

SPARTACIST

NUMBER 2

JULY-AUGUST 1964

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NEGRO STRUGGLE IN THE NORTH

The struggle in New York City is especially significant for several reasons. A low wage, high cost town, New York manifests in an acute form many of the social ills affecting decaying capitalist societies. It includes some of the largest, most oppressed, and highly charged racial ghettos in the United States. Much of the leadership of the national civil rights movement is to be found here, and its lessons for political radicals are sharpened by the fact that all radical tendencies have their centers here. Therefore, although much has been happening also in Detroit, Cleveland, Chicago, and San Francisco, New York developments are worthy of special consideration.

Hate Campaign

Over the past few months New York has witnessed an unprecedented campaign of press terror against the Negro people. All-out mobilization of middle-class white opinion against the rapidly developing Negro freedom movement began with the second school boycott and increased in tempo through the period of the threatened stall-in. A second, even more vicious stage in the anti-Negro campaign was initiated by the appearance of a lengthy front page article in the *New York Times* claiming the existence of a Black-Muslim directed dope-selling, karate-trained gang of 400 "Blood Brothers," whose main activity was the maiming and killing of whites. Thereafter isolated incidents of violence involving Negroes were given front-page shock treatment day in and day out in such a manner as to deliberately create the impression of uncontrollable terrorism by rampaging Negroes against whites, while incidents of violence by whites against Negroes were played down and their racial aspects denied. At all times the subtle and not so subtle equation of Negro violence and civil rights militancy was made.

That this incitement of racist hysteria was not in the least accidental but represented on the contrary the carrying out of a high-level decision by those who rule this society is evidenced by the fact that at all points the campaign was initiated and led not by representatives of the gutter press like the *Daily News* and *Journal-American* but by what is considered the most authoritative voice of the bourgeoisie in the country, the *New York Times*. This press terror campaign has as its purpose the psychological preparation and justification for the smashing, through police terror, of the coming stage of the Negro rights struggle. The new "Stop-and-Frisk" and "No-Knock" laws and proposed



ACTION SPEAKS LOUDEST. On May 21 hundreds of CCNY students, after hooting Mississippi racist, Ross Barnett, marched through Harlem to join militants in sit-down against dangerous traffic.

further restrictions on the right to bear arms are additional evidences of this intent.

Mass Action

The necessity for the bourgeoisie to prepare such drastic steps to halt the struggle has arisen from the beginning of the mass entry of the Negroes of the northern ghettos into the fight for jobs, decent housing, and adequate schools. This began last year around construction sites in Brooklyn, Harlem, and Philadelphia in the fight for jobs for qualified Negro workers ex-
(Continued on Page 3)

SPARTACIST

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Tendency expelled from the Socialist Workers Party.

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sent an editorial viewpoint.

Number 2



July-Aug. 1964

LETTERS RECEIVED

Some Responses to Our First Issue:

Austin, Texas

I have been concerned with the bureaucratic and revisionist tendencies of the SWP for some time. In particular, my main concerns are the positions of the SWP on black nationalism, Cuba and Algeria. I do not consider the Muslims a progressive movement since racism is profoundly reactionary and serves to divide the working class; this essential reactionary role of racism is the same whether this racism is spread by Bull Conner or by Muslims. As Marxists, we must see the Negro Liberation Movement as part of the larger class struggle. Thus, it is essential that the Civil Rights movement be broadened to the poverty stricken and unemployed to create a working class movement of sufficient weight to transform society. Black nationalism is inimical to this end.

Cuba, it seems to me, is exhibiting symptoms of Stalinist bureaucratic decay. Spartacist correctly differentiates between a revolutionary movement based on the industrial proletariat and one based on the peasantry of an underdeveloped country. Keeping this distinction in mind, one must be careful in using the proper terms to refer to the Cuban revolution. I don't consider Cuba a worker's state since the Cuba revolution was not a revolution of the proletariat in which a revolutionary program was consciously held by the proletariat. The Cuban revolution was essentially a bourgeois anti-imperialist movement which was forced to submit to Stalinist control because of the reactionary pressure of the United States. I consider it of the utmost importance that the Spartacist print a complete analysis of the Cuban revolution. We must have faultlessly documented accounts of the bureaucratic degeneration of the Cuban revolution. This will be of utmost value to members of the SWP and to revolutionists in Latin America.

I want to salute the Spartacist for upholding the highest traditions of Marxism. You have the courage to maintain your revolutionary program even at the

cost of expulsion from the party. I have no doubt that history will vindicate the correctness of your views since you are doing no more than restating the historic program of Lenin and Leon Trotsky. The history of Marxism is a collection of great debates and polemics; this doctrine was forged in white-hot debate. When the SWP attempts to destroy debate through manipulations of the party apparatus, it destroys the essence of Marxism.

I am enclosing \$1.00 for a subscription to Spartacist since I believe your publication will play a vital role in the rebirth of American Trotskyism.

Fraternally,
C.S.

New York, N.Y.

... The first number of the "Spartacist" was such a dreary, neurotic, ultra-sectarian, paranoid and unreadable thing that I was almost glad such dreary people had been thrown out of the party. ...

Comradely regards,
G.L.

New York, N.Y.

"Spartacist" should be welcomed by all of us who desire to see the rebirth of a Trotskyist movement in this country.

For many years the SWP has been consistently shrinking into petty-bourgeois reformism and away from the basic class struggle. ... This has now reached the point where the banner of Marxism-Leninism is torn down and replaced by one of jingoistic, petty-bourgeois "Black Nationalism." Any similarity between the SWP and a socialist organization is purely accidental—and I am sure in due course will be "corrected" by the gentle folk of 116 University Place. ...

Today, it seems to me, the only bright spot on the Left is the Progressive Labor Movement. ... I would urge you to give careful consideration to both the strength and weakness of PLM and to examine possible avenues of cooperation.

At the same time I would urge you to re-examine your position in regard to Cuba. The struggle *within* the movement there is real and it would be highly sectarian to feel it has been concluded in favor of Khrushchev & Co. because international pressures and the question of survival force certain public statements. The basic tenet of Comrade Castro's remarks is far from that of K.! Let us avoid the sectarian idiocy Marcy displayed in the early stages of the Cuban Revolution, the hero worship displayed by the SWP and the dangerous ultra-leftist conclusions of the P.O.C. The science of Marxism-Leninism can not abandon careful study of the facts to snap judgments.

For the Rebirth of American Trotskyism! Against All Revisionists!

Fraternally yours,
G. S.

New York, N.Y.

I saw "Spartacist" and it opened my eyes. I'm too much committed to get out and join you, but believe me there are more than a few of us inside supporters. You may be interested to learn ...

Comradely,
The Insider

... NEGRO STRUGGLE

(Continued from Page 1)

cluded by job-trust attitudes and racial bias in the trade unions, and then spread to the struggle against slumlords and their bank and big-business associates. In the process thousands of tenants formed tenants councils, withheld rents, and won services and repairs from some reluctant landlords. It was with the struggle for integrated schools, however, and the involvement of almost the entire Negro and Puerto Rican people, that the ruling class drew the line.

School Boycott

The New York school boycott of February 3 clearly demonstrated the militancy and power of the Negro masses and their readiness to fight for total school integration. To this determined action by hundreds of thousands of the most oppressed, New York authorities had the arrogance to respond with mere token offers (20 out of more than 300 schools to be desegregated!). A second boycott was called, and the anti-Negro hate campaign was on.

Under tremendous pressures from white capitalist enemies and middle-class "friends," the respectable Negro and Puerto Rican leaders found flimsy and transparent excuses to withdraw their support. Playing a paramount role in the sell-out were the reformists of the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation and Young People's Socialist League. Through positions they hold in the national office and certain chapters of CORE—a key organization—they not only refused to support the boycott but did all in their power to sabotage it, just as they later did over the stall-in. The part played in the civil rights movement by the SP-SDF and YPSL, as they prove over and over again their feverish eagerness to act as self-appointed agents of capitalism in the working class movement, is perhaps best exemplified by the role of that sinister figure, Bayard Rustin.

Yet despite betrayals and sell-outs the Negro masses showed *their* support of the boycott by pulling out 90 per cent of the children in ghetto-area schools, and boycotts in other northern cities facing similar opposition were also successful.

White Backlash

It is at that point where the great masses of Negro people enter the fight for a fundamental change in

... LETTERS

New Haven, Conn.

Although I am not a member of any organized political party, I would like to take this opportunity to lend my encouragement and moral support to your present battle with the forces of degeneracy—centrism and revisionism—within what I consider to be the foremost Revolutionary party in the U.S. today.

Keep up the good work. I remain, sincerely,

Yours for the Revolution,
E.R.

their basic conditions of life that our capitalist rulers discard the Dr. Jekyll mask of bourgeois democracy and expose the naked racist and class bias of Mr. Hyde. Decisive sections of the ruling class are now agreed that the overhead for maintaining formal segregation is too high. They are therefore willing to permit the gradual abolition of *legal* segregation and provide avenues of upward social mobility for a tiny minority of the black race. But it is an entirely different matter for stagnating American capitalism to accede to the struggle for *real* equality or to provide jobs for all, black or white. The contracting market for labor and the ever-increasing squeeze on the rate of profit—that motor force of a capitalist economy—make reforms on the scale necessary to meet the needs of the Negro masses impossible, while in fact the economic aspects of continued racial discrimination in this country act as an internal prop to the rate of profit. Thus the Negro struggle as it develops a mass character poses a direct threat to the capitalist system itself and to all those deriving special benefits from it. This is the explanation for the white backlash which has affected so many of the white liberal "friends" of the Negro people, and why the bourgeois state now prepares to fight openly in the streets through its police arm against the resurgence of the struggle.

Stall-in

The bourgeoisie had to make a show-down out of the April stall-in at the Worlds Fair—that smug monument they built to their own technological hypertrophy and poisonously decadent kitsch-culture. The frightened ruling class brought heavy weapons into play. They used thousands of their police, tow trucks, new laws with heavy penalties passed in one day, their mass media, their official Negro leaders, and finally, their President of the United States. But while circumstances prevented our rulers from physically smashing the demonstration as they so greatly desired and planned, nevertheless the failure of the stall-in had in itself serious consequences, which we are now experiencing, on the development of the movement.

Tying up the country's largest city in a massive demonstration of the organized power of the oppressed in the struggle for their rights is a powerful tactic. It was *the action itself* that our rulers so desperately feared in this case, not the cutting of one day's Fair receipts or attendance as was done. The successful completion of the action, denoting strength, direction, and determination, would have won the Negro movement new allies (as it began to do when the 10,000-man sanitation workers' union refused the scab role of removing stalled vehicles) and would have set a precedent for other aggrieved sections of our class society.

Unspoken Defeat

Unfortunately, however, the leaders of Brooklyn CORE and the other supporting chapters (all those, and only those, with large Negro membership) saw the stall-in not as a demonstration of the organized power

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of the Negro masses but as an anarchistic and individualistic tactic not different in type from the seven-man tie-up of the Triborough Bridge earlier in the year. No provision was made for the mass participation of the non-car owning Negro working people, who nevertheless supported the stall-in from a distance. Equally important, the leadership refused to organize even those who were able to participate—thus assuring the miscarriage of the project. The stall-in leaders, despite all their militancy and good intentions, because of their petty-bourgeois class nature and lack of program, were unable to recognize that the basic strength of the Negro masses, as of the working class as a whole, lies in their numbers and organization as against the economic and political power of the ruling class.

The failure of the stall-in, and lack of any analysis or even admission of the failure within the movement, is reflected in the "caving-in" of the militants and the present lack of activity. The betrayers of the movement have been able to inflict crippling penalties upon the former rebels (not the least being the curtailment of chapter autonomy at the just concluded CORE national convention).

Safe activities like northern voter registration, "pressure" on the conventions of the two capitalist parties, campaigns for Medicare, and the like, have been accepted as a substitute for militant mass action during this summer period which was supposed to have been "hot" for our rulers. The ruling class on the other hand has been emboldened in taking repressive action against the rights movement. Symbolically, *all* demonstrations at the Fair, including the silent picketing which had been previously assured, have been banned. Arnold Goldwag of Brooklyn CORE, a leading proponent of the stall-in, received a 13-month jail sentence for probation violation, thereby establishing a precedent whereby any demonstrator can be given a heavy suspended sentence to inhibit him from further action in fear of a long jail term—yet the badly shaken "rebel" CORE chapters did not even mount a protest despite the threat this poses to their own future. The spectre of a witchhunt within the movement has raised its ugly head.

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**Defend: Arnold Goldwag
and Civil Rights Militants**

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Crisis of Leadership

This past period has been a time of testing for all leaders and would-be leaders of the Negro struggle.

The established spokesmen—the Whitney Youngs, Roy Wilkins and James Farmers—have been caught in the increasingly sharp contradiction between the

necessity to dampen the struggle to appease their white liberal sponsors and preserve their political ties with the Democratic Party administration, and their increasing exposure as appeasers before the Negro masses. They continually make groveling appeals to the ruling class to come through with an occasional face-saving concession to prevent more militant forces from displacing them, but when the struggle reaches the point where it is embarrassing or threatening to the ruling class (as in the case of the second school boycott and the stall-in) these respectables do all in their power to call it off. But this they can no longer do. Messrs. Young, Wilkins, and Farmer are shortly scheduled to learn that all their willingness to serve their masters will not save them once their ability to control their supposed followers, and thus their usefulness to the ruling class, has been lost. They will then be thrown on the scrap heap by these same masters in favor of new "leaders."

New Leadership?

What about those individuals who called the second boycott and the stall-in? The Socialist Workers Party, in the *Militant*, has hailed this grouping as "a bold new leadership" which would not be able to sell out in the old style, and sees in it "the dividing line in the civil rights struggle in this city." This viewpoint is both superficial and opportunistic. Actually this so-called "new leadership" is a motley collection, ranging from militant leadership aspirants like Jessie Gray to old political demagogues like Adam Powell. Gray, by far the best of the lot, is an experienced and capable activist, who, however, like the well-intentioned Brooklyn CORE rebels, lacks a sufficient program to carry the struggle through to its necessary conclusion. Galamison, on the other hand, already with one sell-out to live down in calling off mass picketing at the Downstate Medical Center construction site in Brooklyn, seems to be no more than an aspiring Farmer or King. Malcolm X, despite an excellent job of propagandizing for Negro self-defense, nevertheless seems to be more intent on building a personal cult-following than in leading the Negro people in militant struggle. In any event, this coalition of CORE rebels with militant and militant-sounding individuals is more in the nature of a temporary alliance than any stable "new leadership." The so-called "new leaders" do differ from the old, however, in one respect: *the new ones*, at least, look to the ghettos for their support and therefore must

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respond, within limits, to the increasing mass pressures or be very shortly discredited.

Revolutionary Leadership

Given that the demands of the movement have already transcended mere upper-class integration which would leave the masses of the Negro people facing the same reality of high unemployment, concentration in low skilled and poor paying jobs, segregated slum housing, and segregated, inadequate schools, and given the sharpening national and international contradictions of American capitalism, including chronic unemployment of four to five million, the stage is set for the development of a revolutionary leadership. The same forces which make this development necessary also make it possible.

A revolutionary leadership is a leadership that poses not only the winning of immediate concessions but which poses *transitional* demands and slogans which at each point tend to bring the Negro masses to the recognition in struggle that fundamental solutions to their problems are not possible within the framework of the capitalist system.

Tenants Councils

Such a leadership would strive to extend the organization of the masses of Negro people and to deepen their involvement in struggle at all levels. *The rent strike must be extended*, not because it can provide the final solution to the problem of slum housing, but because it, with its concomitant tenants councils, offers the best method so far devised to organize the community—not only around housing, but, for example, *to bring off school boycotts* at will. With the present level of mass consciousness, only the lack of experienced organizers prevents virtually the whole of Harlem and the other New York ghettos from being organized into tenants councils right now. Moreover, block councils firmly based on building councils would offer a natural basis for *the organization of self-defense*. [This need has never been more urgent. As we go to press, rapid firing police shock troops flooding Harlem have precipitated a violent clash with hundreds of incensed Negroes protesting the police killing of 15-year-old James Powell.]

"30 for 40"

Jobs for all at decent wages is the answer to breaking up the ghetto and thereby eliminating slum housing and inferior, segregated schools. But the capitalists are incapable of providing sufficient jobs for workers of either race. They seek to insure their continued rule by keeping black and white workers in conflict with each other over an ever-shrinking pool of jobs. A revolutionary leadership goes beyond trying to win a few jobs here or there by raising and fighting seriously for such demands as "*30 for 40*" (30 hours work for 40 hours pay) which *unite* workers of both races in a struggle to *increase* the number of jobs. History shows that in such common struggle racial hatreds are laid aside. Such was the case in the 1930's during the struggle to organize the CIO or today in Appalachia.

Class Politics

The revolutionary leadership also seeks to educate the black workers about the real nature of the Demo-

cratic Party of cold-war liberals, Southern racists, kept union leaders, and Uncle Toms in order to break up the system of two capitalist parties which perpetuates the status quo. Black workers are today in a vanguard position; they must not wait until the higher paid white workers in bureaucratized and conservative trade unions begin to move. Thus it is an entirely practical aim today to place independent, anti-capitalist Representatives in Congress from the Black Ghettos. To succeed in such steps could be the specific breakthrough leading the entire working class to create a combative mass labor party.

Struggle

The struggle for the above program within the existing civil rights movement will augment the polarization between the militants, who will be attracted by the program of struggle, and the conservatives who strive unceasingly to place ever more restrictive chains upon existing organizations. Out of this polarization can come the base for the formation of a revolutionary mass organization of the Negro people whose leading cadre will provide a link with the Revolutionary Party. Such a new organization would express simultaneously the special needs of the Negro struggle and its relationship to broader struggles—ultimately for workers' power.

The Negro masses are the most exploited section of the working class. It is they who can hold the key to the radicalization of the entire class. It is this part of the class which is in motion, determined to fight for a better life. To the extent that it adopts a revolutionary outlook it becomes capable of leading the whole class to the seizure of power and the elimination of all inequality, exploitation, and racism. ■

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WITCH HUNT DEEPENS IN THE SWP

On March 5 the New York branch of the Socialist Workers Party expelled five additional members of the Revolutionary Tendency—Al Nelson, Price Chatham, Charlotte Michaels, Edith Olsen, and Harry Turner. As in the original expulsions of RT supporters, the new ones were for ideas and attitudes, with not a single act charged.

Once again the SWP has resorted to organizational purging to eliminate political differences. The charges against the newly-expelled group centered on their vote at an internal membership meeting against the NYC organizer's report which characterized the "Robertsonite Spartacist splitters" as "enemies of the party" and declared that any "expression of sympathy" for the expellees would be met with "drastic" action. The Majority's formal charges claimed that the statements made by the RT members in motivating their vote indicated "their intention to act as agents of an enemy opponent political group." The RT supporters had called for reinstatement of the RT leadership to the party and pointed out that the SWP Majority had only itself to blame if after having expelled comrades for their ideas these comrades gave public expression to their views.

Rigged Trial

The trial took place before an enlarged branch executive committee meeting composed exclusively of members of the majority faction. A loaded and prepared *List of Questions* were asked the defendants who were called in one at a time, each not knowing what had been asked of or answered by the preceding comrades, in an attempt at entrapment. Thus the RT supporters on trial were asked: "Do you condone the publication of the Spartacist and its attack on the party?" "Are you in political solidarity with the Spartacist group?" "Do you continue to meet with the expelled people?" "Do you meet socially with them?" "What do you discuss?" "What about internal party politics?" That this procedure failed completely is shown by the fact that no acts of any kind were added to the specification of charges. The vote to expel at the next branch meeting was 44 to 19.

PC Motion

This new action against the Revolutionary Tendency in New York followed the party-wide publication of a Political Committee motion, assailing a Letter to the National Committee by those expelled earlier. The PC con-

demned as "hypocritical" the RT statement refusing to accept the expulsions, and called upon all party branches to "keep the Secretariat informed of the public activities conducted by the Robertsonite splitters and report any evidence of collaboration with them from within our ranks." By libeling those *expelled against their will* as "splitters" the party leadership obviously hopes to obscure its responsibility for executing an ideological expulsion.

United Secretariat

The expelled leaders of the RT, having exhausted all presently available recourse within the American party, made an appeal on Feb. 23 to the new "United Secretariat of the 4th International" for its intercession. The appeal pointed out that the expulsions were exclusively for holding dissident views and reaffirmed once again the disciplined acceptance of the political line of the Majority by the RT in the past, and the readiness to do so in the future, while seeking in an orderly way to win other SWP members to its viewpoint. The SWP-supported United Secretariat, an international group recently formed on a revisionist basis, had itself adopted, in words, democratic-centralist organizational principles which, if implemented, would assure disciplined action side by side with internal democracy — including the right of organized tendencies to exist. The United Secretariat was asked to translate its words into deeds by acting to rectify the flagrant organizational abuse by its American co-thinkers.

Exposed

The reply of the United Secretariat again proved that solidarity between centrists takes precedence over Leninist principle. The "Resolution on Robertson Group" by the United Secretariat first justified the expulsions on the basis of political differences, e.g., "ultra-left sectarian line," "opposition to the reunification of the world Trotskyist movement," "judgment of the Socialist Workers Party as a 'centrist' formation," "eventual split." The resolution then stated that our action in publishing a public organ was "in flagrant violation of the principles and practices of democratic centralism which require a minority in a revolutionary socialist party to abide by majority decision." But the publication of SPARTACIST came *after* the expulsions. To call issuance of a public press by people after expulsion from a party a violation of the democratic central-

ism of that party is nothing but double talk designed to cover up the bureaucratic behavior of the SWP. The United Secretariat group, far from being an all-inclusive reunification of the world Trotskyist movement, is exposed by its resolution as a conglomeration of revisionists intent on outlawing the fundamental ideas of Trotskyism as ultra-left and sectarian.

Not Yet the End

At this writing the SWP leadership shows every sign of spreading the witch hunt throughout the party and into the Young Socialist Alliance, as the inevitable result of its rightward-moving course.

* * *

Since this article was completed, the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and the United Secretariat, operating on their common political basis, have scored the following "successes," large and small:

—The Young Socialist Alliance on May 30 suspended three comrades from membership in New York for publicly supporting the work of the SPARTACIST.

—The United Secretariat, meeting in Paris, suspended its most prominent member, Michel Pablo, and his leading supporters from all international bodies, thus signaling a world split, without, however, any basic differences in revisionist method between the two groups.

—The United Secretariat announced on June 22 its expulsion of the majority leadership of its Ceylonese section, the LSSP, for that classic betrayal of the working class, entry into a capitalist government. [Full information on this very serious development is presented in the *British Newsletter*—address: 186A Clapham High Street, London S.W. 4.]

—The SWP Political Committee on July 10 suspended the nine members of the Wohlforth group from all party rights. The Wohlforth tendency had demanded the reopening of discussion on the international question in view of the political complicity in the Ceylonese crisis of the SWP and United Secretariat. ■

A discussion of the "Political Implications of the Oswald Affair" has been held over to the next issue for lack of space.

... CUBA

(Continued from Page 8)

olutionary-Marxist political party and the total lack of democratic structures whereby the government would be responsible to and controlled by the workers and peasants. For a considerable period these factors were overshadowed by the revolutionary actions of the Castro regime and its responsiveness to mass pressure. Nevertheless, the fact remained that the Cuban state and economy were in the hands of a separate administrative apparatus independent of the workers and peasants because not subject to election and recall by them. Even that most democratic of institutions, the popular militia, was deprived of the essential democratic right to elect its own officers.

Bureaucratism

9. Even in the period of revolutionary upsurge there were strong tendencies towards the imposition of bureaucratic structures upon the revolution. This was most clearly evident in the case of the Cuban Trade Unions whose democratically elected leadership, whatever its vices, was composed of Fidelistas who had ousted the old pro-Batista bureaucrats in 1959. During 1960 this leadership was arbitrarily and undemocratically removed and replaced by a new leadership, largely Stalinist in origin, subservient to the government. Subsequently the structure of the union movement was revised to eliminate the autonomy of individual unions, placing centralized control in the hands of a small bureaucratic group.

10. Since the April 17 invasion there has been a real intensification and acceleration of the trend toward bureaucratization and authoritarianism. Most agrarian co-operatives, theoretically controlled by their peasant members, have been transformed into "People's Farms" under centralized state administration. Tentative forms of workers control in industry, the "Technical Advisory Councils," have been allowed to lapse into inactivity. Government policy, as represented by Che Guevara, is specifically opposed to workers' control and assigns to Cuban Trade Unions the exclusive role of increasing production, not defending the specific class interests of the workers.

11. As the Cuban regime develops political structures these likewise tend to be bureaucratic and authoritarian. After April 17, under cover of phrases about the "socialist revolution," a single-party system has been developed through the amalgamation of all remaining political groups into the "Integrated Revolutionary Organization." The Stalinist apparatus of the former "Peoples Socialist Party" plays a major role in the ORI which was represented at the recent "National Produc-

tion Congress" by the veteran Stalinist leader Carlos Rafael Rodriguez.

12. Far from guaranteeing freedom of speech to all tendencies supporting the revolution, the Cuban government since April 17 has begun major repressions. Most important has been the suppression of the Trotskyist paper "Voz Proletaria" and the book "Permanent Revolution" by Leon Trotsky. Political censorship has been imposed on films, and the independent cultural publication "Lunes" forced out of existence. The arbitrary arrests and long detentions without charges of North American revolutionary socialists strikingly indicate the existence of a well developed secret police apparatus free from legal or democratic restraints.

Deformed Workers State

13. Taken as a whole, the process going on today in Cuba is that of the formation of a deformed workers state—that is, the creation of a society like that which exists in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China. By minimizing the influence of the working class in the revolution, by limiting the appeal of the revolution to workers in other lands, by tending to give power to an uncontrolled bureaucracy, and by subjecting the future of Cuba to the counterrevolutionary diplomacy of the Kremlin, this process raises the danger of capitalist restoration in Cuba. However, this does not signify that in Cuba today the bureaucratic apparatus is as consolidated or dominant as in the countries of the Soviet Bloc. The democratic mass mobilization and participation in the revolution of the workers and peasants has been so powerful and far-reaching that at all levels significant resistance to the process of bureaucratization occurs.

Workers Democracy

14. The Cuban workers and peasants are today confronted with a twofold task: to defend their revolution from the attacks of the U.S. and native counterrevolutionaries, and to defeat and reverse the tendencies toward bureaucratic degeneration of the revolution. To confront this task they crucially need the establishment of *workers democracy*.

15. Workers democracy, for us, signifies that all state and administrative officials are elected by and responsible to the working people of city and country through representative institutions of democratic rule. The best historical models for such institutions were the *Soviets* of the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the *Workers Councils* of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956. The Cuban workers and peasants can, no doubt develop their own original variants of these forms. There is only one essential attribute without which any democratic form is but pretense and mockery: there must be full freedom of

organization and expression for all political groups and tendencies that support the revolution, without any concession to the Stalinist monolithism of the one-party system.

Revolutionary Party

16. The full victory of every modern revolution, the Cuban revolution included, requires the emergence in a leading role of a mass revolutionary-Marxist party. The small Trotskyist groups, in Cuba and elsewhere, have a vital role as the nucleus of such parties. They can fill this role only if they continually preserve their *political* independence and ability to act, and if they avoid the peril of yielding to non-Marxist and non-proletarian leaderships their own ideological responsibilities and the historic mission of the working class.

Defend the Revolution

17. In its relation to the Cuban revolution the YSA, like every revolutionary group, has two principal tasks:

a) To exert the utmost effort to defend the Cuban revolution not only against the military and other attacks of U.S. imperialism, but also against the political attacks of the social-democratic agents of imperialism.

b) To struggle for the development and extension of the Cuban revolution and against the attempts of counterrevolutionary Stalinism to corrupt the revolution from within. We seek to further this development and extension both by supporting revolutionary actions of the existing leadership and by constructively criticizing, openly and frankly, the mistakes and inadequacies of that leadership. Both to develop the Cuban revolution and to extend it throughout the Hemisphere, we base ourselves on the imperative necessity for the establishment of workers democracy and the formation of the mass party of revolutionary Marxism.

—submitted to the YSA Convention
December 21, 1961 ■

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THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

The following document, presented in 1961 to the Young Socialist Alliance by our tendency, has since received impressive confirmation.

The prognoses it sets forth—for example, the counterrevolutionary aims in Cuba of the Russian Stalinist bureaucracy—have met the test of later events: the missile crisis; the Moscow sugar deal (see SPARTACIST #1); and most recently Castro's offer to arrive at an understanding with American imperialism.

The resolution also states that "Taken as a whole, the process going on today in Cuba is that of the formation of a deformed workers state—that is, the creation of a society like that which exists in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China." It has been our opinion for more than a year that this process has reached a point of consolidation such that Cuba has become a DEFORMED WORKERS STATE.

1. The Cuban revolution constitutes the highest point of revolutionary development hitherto attained in the Western Hemisphere; it is potentially the commencement of the American socialist revolution. Realization of this potential is possible only if the Cuban revolution once more surges forward, internally and externally, to the establishment of workers democracy in Cuba and the spread of the revolution to at least the decisive countries of Latin America.

2. Despite enormous accomplishments, Cuba remains economically backward and isolated in a Western Hemisphere under the domination of U.S. imperialism. This situation is the direct cause not only of the obstacles to the further progress of the Cuban revolution but also of powerful tendencies toward degeneration.

Social Upheaval

3. For the masses of Cuba the most significant economic achievement of the revolution has been a substantial increase in living standards. This has been accomplished through a radically egalitarian redistribution of income and wealth, and a reorientation of the pattern of investment to give priority to the construction of schools, homes, and cultural and recreational facilities. At the same time, a start has been made toward diversification of Cuban agriculture. The direct action of the working class in seizing industry and, in many cases, in exerting democratic control over this industry; the organization of the peasantry into democratically run cooperatives; the arming of

the masses with the formation of the militias—all this, while it was not consummated in the actual control over the state by the working class, did give the masses a very real weight in the political life of the country. This was an important acquisition of the Cuban masses and marked the Revolution as a profound social upheaval which brought the Cuban masses for the first time in history into partial control of their own destiny.

4. The revolution has basically overturned the previous Cuban property forms. The U.S. and Cuban owned latifundia have become the property either of the working peasantry or of the state. All U.S. owned industry has been confiscated and the properties of a considerable portion of the Cuban bourgeoisie have likewise been expropriated. Since Cuba remains free from the burden of meaningful compensation and indemnification payments, these measures can provide the structural basis for a non-capitalist type of planned economy.

5. The speed and depth of the property overturn has been essentially a response to the actions of U.S. imperialism. Although the Cuban revolution began with purely bourgeois-democratic aims (agrarian reform, overthrow of the Batista dictatorship, national independence) these could not be achieved without a fierce struggle against U.S. imperialism and its Cuban bourgeois retainers. The refusal of the Castro regime to back down before U.S. blackmail and economic aggression led it to mobilize the Cuban masses and strike against the economic bases of imperialist and bourgeois rule. Its very survival compelled it to destroy the old army and police which had been

the bulwark of the "democracy" of Grau and Prio as well as of the dictatorships of Batista, and replace them with a new revolutionary army and a vast popular militia.

U.S. Imperialism

6. The main concern of U.S. imperialism in its vicious hostility to the Cuban revolution has been to safeguard U.S. economic positions throughout Latin America. The U.S. has been held back from a military invasion of Cuba only by the probability that such action would spread the revolution instead of suppressing it, and the certainty that a U.S. attempt to occupy Cuba would be met by the Cuban people with resistance of the utmost ferocity. U.S. policy toward Cuba therefore has attempted to strangle and distort the Cuban economy through a combination of military and diplomatic pressure with naked economic aggression.

7. The Cuban economy has been able to continue functioning under these blows only because the Soviet Union came to its aid by taking Cuban sugar in return for oil, munitions, and essential industrial products. Far from being altruistic, this action is entirely to the economic and political advantage of the counterrevolutionary Stalinist bureaucracy which rules in the Soviet Union and the other countries of the "Socialist Camp." It is aimed at bringing the Cuban revolution under control and using it to put pressure on the U.S. in order to gain more concessions in an eventual "peaceful co-existence" deal.

8. The political development of the Cuban revolution has throughout been marked by the absence of a sizable rev-

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