to Calcutta, bombing parts of China proper, and taking the cost of these losses out of the wage envelopes of the workers in Pittsburgh, Detroit and other centers in the home countries. Imperialism will be likely to lose the use of India as an investment area, at least for a considerable period of time. This will accelerate the tendency for new wars and fresh, more intensive attacks on the interests of the working class in all the advanced capitalist countries.

INDEPENDENTS CHALLENGE CAPITALIST PARTIES

IN NEW YORK CITY ELECTIONS

The election for a new Mayor of New York City, as well as for a newly "reapportioned" New York State Legislature, is only two weeks away from the issue date of this BULLETIN. As we go to press, the major capitalist candidates are furiously stepping up the pace of their million-dollar Madison Avenue-directed campaigns. Both Lindsay and Beame are desperately trying to play "underdog" in the expectation that this will give their campaigns what the political "analysts" in the press and on radio and television like to call momentum.

One of these two men, or one of these two "teams", as they like to call themselves, will become the next administration in New York City. And while the result itself cannot be predicted because the race is close, it can be predicted that this result will make not one particle of difference in the lives of the vast majority of New York City's population.

What does a Beame or a Lindsay victory mean to the newspaper workers who are threatened by automation in this society, to the vast army of underpaid and super-exploited garment and hospital workers, to the hundreds of thousands on welfare, to the Puerto Rican and Negro populations which face the problems of other workers multiplied at least by two? Many of the millions of New York workers will be voting on Election Day in the illusion that it means something, but probably an equal number will be registering their alienation from capitalist society by not going to the polls.

HELP WANTED!

Volunteers and money are urgently needed for the Jose Fuentes campaign on the Lower East Side. Contact:

Independent Political
Movement
270 E. 4th Street
New York City

The candidacy of William Buckley on the Conservative Party will provide a place on the ballot for increasing numbers of right wing and racist-minded middle class voters and some workers, who see their relatively privileged but very shaky position in capitalist society threatened by the aspirations of the Negro and other minorities. The Buckley ticket may very well total up a substantially increased vote in New York for the Goldwaterite Conservative Party. The strength of the Buckley candidacy, the ease with which he exposes the liberal hypocrites' promises and plays upon the fears of the middle class, are in themselves an indication of growing crisis. But a new working class leadership either in the Negro movement or in the labor

movement which knows how to deal with this crisis has yet to be built. This is the major reason why the Buckley campaign is not offset by a similarly strong campaign on the left.

The city labor movement officialdom has voted to back Beame, while the union bureaucrats who control the Liberal Party have cast in their lot with Lindsay. It appears likely that Local 1199 of the Hospital Workers will also wind up supporting Lindsay, as will a substantial number of middle class liberals and "reform" Democrats.

But some bright spots emerge from the morass of general support in the working class movement for the candidates of the two party system. Independent radical candidates have been campaigning more vigorously this year than for some time. These genuinely independent candidates, all of whom the BULLETIN supports, include the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor, Clifton deBerry, and his running mates; Progressive Labor Party candidate for State Senate in Manhattan's 31st District, Bill Epton, and the candidate of the Independent Political Movement for State Assemblyman in Manhattan's 67th District on the Lower East Side, Jose Fuentes. All of these candidates are running independently of the capitalist parties and are raising important issues such as the demand for a real war on poverty and against the war in Vietnam. As we go to press we have learned that the SWP candidates have been challenged. We urge all militants to support their right to be on the ballot.

All socialists and especially militants in the labor, Negro and Puerto Rican movements should exert their maximum effort to aid the independent campaigns, and especially to help link these campaigns to the masses themselves. Bulletin supporters have and will continue to actively support the Fuentes campaign, and also have distributed thousands of agitational leaflets urging support for all the independent campaigns.

The Fuentes campaign is potentially the most important because the candidate is so well known and respected on the basis of his own day to day work in his neighborhood. In this case the campaign has the biggest opportunity to transcend at least to some extent the propaganda-type of political campaign and proceed to concretely raising the level of the masses. In concretely working with and organizing the masses the independent campaign on the Lower East Side can lay the groundwork for continued work after Election Day. Both the SWP and PLP have a special obligation to support the Fuentes campaign energetically in addition to each other's campaigns. All activists in the Fuentes campaign must devote themselves to planning how to campaign so as to combine the election itself with the concrete needs of the neighborhood. The aim is not to simply make propaganda or to win this election, but to further the organization and consciousness of the masses on the Lower East Side.

THE REAL POOP ON THE POPE

Well, folks, it's settled. It's all over -- war, that is. The Pope's taken care of it. "No more war, war never again. Peace, it is peace which must guide the destinies of people and of all mankind." He said it, yes he did -- and to the UNITED NATIONS! You can't beat that combination. The UN was established 20 years ago to bring peace to mankind and the Church was established over 2,000 years ago (the Pope did rather rub in his seniority) to achieve the same purpose.

When we got our paper this morning--the day after the Pope's visit--we picked out the special supplement on the Pope's trip and threw away the rest. Why bother with it? The wars are over. There couldn't be any more news to report. We have faith.

Certainly the Vietnam War must be over. Not only did the Pope speak to the UN but he spoke to PRESIDENT JOHNSON as well. And you know what President Johnson said? "It has been to me a very stimulating and inspiring conversation." Oh, boy. Now we can add Johnson to the team as well. The Pope, representative of the spiritual Kingdom, has declared, "No more war." The United Nations, representative of temporal powers of this wretched earth of ours, cheered him. President Johnson, representative of No. 1 temporal power, was "inspired." No, the war in Vietnam must be over.

* * * *

So the world would be if myth were reality and the mythmakers held the power they claim to hold. But we know that this is not reality and the Vietnam War goes right on. The Pope appeals for peace but makes no mention of the war that is going on. The UN cheers him on but fears to interfere in America's bloody war. President Johnson, his hands stained with the blood of countless thousands of Vietnamese peasants--men, women, and children--takes his "inspiration" from the Pope. Such is reality. Such is the dirty role of the myth makers.

In our opinion the Pope's trip to the United Nations and the United States was most appropriate. The Church and the UN play essentially a similar role in the world. Both are mythological, unreal organizations. The Catholic Church pretends to represent on this earth the Spiritual Power from the Beyond. The Pope is considered the interpreter par excellence of the desires of this Spiritual Power. If we are to take him seriously then we must conclude that he speaks for this Power when he declares "No more war." But war goes on. The Spiritual power clearly cuts no ice in the real world.

So it is with the UN. The UN claims to be a truly international body, an impartial body above the separate temporal powers. But it, too, does nothing when the greatest temporal power of them all violates every pious phrase in the UN charter, the Declaration of Human Rights and the pact against genocide.

In truth the UN and the Catholic Church carry out the same basic function in the world. On the one hand they produce the mythology necessary to cover up the evil deeds of the United

States. On the other hand, quietly and with as little fanfare as possible they give the American imperialists an assist whenever they are in need. We must never forget the treacherous role of the UN in the Congo when the UN handed over Patrice Lumumba to his executioners. We must never forget that America's imperialist war against the Korean people was carried out under the banner of the UN.



So acts the Church teachss subser- Everywhere it fosters ionary government in country that does not receive the full support of the Church? We must remember the way the American Church came to the aid of the U.S. in the 1948 elections in Italy where great pressure was brought to bear through Italian-Americans to support the Christian Democratic Party. This is no non-partisan body.

Church. Everywhere the vience to the powers that be. reaction. Is there a react- any predominantly Catholic

It would be a mistake to underestimate the power of the Catholic Church or to dismiss as unimportant the Pope's recent trip. The Pope came to the United States at this time because this is a time when the U.S. needs the Pope. Aggression must be covered over with pious declarations and the stage must be set for international wheeling and dealing in the name of "peace" and at the cost of the revolutionary aspirations of the people. This is the significance of the Pope's statement of his willingness to travel to China. Beware, the peacemongers plot war. They are your enemies!

* * * *

As the Pope's calvacade went through Harlem, a thin Negro man turned to a priest standing by and asked: "Hey, father, how come they clean up Harlem so much today for the Pope's visit? How come they just clean up Harlem for him? How come they don't clean up other times, father?"

Ungrateful lout! Doesn't he realize that with just one flick of his hand this man with his white yarmulka can knock 500 days off your stay in purgatory?

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