

Deacons for Defense Spread Through South

# **Bulletin**

OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

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Vol. 2 No. 13

July-August, 1965

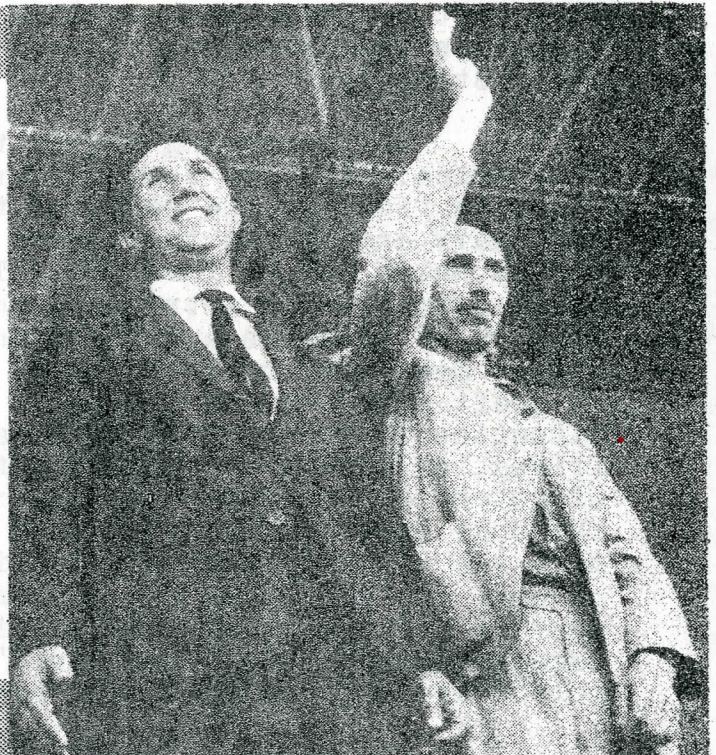
10 Cents

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## **BRING THE BOYS HOME!**

two articles:  
**BEHIND  
THE  
ALGERIAN  
TRAGEDY**





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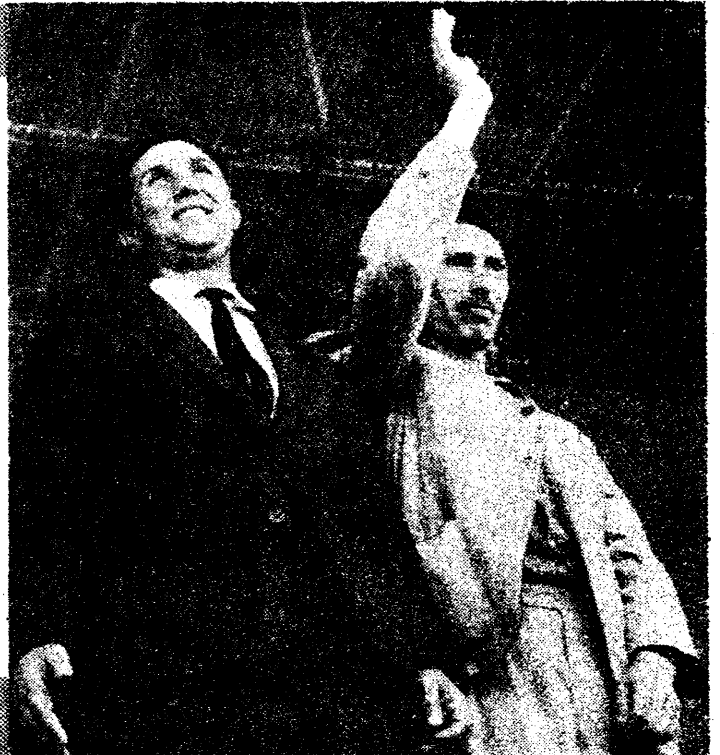
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## VIETNAM AND THE HOME FRONT

### Escalation and the Need for a Meaningful

#### Mass Opposition to the War

As the Vietnamese crisis deepens, announcements of the widening American commitment appear daily. It is becoming increasingly obvious that the U.S. government can no longer treat the situation as one requiring the aid of volunteers and special forces detachments to supplement the efforts of the South Vietnamese army. Every time President Johnson opens his mouth he is forced to blow away more of the deceptive smokescreen covering the true situation and the depth of our involvement. The New York Times (July 12) makes it quite clear that one can no longer speak of a South Vietnamese government or of the existence of a South Vietnamese army. Plans are being made to bring U.S. forces up to 150,000 men and there is no end in sight. U.S. troops will now assume the main combat burdens. They will serve in the front lines and certain South Vietnamese units will be attached to them under American command.

The Times states that, "For reasons endorsed by both the U.S. and South Vietnamese political authorities, the U.S. will be "drawn into" the front lines of the struggle with Communist military forces, but will not charge into it by proclamation." South Vietnam has already become essentially an occupied country. The Vietnamese people have the right to arm themselves to drive the invaders out of their country. They must be given all possible support from the Soviet bloc countries and China and from all who realize the reason for their struggle.

The deepening crisis threatens to affect every person in America. Already Johnson warns us to expect increasing casualty figures. He tells us that he will do whatever is necessary and admits that there is no limit to the number of troops which may be involved. Three infantry divisions are being prepared for entry into the conflict. The increased call-up of reserves and the plans for enlargement of the defense budget make very real the peril facing every young American of draft age. We are threatened with another Korean-type situation in which every American will know of some relative, friend, or family personally affected by the carnage. Thousands of potential draftees have the right to know the reasons why the only jobs available to them are 10,000 miles away. They have the right to know why pennies are devoted to a war on poverty and vast sums are devoted to bombs and napalm for the poor in Vietnam. They have a right to know why they are being asked to defend the "free world" when only the clubs of racist police are offered the Negro people here at home.

The march on Washington, the teach-ins and even the articles in the liberal press indicate a growing opposition to the government policy. Although the press has been very careful in its discussion of the morale of our troops in

Vietnam, the case of Lieutenant Steinke who refused to fight because "This war is not worth a single American life," brought out the fact that twenty of his fellow special forces volunteers who did obey orders did so unenthusiastically. An interview given to a "Challenge" reporter by a soldier who together with twelve of his comrades was court-marshalled for refusing to engage a much larger Viet Cong force indicates the effect of serving in a distant country surrounded by hostile people and aware of the lack of support at home. What will be the attitude of the draftees ordered to make the lonely trip overseas?

### A Workers' Continental Congress

Some sincere liberal intellectuals are coming to a realization of the fact that the two capitalist parties do not exist to represent their interests in any way. One of the most notable of these people is Staughton Lynd. He has courageously presented his opposition to the government policy in speeches and articles in "Liberation" and "Viet Report." With a scholar's grasp of the situation, he continues to point out the dangers of this insidious escalation. In his search for ways to oppose the war, he has called for the establishment of a new continental congress to declare that our government no longer represents us. He calls for massive waves of civil disobedience and affirms a faith in world public opinion. These ideas are somewhat confused but they contain the germ of something valuable. Too much of his approach is based on a moral appeal to the middle class. World public opinion already despises the U.S. but it cannot stop it. Five hundred thousand demonstrators surrounding the White House would make entry difficult but would not force an end to the war. The only hope for peace is in an end to this crisis-ridden capitalist government. The convocation of a new continental congress is a fine idea if it makes its appeal to the working people of America. Such a congress would have to draw up a program clearly representing the needs of the working class. It would have to show workers that the two capitalist parties represent the interests of a small minority and can never serve them. It would have to explain that imperialist interests not only in Southeast Asia but in the rest of the world as well, are contrary to the economic interests of the workers in this country. It would have to begin independent working class political action.

### CORE and the War

Another encouraging sign is the recently completed CORE convention. A resolution demanding the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam was passed and later tabled after a fight by James Farmer, CORE's national director. Mr. Farmer claimed that he personally endorsed the resolution but feared alienating sympathy by involving the civil rights movement in the peace movement. But the struggle on this question is by no means over. As the issues in Vietnam begin to affect more and more people, the civil rights movement must expand its perspective in order to survive. It will have to link itself with the war

in Vietnam by issuing demands which connect the two and show that in many ways the two struggles are identical. Mr. Farmer, not to speak of others such as Wilkins who more directly carry out the tasks of the ruling class, will have to be overruled.

### Victory to the Viet Cong

In the hands of a Martin Luther King the peace question becomes an abstract moral issue which confuses his followers and softens their confrontations with the power structure. With a revolutionary perspective, it can serve to demonstrate that just as the "Deacons for Defense" have the right to organize disciplined groups of armed men to protect themselves against racist violence, the Vietnamese workers and peasants have the right to resist by force the foreign occupation of their country. The exploitation of the workers in the Mississippi Delta who work for long hours for three dollars a day bears a striking resemblance to the exploitation of the Vietnamese peasants. Pointing out these similarities can serve to deepen the understanding of those engaged in struggle.

Revolutionists must actively take part in all present struggles seeking to raise the level of consciousness of these movements. Out of the more advanced elements, many can be won to a revolutionary perspective. This is essential because only a revolutionary party composed of these elements, constantly developing theoretically and actively intervening in mass struggles can bring the perspective necessary to lead these struggles in a socialist direction.

### ARMED DEFENSE BANDS SPREAD THROUGH SOUTH

#### AS ALTERNATIVE TO REPRES.SIVE STATE

#### Future Lies With State of Deacons, Not of Johnson

July 8, in Bogalusa, Louisiana, offered yet another example of the urgent need for such organizations as the Deacons for Defense and Justice. Bogalusa is in the same county where on June 2 a Negro deputy sheriff was killed and his Negro riding partner wounded in a nighttime ambush. On July 8, the Deacons were there defending a demonstration organized by the Bogalusa Civic and Voters League and supported by CORE.

The incident occurred as over 400 demonstrators were returning to the Negro community after a march to the city hall. A 17-year-old Negro girl, Hattie Mae Hill, was hit in the head, probably by a bottle which was thrown at her. She was led by a nurse to a taxi which was standing by as an emergency ambulance.

An eye-witness, Don Lee Keith, reporter for the New Orleans Times-Picayune, said that a white youth attacked two Negroes seated in the front of the taxi. Then Mr. Keith heard a shot and saw the white youth stumble back and fall. The youth

is hospitalized and in serious condition.

The two men in the taxi, Henry Austin and Milton Johnson, were immediately arrested by the police. Police claim that Mr. Austin has admitted the shooting. According to the New York Times, Henry Austin identified himself as a member of the Deacons earlier in the day to a crew of TV newsmen.

Since the incident two racist agitators, J.B. Stoner and Connie Lynch have been holding inflammatory rallies urging whites to violence. As many as 2,000 people attend in a town whose population is only 23,000. Stoner was the Vice-President-ial candidate of the National States Rights Party in 1964; he also admits to having been an Imperial Wizard in the Ku Klux Klan. Speeches like the following are being shouted to the crowds night after night: "The nigger is not a human being. He is somewhere between the white man and the ape. We don't believe in tolerance. We don't believe in getting along with our enemy, and the nigger is our enemy."

#### An Armed Camp

Bogalusa has been described as an "armed camp" by a local minister, with the Klan on one side and the Deacons on the other. Besides their regular group, the Deacons have an armed "militia" called the "well-wishers" who remain on call in case of a serious attack. Robert Hicks, vice president of the Civic and Voter League and a member of the Deacons, told reporters: "We're going to have a war. I honestly believe that." His position on non-violence--"My idea of a non-violent person is one who isn't looking for trouble. But we're not about to double up like the CORE people do when we're attacked."

Before the formation of the Deacons the Klan had been in the habit of firing into the homes of Negroes at night. This has now stopped. The Deacons patrol the streets at night and communicate with each other by walkie-talkie. They monitor police calls according to police informants, and are prepared to congregate at the scene if a Negro is arrested.

Marches were held on the 11th and 12th by the League and CORE with James Farmer taking a leading role. Counter-demonstrations were held by the racists. Four hundred heavily armed policemen guarded the marches and there was no further violence.

#### Farmer's Position

Farmer came out squarely in support of the Deacons in a recent issue of the Amsterdam News, a Negro newspaper. He wrote that the Deacons were "formed in Jonesboro, La., as a strict and disciplined defense organization. They did not and do not seek violence. But an embattled Negro community decided it needed to defend itself from the homicidal frenzy

of the Klan and others in that state."

"Some of the bad people like to compare the Deacons with the Klan and that's stupid. The Deacons don't lynch, burn or assault. The Deacons don't ride shotgun in the enemy camp.

"Understand, the Deacons don't replace legal law enforcement--there is no such thing as legal law enforcement in much of the South that will protect a Negro citizen.

"Our so-called 'alliance' with the Deacons is a partnership of brothers, not a tactical alliance of two armies. They don't tell us how to conduct a march, run a voter-registration campaign...and we don't teach them how to zero in on a moving target.

"One thing is apparent in this year of our Lord 1965 -- Negroes in this nation are down to about their last ounce of patience. For all the hoopla and the speech making and legislation, very little has changed in the reality of Negro life in this country...

"Now if you accept that as fact--then it's clear that violence may be on the horizon. And if violence is on the horizon, I would certainly prefer to see it channeled into a defense discipline rather than random homicide and suicide."

Henry Austin and Milton Johnson are being defended by the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee, a grouping of southern civil-rights organizations, and they are now out on bail--set at \$2,500.

The Deacons are playing the same role as union "flying-squads" of the thirties, which were organized to protect picket-lines from the violence of employer-hired goons. While self-defense is not new in the civil-rights struggle, the formation of special groups, organized to act as defense squads is essential in the development of the struggle. There is no other way to stop racist violence.

A thirty-day moratorium was proposed to the demonstrators by Louisiana Governor McKeithen. According to the New York Times of 7/14/65, the president of the Civic and Voters League, A.Z. Young, and Robert Hicks met with the Governor privately and agreed to the moratorium. However when they reported this to a mass meeting in Bogalusa, they were forced to reverse themselves. The meeting demanded that demonstrations not only be continued but stepped up.

Significantly, Louis Lomax took part in later negotiations between the Governor and Negro leaders. Lomax disclosed that he was in frequent consultation with Vice-President Humphrey and John Doar, head of the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department. He came prepared to offer \$15,000 to the Bogalusa movement.

This time Negro leaders held firm and expressed the determination of the people not to be held back in their struggle. It is not known whether under the circumstances Lomax turned over the money to the movement.

The Governor has announced that members of the Deacons will be disarmed and their weapons confiscated. This despite the fact that it is legal to carry weapons in Louisiana as long as they are not concealed from view. He claims that armed whites will be treated the same way, but significantly one of the key demands of the movement -- that two Negroes be appointed to the police force, was turned down.

It was prematurely announced over NYC television, on July 13, that a moratorium was in effect. This followed upon James Farmer's personal participation in demonstrations on the 12th and 13th. One can only speculate on the pressures exerted on Young and Hicks which caused them to temporarily waver in carrying forward the struggle. The movement is entitled to know where Farmer stood on this matter.

Militants in organizations like the Deacons and the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union are rightly suspicious of "control from outside." They represent the future of the southern struggle. While they need support from the civil rights and trade union movement, they must resist any efforts to control or hold back the southern struggle.

#### The State of the Deacons

The membership of the Deacons has been estimated as high as 15,000 armed men, and it is spreading throughout the South. While in the past Negroes have not had illusions about the role of Southern police and courts as agencies of racist oppression, this is the first time that they have organized for self-defense on such a large scale. Implicitly this shows lack of confidence in the federal government and federal troops to defend them.

For the movement to advance significantly in the liberation struggle this must become an explicit understanding of the real role of the federal government. Not only can Johnson not be relied upon but his long term strategic interests are basically those of the southern racists. The war in Viet Nam graphically demonstrates Johnson's tender concern for social justice. The whole state structure must be consciously opposed and supplanted. While the Deacons by policing themselves, are in a sense replacing the state structure, this process must be extended to total political opposition. The state of Johnson must be replaced by the state of the Deacons and those like them, black and white the world over.



THE WORLD MOVEMENT

SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE HOLDS HISTORIC CONFERENCE

On last June 5, 6, and 7th, the Seventh National Congress of the Socialist Labour League of Great Britain was held in London. The Socialist Labour League, founded in 1959, is by now the largest and most solidly based Trotskyist organization in the world. Readers of the BULLETIN may already know about the work of the S.L.L. Its seventh national congress represents another important step towards preparing for successful socialist revolution. It marks important organizational and political advances in England, and it is also preparatory to an international congress which will take place early next year. The S.L.L., as the largest and most active section of the International Committee of the Fourth International, has played and is playing a leading role in the theoretical, political, and organizational preparation of this international congress. This congress will be of extreme importance in the work of rebuilding of the world Trotskyist movement, which has been largely destroyed by the revisionism against which the International Committee has struggled for the past 12 years.

The June 12 issue of the Newsletter, the weekly paper of the S.L.L., explains some of the significance of this latest national congress:

"Congress marked a big turning point from any other similar congress of the Trotskyist movement in Britain. Seventy-five percent of the delegates consisted of young people below the age of 20 years, all of whom were members of trade unions, and active workers within most of the important industries.

"In the course of some eight hours' discussion on international and British affairs, delegate after delegate expressed their determination about the possibility of rebuilding the Fourth International at the same time as they fought for the mass revolutionary party in Britain.

"This was truly a historic occasion. British Trotskyism is now the most powerful organization within the Fourth International. We are sure that in the months to come, thousands of revolutionaries will join in support of the International Committee of the Fourth International and its forthcoming International Congress."

Emphasis Was On Youth

The emphasis on the youth permeates all of the work of the S.L.L. and its entire national congress. The phenomenon which sums up the historic significance of the Socialist Labour League is that it has attracted thousands of working class youth and at the same time has struggled to educate these

youth, to train them and make them into Marxist revolutionary cadres. This was the significance of the mass demonstration of Young Socialists in London last September, in which thousands of young people marched behind the portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Trotsky.

The Congress passed unanimously a resolution on the perspectives of building a revolutionary party in Britain as well as an international perspectives resolution. In the report on S.L.L. perspectives, Gerry Healy, national secretary of the S.L.L., spoke about the growth of revolutionary ideas and organization among the youth over the past year. With a right-wing Labour government carrying out reactionary policies in the interests of the capitalists and paving the way for the Tories' return to power, many youth, especially working-class youth, had turned to revolutionary ideas, to the Socialist Labour League and to the Young Socialists. As Healy said, "The only section of the labour movement which separated itself from the right wing was ours. Alongside the Young Socialists, we waged a continuous struggle to orientate the working class along socialist policies."

The Young Socialists, who had defeated the right wing at their 1964 conference, electing a left wing national committee, had fought the right wing witchhunt in the open, and had emerged strengthened from the battle. After being expelled by the right wing, the youth had proceeded with the work of the Young Socialists, had not 'accepted' the edicts of the witchhunters. Keep Left is now the paper of the Y.S., which held a resoundingly successful conference last February, with 500 delegates and 500 visitors in attendance. A right wing attempt at an "official" conference in May brought 50 delegates and 135 visitors, many over the age of 35.

The Congress also heard of plans being made for the launching of a daily paper of the S.L.L., an organizational goal of the highest importance for which the British Trotskyist movement has been struggling for some time.

#### Opened With International Report

The national congress had been opened by the discussion on the International Resolution, reported on by Cliff Slaughter. Comrade Slaughter stressed that the international report and the report on Britain were anything but separate issues, but were intimately connected. Neither the struggle in Britain nor the international struggle can be successful or can be understood, one without the other. It was a fitting testimony to the internationalism of the British movement and to the importance they attach to international issues, that the Congress was opened with the international discussion.

The Congress discussed the development of Pabloite revisionism in the Fourth International and the development of the struggle against it, as well as the crushing blows and exposure which had overtaken the revisionists within the

last year. The crisis of capitalism and the way in which it poses the same basic tasks for Marxists in the advanced countries, the Soviet sphere, and the colonial and ex-colonial countries, was also discussed. Readers of the BULLETIN will become further acquainted with the whole international discussion in connection with next year's international congress, in which the American Committee for the Fourth International has the most deep-going fraternal interest. We hope to assist the International Committee in every way possible in its struggle for Marxism, which is not a struggle to simply repeat old formulas as against new, anti-Marxist ideas, but a struggle to develop and apply Marxism to an ever-changing world, and struggle against what are in reality very old anti-Marxist ideas.

We reprint below the greetings to the world Trotskyist movement from the S.L.L. Congress, only excerpts of which were printed in our last issue due to space limitations.

REVOLUTIONARY GREETINGS TO  
THE WORLD TROTSKYIST MOVEMENT

This Seventh National Conference of the Socialist Labour League sends its revolutionary greetings to all the forces of the international working class who are in struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the defeat of the treacherous reformist and Stalinist leaderships of the working class.

Our conference declares its solidarity with the struggles of the workers in the United States, Western Europe and Japan against their capitalist exploiters, with the workers and peasants of the colonial and oppressed nations, particularly in Vietnam, against imperialism and its agents, and with the workers of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe against the parasitic bureaucracy which collaborates with imperialism.

Only the reconstruction of the Fourth International, with Trotskyist-Leninist parties in every country, can ensure the unity of these struggles and their victory.

We therefore send fraternal greetings to all sections of the International Committee of the Fourth International, and will give every support to its conference for the rebuilding of the Fourth International, planned for early 1966.

Our greetings go particularly to those who have fought revisionism under especially difficult circumstances in the USA, the American Committee for the Fourth International. They will receive every possible support from the Socialist Labour League.

From this conference we express especially our revolutionary greetings to the *Partie Communiste Internationaliste* in France, whose long fraternal collaboration with the Socialist

Labour League has been the foundation of the International Committee and its work. The French section was first in the fight and bore the main brunt of revisionist attack on the Fourth International. They pioneered the fight against the theory and organisational practices of Pabloism.

In Ceylon, those comrades in the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary) who have taken up the fight to build the revolutionary party and defeat revisionism since the gross betrayal of N. M. Perera and the majority of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party in 1964, will continue to receive the wholehearted support of the Socialist Labour League and the International Committee.

The conference called by the International Committee will mark a qualitative stage in the development of the Fourth International. Revisionism in the Trotskyist movement has run its course from theoretical distortions to open class betrayal in the recent period.

The entry of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party of Ceylon into the capitalist coalition government of Mrs. Bandaranaike in 1964 was the crushing proof of this degeneration. It followed hard on the heels of the unprincipled 'reunification' between the Pabloite 'International Secretariat' and the Socialist Workers Party of the United States. This re-unification was completed without political discussion deliberately to avoid the political questions confronting the international movement.

The struggle against revisionism carried out by the International Committee has hastened the process of degeneration of the Pabloite forces. Ever since 1951, these revisionists have in effect subordinated the working class and the building of the revolutionary party to the Stalinist bureaucracy, the reformist leaders and the bourgeois nationalists in the colonial countries. The forces of the International Committee have correctly fought for the political independence of the working class through the building of the revolutionary party and the application of the Transitional Programme of the Fourth International.

Pablo himself now separates publicly from the 'Reunified' Secretariat in Paris, and openly advocates the complete liquidation of Trotskyism into the Stalinist bureaucracy and the bourgeois-nationalist movements.

This open break from Marxism by Pablo, supported by a number of old Trotskyists such as Santen in Holland and Vereecken in Belgium, together with half the French section, the majority of the Australian section and certain groups in Algeria and other colonial countries, should be the warning light for those Trotskyists remaining in the sections of the United Secretariat who want to fight revisionism and defend the Transitional Programme.



They should support the Socialist Labour League and the Fourth International infighting for a discussion of all principled questions and the serious preparation of a future conference of all those who accept the Transitional Programme. This was proposed by the International Committee Conference of September 1963, and rejected by the United Secretariat.

The evolution of Pablo, and the events in Ceylon, Belgium and the USA, have proved the correctness of our proposals. Germain, Frank and Hansen have proved themselves utterly incapable of defending the programme of the Fourth International. Their theory and their 'politics' are in essence the same as those of Pablo. In America, the Socialist Workers Party's prostration before petty-bourgeois nationalism in the Negro movement is only one reflection of their acceptance of the liquidationist revisionism of Pabloism.

In Western Europe, the sections of the 'Unified Secretariat' have become mere appendages of the 'left' social democracy. Belgium provides the proof. 'Entry' was used to opportunistically abandon the construction of the revolutionary party, only to end in the adventure of proclaiming a new centrist party in alliance with the worst nationalist and petty-bourgeois elements, whose split from the new party itself is only a matter of time. The next United Secretariat Congress will expel Pablo and his supporters, expel over 500 members of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party, as well as having to give an accounting of all these events.

The present stage is therefore a crucial one. It is the last opportunity to engage in a serious discussion and reconstruction of the International before the forces around the United Secretariat are completely liquidated by Frank, Germain and Hansen, who are rapidly following Pablo to the complete abandonment of revolutionary Marxism. All those who struggle against these revisionists will receive the support of the Socialist Labour League.

The successful fight of the International Committee against revisionism and the work of its sections in constructing a leadership of the working class provide the basis for the reconstruction of the Fourth International. Such a reconstruction is the fear of Stalinists and social democrats everywhere, just as it is feared by the capitalist class. The responsibility for the split in the International rests squarely upon the Pabloite revisionists.

1963 showed that in the USA the Socialist Workers Party had succumbed to the same revisionism. When the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party sent condolences to the widow of Kennedy, and called upon the U.S. government to defend the Negroes with Federal troops, the consequences of revisionism were shown no less starkly than they were in Ceylon.

The 're unification' of the revisionists in 1963 without discussion of past differences was a part of the whole method of liquidationism. The proposals for international discussion put forward by the International Committee in September 1963

were rejected by the Pabloite United Secretariat. Since then, the disintegration of the Pabloite forces, a reflection of the crisis of the reformist and Stalinist bureaucracies faced with the intensification of the international class struggle, has confirmed the political necessity of a thorough discussion in the world movement to prepare a real re-building of the Fourth International and a defeat of revisionism.

We call upon all Trotskyists throughout the world to support our efforts to re-organise the Fourth International on the programmatic basis of its 1938 Founding Conference.

### TAXI DRIVERS CONDUCT MILITANT STRIKE

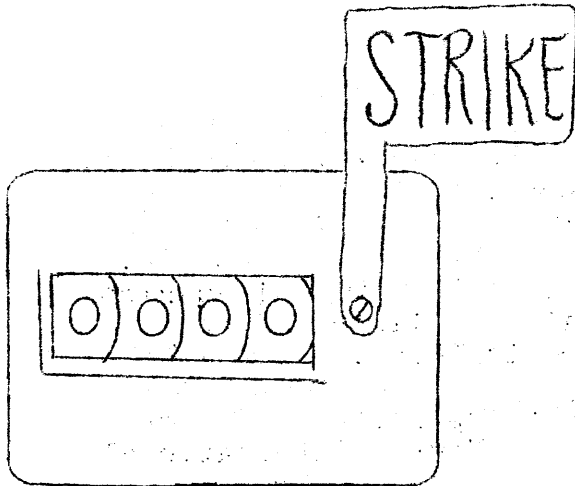
#### Something Less Can be Said For

#### Van Arsdale, Screvane, and Impellitterri

The recent strike of New York City's cab drivers who work for the taxi fleet companies showed that the fabled 'individualism' of the cabbies in no way interferes with their ability to put up a militant struggle against the fleet owners in a fight for the most elementary working class demand, i.e., union recognition. While New York motorists were undoubtedly pleased at the relative sparseness of traffic on the city streets during the one week strike, and middle and upper class people accustomed to travelling in cabs fumed at the 'inconvenience', some 16,000 drivers were making it clear that they were tired of being kicked in the teeth, tired of working under the most primitive of open shop conditions.

In a word, the drivers were trying to gain union recognition in order to put an end to the complete dictatorship of the taxi bosses and the corresponding defenselessness of the drivers. As one of the striking drivers put it, "here we are in 1965 and we don't even get one week's paid vacation. We work 10 or 12 hours a day six days a week and some guys with big families go on for 14 or 16 hours -- although it's supposed to be illegal. And on top of all that, we don't get paid overtime for anything over forty hours!" Needless to say, there is no such thing as job security. If a driver can't 'hustle' enough, he simply is out of a job and if he is over 50 will probably never get another taxi job. As one of the cabbies put it, "if they can't make \$30 a day on the meter, the boss throws seniority out the window and sends the guy home." These are merely a small part of the legitimate complaints of the cabbies who for so many years have been pushed around by the bosses, the city government, and the police.

The strike, which began prior to an NLRB decision governing voting regulations, was in reality an attempt to force recognition by the fleet owners who refused to even discuss any grievance with any union representative. In way of 'preparation' for the formal decision through NLRB voting



procedures, the bosses had been stepping up their attempt to discriminate against or blacklist the militants, i.e., those considered to be the leaders of the organizing drive. The drivers decided to strike and vote with their feet, as it were, rather than simply relying on legal procedures--the (at that time) pending decision of the NLRB. The strike was 'settled' on July 4th by agreement of Harry VanArsdale, New York Central Labor Council president who has assumed

leadership of the Taxi Drivers Organizing Committee, a lawyer for the fleet owners and Paul Screvane, Tammany hack, Wagner protege and possible Democratic candidate for Mayor. One of the workers who booed the 'settlement' when it was announced on the steps of City Hall remarked that the cabbies had showed their strength and should have won recognition without a labor board election.

#### An 'Impartial' Czar Named Impelliteri

Key to the settlement was the appointment of 'impartial' Taxi Industry Czar Vincent Impelliteri (former Tammany Hall Mayor) who would be empowered to make binding decisions on disputes until the NLRB election scheduled at 38 garages out of a total of 83 on July 21. There are a couple of hitches to this agreement which was proudly announced by Screvane (the same man who initiated the MFY witch-hunt), supported by the bosses, and urged by Van Arsdale: Firstly, a man like Impelliteri is hardly capable of making any decisions that will really hurt the bosses. The problems and interests of the cabbies are as remote from him as the taxi owners themselves. As one of the drivers exclaimed, "Who wants Impy? Who can trust him?"

The appointment of 'Czar' Impelliteri is just a stall which gets the workers off the streets where they had a good chance of winning and puts the question of recognition up to the NLRB vote of July 21, which leads us to our second hitch in this settlement which Van Arsdale urged on the workers: The settlement acquiesces in the NLRB decision of June 30, a decision which the fleet owners warmly applauded. This NLRB decision refuses to allow a vote for union recognition on an industry wide basis, providing instead for garage by garage elections. The decision also allows 'week-end' cabbies who work an average of two days a week and for whom hacking is a second job, to participate in the elections. These provisions by the NLRB give the bosses a chance to intimidate the part time workers and the possibility of defeating the union in some garages. They also give the fleet owners the chance to keep the industry divided between organized and unorganized shops.

The TDOC (Taxi Drivers Organizing Committee) had been outspoken in its opposition to these decisions for some months, yet Van Arsdale evidently sees no contradiction between this and his support of the Screvane settlement. It would appear that Van Arsdale's going along with allowing Impelliteri to make the binding decisions concerning the drivers charges of blacklisting and discrimination against militants gives the bosses room to maneuver, not only at the 38 garages slated for election on July 21, but at the remaining 45 garages as well.

While still on strike the drivers had a much greater chance of bringing the bosses to heel, thereby resisting victimization, and creating a union based on rank and file control which is evidently what upsets Van Arsdale. One driver was reported as feeling (Challenge, July 13) that, "if we lose this strike, every fleet boss in the city'll have the name of every guy who they feel led the men and they'll never take out a cab again." Despite this, Van Arsdale seems to be banking everything on the July 21 elections. It should be noted that these elections were petitioned for by the fleet owners, feeling that they had a chance to defeat the union at these garages. Now, Van Arsdale claims that the organizing committee hesitated about these elections as a ruse to get the owners to petition for the elections.

#### What Van Arsdale Fears

Clearly, Van Arsdale's actions are motivated by his fear of the creation of a union which is under the independent control of the rank and file rather than the bureaucratic control that he represents. He undoubtedly felt that it was necessary to get the cabbies back to work, lest the strike force the bosses to negotiate without the aid of Harry Van Arsdale and as a result solely of the militancy and determination of the drivers. Thus, the deal worked out at City Hall helps maintain Van Arsdale's control over the union. In return for Screvane's persuading the bosses to submit to Impelliteri's arbitration, (some concession) Van Arsdale agrees to sell the workers this settlement which Wagner's boy Screvane can use to further his ambitions to get the Democratic nomination for mayor.

While the strike was observed by virtually 100% of the fleet drivers, representing over 16,000 drivers of some 7,000 cabs, 80% or 4,000 of the independent owner-drivers, while largely sympathetic to the fleet drivers, did not respect the strike. These owner-drivers, who comprise only 20% of the cabbies, operate 40% of the cabs. Their observance of the strike would have been a great morale booster for the strikers. Conversely, as long as a substantial number of cabs, even though a minority, were operating, the fleet owners were encouraged to hold on long enough for the City to come to their rescue. While the owner-drivers had almost unanimously respected the March 24 one day strike, Van Arsdale did nothing to win them over to support of the



union this time. Instead of actively trying to involve them in the union, Van Arsdale merely suggested they stay home during the strike and gave them some vague promises about future 'safeguards'.

### There Will Be a Taxi Union

Despite the hindrance of Van Arsdale, and the "friends of labor" in the Democratic Party, the cab drivers have tremendous determination and militancy. This is the raw material of which great working class movements are built. This is the raw material that is going to produce a New York cab drivers union, even if in its infancy it is partially emasculated due to the control and 'leadership' of the Van Arsdales. These bureaucrats support the workers' drive for unionization only in so far as is necessary to take the leadership of the new unions and keep them under their domination. Nevertheless, the emergence of a new union in the taxi industry even under Van Arsdale's control is a result of real struggle by the taxi drivers. In the future, these same drivers will take their struggle to a higher level by challenging Van Arsdale in order to guarantee and extend what they have won already.

### THE ALGERIAN TRAGEDY - I

#### HOW BEN BELLA PREPARED HIS OWN FALL

Ben Bella's ouster by army backed Boumedienne and the insignificant resistance to the ouster should cause his supporters in the revolutionary movement to do a little thinking. The news of Ben Bella's deposal came without forewarning, but it should not have come as a complete surprise. Anyone familiar with the struggles that have taken place among the FLN leadership, and with the Ben Bella-Boumedienne relationship over the past couple years knew that a break between them was a real possibility. Boumedienne's takeover may be regarded as a move to the right, a step backward, for the revolution, but the shift from the former government's policies will not be fundamental. Any tendency to now regard Ben Bella idealistically as a left winger can be overcome by an examination of some recent history.

In the discussion of the coup, two facts are extremely important. Fact one is that Ben Bella was overthrown without a struggle. There was little organized or unorganized popular response or resistance to the coup. Ben Bella stood alone, and the change in government involved essentially only his removal. Fact two is that Ben Bella came out on top from the struggles within the FLN and the Provisional Government in 1962 with the support of Boumedienne, and has had his support throughout his nearly three years in office.

Since Ben Bella has had important disagreements

with Boumedienne in the past, and since he has made efforts to moderate the power wielded by his vice-premier through his control of the regular army, why didn't he build up the organizations of the masses into a force with which to counter the army? The answer to this question is the key to the answer of the question: Who, and what, is Ben Bella?

Ben Bella's refusal to call upon the masses at such a critical moment was consistent with his relation to the Algerian masses in the past, and is also in character with those leaders who come under the category of petty bourgeois nationalists. It will therefore be helpful to point out some of the characteristics of the petty bourgeois nationalist in general, in order to see more clearly the nature of Ben Bella.

### What Is Petty Bourgeois Nationalism?

Petty bourgeois nationalists (e.g., Ben Bella, Sukarno, Nasser) have the common aim of political independence for their countries. National independence movements under their control have forced out the political machinery--politicians, soldiers, police--of the foreign rulers and are bringing about an end to the era of colonialism. No longer can the imperialist countries directly control the wealth of Asia, Africa, and South America. But the new nationalist governments still permit foreign capitalist interests to operate in their countries, with the difference from the colonial era that control and profits must be shared with the producing country. The arrangements vary from country to country but the fact of key capitalist participation in native economies is almost universal.

In the past, nationalism went hand in hand with the growth of national capitalist economies and expressed the interests of the rising bourgeoisie. Today, however, in the underdeveloped countries nationalism expresses the interests of the petty bourgeoisie, the middle class. The tiny native bourgeoisie almost invariably identifies with the imperialist rulers. Not having any economic base of its own, and considering itself above the native masses, the middle class seeks a role of leadership as the middle man between the imperialist and the worker and peasant. Its aim in fighting the imperialists is to obtain the right to strike a deal with them. It uses and relies upon the masses as its source of power in the anti-imperialist struggle, but they share no common bond of interests.

After the independence struggle is over, the petty bourgeois makes a deal which maintains a role for the foreign capitalist investments, a role which is decisive for the viability of the economy. In return for its share of profits and control, the new government must maintain the stability of the country, which means it must keep the masses under control. When conflicts break out between workers and boss--whether he be a foreign capitalist or the native government, the government comes out against the worker

The behavior of the Chinese Communist Party leadership in reaction to the army coup which overthrew Ben Bella is one of the most revealing and revolting developments in the long line of the betrayals of the world working class of which the Stalinist bureaucrats and their followers have been guilty.

Throwing aside all consideration whatever for the interests of the Algerian workers and peasants, the Chinese ostentatiously flattered the military regime. They made a crude effort to gain the favor of the new regime, whatever its class program and position. Their aim was to see that the Afro-Asian conference scheduled for the end of June would proceed as scheduled and would exclude the USSR, with perhaps the agreement of the new Algerian regime.

The Chinese failed to prevent the postponement of the conference. The fact is, however, that they acted to bolster what was obviously a government to the right of the Ben Bella regime. This outrageous bloc shows that the Chinese, like the Russians whom they like to criticize, place the foreign policy interests of the ruling bureaucracy above the interests of the workers in China, the US USSR, and all over the world. The CCP stands condemned by its own actions. This latest incident is one more proof that they have their own brand of peaceful coexistence. Their criticism of the USSR is worth nothing under these circumstances.

who doesn't deserve the support of the revolutionary movement.

with the cry of the national interest. The worker is told he must sacrifice to the needs of the national economy. The economy must not be disrupted, for the government is under the pressure to pay back the millions it has borrowed (plus interest) from some bank in London or New York. The economy also cannot function without the capitalist run enterprises, which demand that the government guarantee worker discipline, under the threat of withdrawal. As just one recent example of this conflict between worker and nationalist, Indonesian workers' attempts to take over foreign firms were opposed by the Sukarno government.

By the nature of his position, the petty bourgeois nationalist leader must ultimately turn against the interests of the masses. This is why Marxists put no trust or confidence in him. Even a nationalist as radical as Castro, who broke with imperialism, and who maintains a viable economy with help from the Soviet bloc, has not developed a worker controlled economy or a proletarian foreign policy. Cuba deals with other nations on a diplomatic, nation to nation basis only. For example, Castro is a Ben Bella supporter, and as we shall see, this is not in the interests of the working class--Cuban, Algerian, or any other, and it is not helping to defeat imperialism.

#### The FLN and the Working Class

Returning now to Algeria, we would like to show that Ben Bella is a typical petty bourgeois nationalist,

of the working class and the

From its very beginning, the FLN showed its contempt for the Algerian working class. A decision was made to wage guerilla warfare in rural Algeria with peasant based, but petty bourgeois led and controlled armies unrelated to workers' struggles in Algeria or France. The decision ignored a working class that had become exposed to Western ideas and socialist politics by fighting in two world wars and by working in industrial centers in France, and which was rather sophisticated politically. It meant that the long history of struggle for independence by Algerian workers was meaningless. It showed the typical petty bourgeois trait of becoming disillusioned and impatient with the working class, of wanting to skip over the absolutely indispensable task of developing a politically advanced, bolshevik vanguard of workers. The FLN wanted to go to the politically pristine countryside and lead the uncorrupted peasant to socialism, and avoid the task of grappling with the more advanced workers and developing a revolutionary socialist program. The armed struggle was always led by a small number of FLN militants. The masses were seldom involved in the decision making, and no mass organizations controlled by them were developed.

After the Evian Agreements, in the summer of 1962, differences between FLN leaders broke out. The differences were primarily between the leaders of the willaya (sectional) armies which operated inside the country, and those who led the outside armies, based in Tunisia and Morocco. The commander in chief of these outside armies was Boumedienne. In the fighting that broke out over these differences, which were mostly personal and not in the interests of the masses, Ben Bella emerged victorious with the support of Boumedienne. To gain power, Ben Bella had made an alliance with the section of the rebel army furthest removed from the Algerian people.

Not long after Ben Bella consolidated power in the fall of 1962, he showed his true colors vis a vis both imperialist France and the Algerian workers. He let it be known to France that she could count on friendly and cooperative relations with his government and that the Evian Accords would be honored. The agreements worked out at Evian by the FLN and France kept the Algerian economy tied to that of France, and by granting France Saharan oil rights, virtually made the economy dependent upon France.

#### Ben Bella's Balancing Act

Then, as if to show France his intentions, he brought the Algerian Trade Union Movement, the UGTA, under his control. The UGTA had been set up in 1956 by the FLN to counter the union set up by Messali Hadj, but the FLN did not seem to show much interest in it. By the end of the revolution, it had developed an independent existence. Ben Bella opened its congress in January 1963 by declaring that the trade unions must be subordinated to the government. He warned against "certain tendencies in Africa which go by the name of 'workerism'" and suggested that the Congress could do its proper job if the delegates



were--peasants. Two days later his agents seized control of the congress, packed it with lumpen elements from the streets, and called the resisting workers "bourgeois" and "leftists who act like counterrevolutionaries." Such is the stance of the petty bourgeois who has no program for the working class, who has no faith in it and who fears it, who would rather appeal to the scattered, unorganized, undeveloped peasantry, and even to lumpen mobs.

During 1963 Ben Bella began to disturb Boumedienne with his seemingly radical pronouncements. Ben Bella had committed himself to safeguard French interests, but in order to maintain popular support he ordered the confiscation of some French land and French published newspapers. Such acts were taken by some radicals as evidence that the objective conditions of the revolution were pushing him leftward. But any such interpretation of course is nonsense. The French government knew the reason for such moves and did not oppose them. According to an Economist article of October 5, 1963, "The French government has leant over backwards to bolster up President Ben Bella in his efforts to stabilise the country." The cheapness of such moves, in relation to the needs of the Algerian masses at the time is pointed up by the situation in Kabylia. From the Economist article mentioned above:

"The confusion and unemployment that generally beset Algeria, except in the areas where workers have alleviated their poverty by taking over French property, are especially acute in Kabylia. Among the thousands of Kabyles who demonstrated against Mr. Ben Bella last Sunday in Tizi Ouzou, their capital, were multitudes of women simply crying for bread. This barren overpopulated region was the scene of the greatest devastation during the war against France. Kabylia contributed the most guerilla fighters and counted the most dead. Today it is overweighted with war widows who, through government administrative delays, wait interminably for their war pensions and with families who, for the same reasons, are behindhand in getting their remittances from their menfolk working in France.

The Kabyles also complain that they have had no share of the charitable aid that is flowing into Algeria...The Kabyles meanwhile have known little of the joy of taking over abandoned European properties. Few such properties existed in their region. Nor are there many French farms to be seized under Tuesday's new nationalization decrees. These decrees are therefore no answer to Kabylia's economic distress."

What reason can Ben Bella give for shortchanging this section of Algeria, which gave more than any other to the revolution, which has a strong democratic tradition, and which has a sizable proletarian composition? What kind of socialist thinking was involved in calling the socialist Kabyle leader Ait

Ahmed a counter-revolutionary, while maintaining office with Boumedienne's support.

While the fight against the rebellious Kabyles was being carried out in 1964, the Ben Bella government was stressing its non-alignment. A New York Times article of April 3, 1964 notes that "While calling for the eventual nationalization of all industry, the Ben Bella regime has quite welcomed negotiations with private investors from the United States, Britain, and West Germany. Officially the U.S. has seldom been attacked by name."

When the Kabylia revolt spread, and opposition developed from many sources and on several fronts, Ben Bella called for the formation of a popular militia to defeat the "counter-revolution". This warmed the hearts of his left wing supporters, and had it been carried through would have been a progressive move. Its formation, however, never went far. It was organized only locally to clean up guerilla forces. The militia idea was essentially an attempt to counter the power of Boumedienne, whose army would gain strength politically as a result of defeating the insurgents. In the meantime, Boumedienne was trying to mold a more responsive (to him) army by recruiting youngsters and getting rid of the old willaya guerilla fighters, which had been incorporated into his army.

### The Lessons of the Algerian Tragedy

Boumedienne's army now controls Algeria and the press says that the students and "marxist" intellectuals who demonstrated in opposition to it claimed that it would turn the country into a military dictatorship. The lesson that should be learned from Ben Bella's history is that there is no justification for calling for his return. A Marxist has no business supporting Boumedienne or Ben Bella. Just because Ben Bella allowed so-called marxists to write for Revolutions Africaine, and give him advice, because he clothed his speeches in revolutionary rhetoric, because he was vulnerable to pressure from the masses, does not mean that he was any better for the masses than Boumedienne. Ben Bella's bonapartist maneuverings couldn't last forever, and considering Boumedienne's position, they led directly to his takeover.

Those who are serious about revolutionary politics must learn from the Algerian events the fundamental principle that: a socialist revolution cannot be made without the working class, and that the working class must be led by a revolutionary marxist party. How many times must revolutions be defeated before this truth becomes evident?

### THE ALGERIAN TRAGEDY -- II

#### IT IS TIME TO MAKE AN ACCOUNTING

(The following is part of an article by Tim Wohlforth printed

in the internal discussion bulletin of the Socialist Worker's Party in May of 1963, over two years ago. It clearly counterposes the line of the minority which became the nucleus of the American Committee for the Fourth International with that of the SWP majority on the development of the Algerian Revolution. Recent events have fully confirmed our analysis and revealed the complete bankruptcy of the SWP leadership. What was at stake in this discussion was far more than Algeria, important as that country is in itself. Here we had two counterposed views of the world and the way to go about building a movement that can change the world. The tasks revolutionaries face today require us to go back over the lessons of this dispute so as to arm us the better to re-build a revolutionary movement here and internationally.)

### ALGERIA: THE ACID TEST OF AN ACID TEST

Algeria and Cuba stand side by side as the two most profound revolutionary upheavals in the colonial sector since the Chinese Revolution. A knowledge and understanding of the evolution of the Algerian Revolution is as important to a general understanding of the colonial revolution in the postwar period as is an understanding of the Cuban Revolution.

In addition to its importance in its own right, Algeria has a very special importance for the theoretical development of the Trotskyist world movement. The Algerian Revolution is the "acid test" so to speak, of the lessons learned from the Cuban experience by the two political tendencies in the world movement today. Michel Pablo made this clear in his letter to the FLN leadership, "The Decisive Hour of the Algerian Revolution" (Winter 1961-1962 Fourth International): "In brief Algeria at the hour of victorious revolution has the choice between a solution a la Tunisia or a la Cuba." Of the two alternatives before Algeria, the thrust of Pablo's letter is that the "Cuban Way" will win out because "the international revolutionary context, the new balance of forces established already on a world scale for many years has not ceased to evolve against Imperialism, enormously favoring the victory of the Algerian Revolution."

The party majority took, (of course) the same approach. The editorial in the April 2, 1962 Militant declared, like Pablo, that these two roads were before the Algerian Revolution and optimism was expressed that Algeria would follow the Cuban pattern. This issue was introduced into the 1962 Plenum as a major point in the majority resolution, "Problems of the Fourth International -- and the Next Steps." Here the differences between the Majority and the Pabloites on the one hand and the British and French sections on the other were posed as being essentially over different interpretations of the Evian Accords and the consequent political independence granted to Algeria. The real difference between these two tendencies was not whether or not the actual granting of even nominal independence was a victory for the Algerian masses but what was the significance of the Evian Accords; that is, the agreement reached between the FLN leadership and the French government which was to set the

pattern for future developments in Algeria.

The British and French comrades felt that these Accords amounted to a sell-out of the true interests of the Algerian masses because they provided, in essence, for the maintenance of French imperialist domination over Algeria. The majority comrades considered the compromises at Evian relatively unimportant because the objective conditions in Algeria would soon force the Algerian leadership, like the Cuban leadership, down the road to socialist revolution under the pressure of the armed peasantry. Thus the British and French comrades were attacked for taking a "pessimistic" and "subjective" attitude by concerning themselves with the "character of the official leadership" of the revolution. In summary the majority document stated: "Between them Cuba and Algeria encompass most of the basic problems confronting Marxists in the present stage of colonial revolution. This disorientation displayed by the SLL in regard to these two revolutions flows from their wrong method of approach to the fundamental process at work." (emphasis mine)

This outlook of the majority's of course makes sense, granted their evaluation of Cuba. All the elements were present in the Algerian situation at the moment of Castro's coming to power in 1959. The revolution had been conducted by an armed peasant mass and had been very fundamental in nature. The leadership of this armed peasantry was, as Pablo notes, "jacobins sui generis", that is a petty bourgeois strata with an empirical but radical outlook. Ben Bella, in fact, had suffered many years in jail for his convictions and had conducted himself while in prison with a heroism comparable to that of Castro. The Algerians even felt a very real solidarity with the 26th of July movement. With the flight of the French, power rested in the hands of this armed peasant mass, almost all capitalists had fled, and the old state apparatus had pretty much disintegrated. Certainly if the "Cuban Way" is the pattern for future revolutionary developments in the colonial sector, the stage was set for Algeria to follow Cuba. With such an outlook, the underestimation of the importance of the Evian compromises is understandable.

Upon reaching Paris, Comrade Hansen wrote a series of articles on the evolution of the Algerian Revolution which applied this basic outlook of the majority. On August 19 Comrade Hansen wrote his first article declaring that the revolution is moving "to the left" and that the situation is "strikingly similar to that in Cuba immediately after Batista fled." "Ben Bella's first appeal," Hansen notes approvingly, "is to the Algerian peasantry."

His next dispatch, that of September 3, takes a different approach. "Ben Bella's course in Algiers," Hansen tells us surprisingly, "thus stands in contrast to Fidel Castro's actions at a similar period in the Cuban Revolution." The development which occurred between these two dispatches to change so sharply Hansen's analysis was the armed rebellion of Willaya IV against the Political Bureau leadership. Comrade Hansen was not too sure who would win out. But he was not really worried.



who would win because of the "already evident tendency of the revolution to develop in the socialist direction."

The situation was still unclear by the time of Hansen's September 15 dispatch. This time another new factor emerged in the situation -- the working class. Conspicuous by its absence from previous dispatches of Hansen's, the Algerian workers moved decisively during this period under the leadership of the Algerian Trade Union movement, the UGTA. The workers mobilized masses of people to stand between the contending armies in the developing civil war situation and demanded an end to the power struggle from which they felt deeply alienated. This development so disturbed Hansen's whole analysis that he felt it was high time he opened up a veiled polemic against the SLL and the French for fear some misguided Militant readers would sympathize with their outlook. He attacks "a current, dominated by an ultra-left mood, which holds that all present leaders have 'betrayed' and that there is no hope since a Leninist-type party was not organized before the revolution broke out." Events, he felt, were still moving "to the left" and he concludes: "Naturally, no guarantee can be given that Algeria will go the way of Cuba, but the inherent possibilities are strongly in this direction."

By his September 21 dispatch, Joe Hansen has recovered from his momentary doubts as to who in Algeria may be the developing Fidel Castro. We arrive back with Ben Bella, who incidentally survived the power struggle and was starting a -- process of consolidation of power. Ben Bella is now a "leadership which intends to move in a socialist direction, but which lacks Leninist clarity." The working class is conveniently dropped despite its highly progressive role mentioned only a week earlier. The "pessimists" are again attacked and great emphasis is put on the revolutionary potentiality of the armed peasantry organized in the ADN.

But, by now Ben Bella is pretty firmly in power and already showing his true nature. In this period he offered to "shake hands and turn over a new leaf" as far as relations with the capitalists were concerned and urged the French exploiters to return to the country. Hansen, because of his deep worry over the "pessimists", decides to apologize in part for Ben Bella by noting "that not even Lenin was against making concessions to capitalists." Another dispatch, of the same date, is devoted to praise of the revolutionary implications of the Tripoli program of the FLN.

Hansen then drops writing about Algeria and nothing much appears in the Militant on the subject until the December 17 issue. In this issue a dispatch from Algiers comments on the action of Ben Bella banning the Communist Party. It warns: "Some quarters have interpreted it as indicating that Algeria has turned away from the direction of socialism. This is not the case although it was a step backward." A short dispatch, in fact, is printed actually quoting an Algerian minister apologizing for the ban.

After this last report the Militant conveniently abandoned for a long period, any attempt to analyse what was becoming an increasingly embarrassing turn of developments in Algeria for them. So we turn to the Christian Science Monitor, whose correspondent, John Cooley, sums up the developments in December and early January as follows: "Though Algeria may still conduct some minor flirtations with Communist countries, its economic cooperation with France now looks like a solid and durable marriage which has the firm blessing of the United States." He reports that in addition to reaching agreements with France on economic aid and industrial development, it has reached an "agreement in principle" with France even on agrarian reform. "It has been agreed," Cooley comments, "that the final arrangements would infringe neither the private property rights of the French owners nor the principle of collective administration of them by Committees of workers and peasants." That is a trick if you can do it.

The basic turn to the right taken by Ben Bella's administration, immediately following his consolidation of power in late September, can be seen most clearly in the developments around the Congress of the UGTA held in the middle of January. In fact the basic class issues that are posed in the colonial sector as a whole find their expression at this fateful congress (which has not been reported in the Militant). As mentioned earlier it was the UGTA which had played such a progressive role in the struggle for power in September and which was shown to have deep support among the masses of Algerian people. The UGTA was desirous of maintaining its own independence and it was this issue of the independence of the trade union movement of Algeria which dominated the congress. Prior to the congress, the UGTA leadership under great pressure from the Ben Bella leadership, came to an agreement with Ben Bella to recognize the political leadership of the FLN if the FLN government in turn would guarantee the internal democratic rights of the UGTA.

Ben Bella opened the congress on January 17 with a speech insisting that the trade unions must be subordinated to the Algerian government. But he went even further than this. "We must guard ourselves against certain tendencies which exist in Africa," he warns, "which go by the name of 'workerism' (l'ouvrierisme). The Congress can attain its goal if in the coming sessions, 80% of the delegates wear the turban, that is to say that they are peasants." So Ben Bella, holding the same evaluation of the working class in the colonial countries as Comrade Pablo, urges the trade union organization to be composed of -- peasants. The next period of the convention was taken up with the usual "fraternal" speeches of representatives of various countries and foreign unions. Then the delegates got down to serious work discussing the problems of the organized Algerian workers. This was to be their last opportunity for such a discussion.

On January 19 at 6 a.m. the partisans of Ben Bella entered the congress hall and simply seized control of the praesidium. When the legitimate delegates arrived they faced a fait accompli. The morning passed in a bitter verbal struggle

against this take-over of a workers' organization by the agents of the government. Then the congress recessed for lunch. When the delegates returned from lunch they found that Ben Bella agents had brought in a lumpen mob from the street and simply taken over most of the seats in the hall in order to give backing to Ben Bella. So this is the way Ben Bella saw to it that "les turbans" (in reality a lumpen proletarian mob) controlled the trade union organization. During the melee that followed, Ben Bella's forces attacked the workers as -- you guessed it -- "bourgeois" and "leftists who acted like counterrevolutionaries."

After seizing control of the UGTA the meeting then proceeded to a round of further governmental pronouncements which urged "total socialism" as a goal to be sought in Algeria but only after a 'transitional period' of cooperation with capitalism." Following these events, the Monitor on February 21 reported two incidents which also give us an insight into the policy of the Algerian leadership: "At Djidjelli, members of an anti-FLN faction of the Algerian Trade Union Federation (UGTA) demonstrated in protest against the Political Bureau's decision at the UGTA congress in January to subordinate labor policy to FLN directives....In Tablet, security forces reportedly acting on FLN orders fired on a demonstration of unemployed persons who were demanding food and jobs."

The reaction of the Pabloites to these developments is also significant. Their French journal L'International proceeded to attack the UGTA leaders for really being only on the fringe of the Revolution anyway. Also these workers are considered to be guilty of the sin of "underestimation of the peasantry", a charge which should be familiar to anyone in our movement who knows the history of the struggle within the Bolshevik Party in the 1920's. They stated: "in accenting the necessity of transforming the UGTA by rooting it in the class of the revolutionary peasantry which alone can make it an organization truly representative of the Algerian workers, Ben Bella in fact emphasized a real necessity for the Algerian union organization."

Comrade Hansen and the Militant judiciously refrained from any comment on Algerian events during this critical period following the suppression of all parties but the FLN. Then on April 15, we are treated to two full pages eulogistically reporting the moves of the Ben Bella government against vacated European holdings and against a few holdings of reactionary Algerians who were political opponents of the FLN. The Militant also reported in detail the establishment of local workers' councils and management committees which are to administer this seized property along with an administrator appointed by the government but subject to the approval of the local committee. Comrade Hansen comments: "The tendency of the Algerian Revolution to develop in the socialist direction has grown stronger."

Comrade Hansen makes no attempt to relate these new developments with the happenings of the previous period:

1) growing economic collaboration between Algeria and the U.S. and France; 2) the suppression of all working class parties; and 3) the suppression of independent trade unionism in Algeria. Secondly, no sooner had the Militant of April 15 rolled off the press with its headline "Ben Bella Extends Algerian Working Class Rule" than the New York Times of April 14 reported that Ben Bella had pushed through the National Assembly a new budget which increased appropriations for the army and police forces. This was done "despite a dozen Deputies' efforts to cut the police payroll in favor of teachers' salaries." It was also reported in the same article that the Algerian army with the aid "of newly installed French-trained gendarmes and police" had succeeded in "neutralizing rural Algeria's roving postwar bands of former guerillas."

Certainly local workers councils will have little meaning under conditions where any independent political working class trends in Algeria are suppressed and only one party, the party of Ben Bella, is allowed to exist. This is especially the case under conditions of a growing army and police apparatus. Land seizures and nationalizations in and of themselves are no sign that Algeria is a socialist country or will become one. So far Algeria has not proceeded anywhere near as far along this line as Nasser's Egypt. Further the Ben Bella government has made it very plain that it intends to take these measures while at the same time collaborating economically with French and American imperialism. Thus Algeria shows no sign of taking the kind of step Castro took in relation to American imperialism which was partly responsible for the deep radical course the Cuban Revolution has taken.

Contrary to the impression created by Hansen's article, the French were not particularly disturbed by these seizures of the Algerians. In fact, the New York Times has reported the Algerians were favorably impressed with the mildness of the reaction to their steps in France. The imperialists expect this sort of development. As long ago as last summer the Wall Street Journal reported: "But these public statements which have through the process of journalistic shorthand convinced a large portion of average Americans that Mr. Ben Bella is a dangerous Red menace, do not particularly worry the men whose job is to gauge the Algerian situation for the West."

" 'We don't have many illusions about him,' one North African expert declares. 'We don't imagine that we're going to be able to control him. But on the other hand Khrushchev is probably going to find him just as hard a man to do business with. And that's really about all we can hope for. We have always predicted Algeria would be a tough, one-party state with such socialistic features as nationalization of many industries and drastic land reform.' "

Thus the actual events that have transpired in Algeria stand as a dramatic and complete confirmation of the line of analysis of the SLL, and the French comrades and the American minority and a total repudiation of the analysis of the majority. This is the way these analyses stood up to the actual test

of the blessed "facts". The real significance of the Evian Accords was that they showed the readiness of the Algerian leadership as a whole to subordinate a future Algeria to the essential interests of French and U.S. imperialism. In all the subsequent events this "jacobin" leadership remained true to the terms of the Accords and is presently engaged in seeking to consolidate the control of the bourgeois state over the masses and subordinating Algerian developments to this goal. During the whole period since the end of September when the Algerian leadership was actually moving to the right Hansen continued to maintain it was moving to the left and thus defying the actual facts that were before his eyes. Economic cooperation with France and the U.S. has been followed by the suppression of the CP and of the new radical Revolutionary Socialist Party, and the suppression of independent trade unionism in Algeria.

The differences between the two tendencies over Algeria were not a matter of "optimism" or "pessimism" about the revolution itself. Yes, we were "pessimistic" about the Algerian leadership and this proved to be a correct analysis. But there are genuine grounds for revolutionary optimism in the Algerian in the Algerian events. The working class emerged as an important factor in the events of September. The UGTA leadership was bureaucratically crushed by Ben Bella because he recognized the potential power of these "bourgeois" workers in Algeria. He has won the first round of the battle but there is much reason to be optimistic about the role of the working class in the next round. In order to play this role the workers must first learn not to trust those petty bourgeois leaders the party majority puts its trust in. The workers must learn themselves that they can and must lead the colonial revolution to its ultimate conclusion in alliance with the peasantry. It is in this specific sense that we are optimistic about the creation of a revolutionary proletarian party "in the very process of revolution itself."

The majority's whole analysis has failed the test of events so miserably in Algeria because its basic method is erroneous -- that is it is based on a superficial impression of momentary reality and lacks any real understanding of the underlying motive forces in the modern world. This can be seen by asking one simple question: WHY DIDN'T ALGERIA FOLLOW THE CUBAN EXAMPLE? By all possible objective criteria Algeria appears as a carbon copy of Cuba's early developments: guerrilla warfare, empirical but dedicated leadership, collapse of capitalist state and economy upon coming to power, etc. The only answer the majority can give to this question is that the Algerian leaders didn't choose to follow the Cuban example. This, comrades, is complete subjectivism and in fact an admission that the majority has no answer at all. The creation of a workers state then becomes reduced to an existentialist "moment" when the leader on top decides whether or not to follow the advice Comrade Pablo has so decently taken the trouble to write to him in a letter. Then all the talk of the objective forces which are compelling empirical leaderships down the road of the permanent revolution must be dropped and the majority must instead devote itself to personality analysis. (Objectivism and

subjectivism are in fact but two sides of the same coin as they are the result of the same empirical method. The dialectical Marxist method always shows the proper interrelations between these two factors in all social developments.)

The Algerian developments can only be explained by the analysis of the minority and serve as a dramatic confirmation of the theoretical evaluation of Cuban developments expressed earlier in this document. Ben Bella has not and will not follow the "Cuban Way" because the "Cuban Way" could only be open to Ben Bella if the USSR allowed it -- that is if the USSR would be willing to allow Algeria to swing into its economic orbit as it did with Cuba. Thus the future revolutionary course of Algeria would be dependent on the counterrevolutionary Stalinist bureaucrats. That this is an impossible contradiction can be seen if one seriously considers the consequences for the Kremlin of a policy of subsidizing such revolutionary developments. Such a policy would fly in the face of its policy to seek an accommodation with imperialism at the expense of revolution. For the Kremlin to utilize Cuba in this manner as a pawn to pressure the West into a deal is one thing but for it to attempt to-- subsidize a pattern of such developments is quite another -- would in fact mean a breaking from its whole peaceful coexistence outlook. Thus it is highly doubtful if the alternative of the "Cuban Way" was even open to Ben Bella.

Secondly, even if the USSR had been willing to allow such a development as Algeria following Cuba into the Soviet Bloc even temporarily -- no leadership in its right mind would seriously consider such a course after the Kremlin's backing-- down over the missiles affair. If the USSE is willing to recognize capitalist hegemony in the Caribbean it will certainly extend the same courtesy to the imperialists in the Mediterranean.

Hasn't the peasantry in Algeria, under petty bourgeois leadership, carried through a profound revolutionary struggle against France? Of course it has. Will not possibly Ben Bella in the future nationalize more industry and carry through some type of agrarian reform? He certainly must. The bourgeoisie realizes this too.

But Algeria is limited in how far it can really go in carrying out even its bourgeois democratic revolution by its dependence on the advanced capitalist countries for economic aid and a market for its goods. To the extent that Algeria or any other colonial country frees itself from this dependence--(as did Cuba) without aligning itself with the international proletariat it becomes dependent in turn on Stalinism. But Stalinism seeks to maintain itself through peaceful relations with the capitalists, not through revolution which will undercut its own rule at home. An occasional utilization of a Cuba as a way of pressuring the U.S. into a deal, yes. Cuba as a pattern, no, no, never! THE FUTURE LIES WITH THE CONSCIOUS ORGANIZED PROLETARIAT ITSELF!



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