

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

VOL. 6, NO. 16-130

JANUARY 26, 1970

TEN CENTS

FEB 11 1970
INSTITUTION

THE
MOSCOSO
AFFAIR



G. LORA OF POR

LABOR MUST STRIKE TO SMASH GE

BY THE EDITORS

As the strike of nearly 150,000 General Electric workers enters its 13th week, decisive action by the entire trade union movement is becoming an absolute necessity to end this strike with a victory for the strikers and all their demands. The distribution of hundreds of thousands of "Don't Buy G.E." bumper stickers and an even larger number of "Support G.E. Strikers" is not enough and must not be a substitute for action in support to the G.E. strikers with REAL power behind it. We say that a one day work-stoppage, a general strike by the entire labor movement, is the kind of action which will provide the power that can

bring this strike to a victorious conclusion.

The ruling class is beginning to show signs of wanting to bring the strike to an end without in the least giving in to the workers' demands. Major industrial corporations are beginning to feel the pinch caused by shortages of strategic products manufactured by G.E. There is concern in Washington that a continuation of the strike may imperil arms production. Above all else, the Nixon Administration and the leaders of capitalist industry fear that the G.E. strike will last long enough to fan the flames of a probable Teamsters strike this spring. Above all they

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 2)



BEHIND THE
"TROTSKYITE PLOT"

terror sweeps czechoslovakia



RUSSIAN TANKS ROLLING THROUGH PRAGUE, AUGUST, 1968 IN AN ATTEMPT TO CRUSH THE CZECH WORKING CLASS.

EDITORIAL

Call One Day General Strike To Smash General Electric!

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)
fear that a decisive victory by the G.E. workers will encourage the Teamsters and auto workers, whose contract expires next fall, to fight for their just demands.

VICTORY

Nixon, G.E. and the other giants of industry are correct only on one point. A victory for the striking G.E. workers WILL be a victory for the truckers, the auto workers, and all workers in every country. The Workers League stands 100% for this decisive victory for the workers and defeat for G.E. and the corporations. There is no middle ground or "impartial" third way in this battle.

Any settlement through arbitration or "fact-finding" as put forward by Senator Javits strengthens the hand of the government to bring about a settlement which is acceptable to G.E. The proposals for arbitration and fact-finding are a bridge to the new anti-labor legislation Nixon is planning to bring into the next Congress.

The G.E. workers have not been pounding the pavement so long to be handed a rotten compromise based on arbitration or "fact-finding." For the union leaders to endorse these proposals merely because G.E. presently rejects them is a excuse for

not mobilizing real action by the ranks of the striking unions and the entire labor movement. Tomorrow G.E. may change its tune if it thinks it can do better that way. These proposals take the outcome out of the hands of the workers and place it in the hands of so-called "impartial" third parties who are fronting for the employers and their Democratic and Republican agents. There are no "impartial third parties." There are only two sides in this strike.

SWP

It should come as no surprise that the American Communist Party, in its paper the Daily World, should enthusiastically back the arbitration and Javits' fact-finding proposal. These people have been drumming up support for liberal "friends of labor" and "forces for peace" within both Democratic and Republican parties for a long time.

The latest organization to follow the C.P.'s lead in giving the arbitration and Javits' proposal their blessing is the Socialist Workers Party. The SWP, in the Jan. 23rd edition of its paper the Militant, denounces G.E. for sidestepping fact-finding, avoiding "fact-finders like the plague" and opposing "third party intervention." We can only conclude that the Militant believes that Senator Javits is now on the side of the workers and that this proposal for so-called impartial third party intervention is the way to win victory for the workers. We can do no more than ask the most elementary question of the SWP: Which side are you on?

The meeting of the Democratic and Republican mayors held recently is only one more step toward taking the strike out of the workers' hands. Not only did these mayors endorse arbitration and fact-finding, but called on "both sides" to get down to

serious bargaining, as if there was a little good and a little bad on both sides.

ACTION

After 13 weeks the striking G.E. workers must demand that their leaders take real action to win this strike. Only their own power united with the power of the 18 million strong organized labor movement can bring G.E. to its knees. No more pussy-footing around with mayors' committees, arbitration schemes, "fact-finding" panels and Democratic and Republican "friends" who want the workers to compromise on their just demands for wages, cost of living protection and nationwide bargaining. We say **MAKE THIS STRIKE A REAL STRIKE OF THE 18 MILLION ORGANIZED WORKERS IN THE UNION MOVEMENT--CALL A ONE DAY GENERAL STRIKE BY ALL UNIONS.**

We urge that trade unionists take this proposal into their local union meetings and fight for its adoption and demand emergency meetings of their unions if necessary to raise the demand for the one day general strike. At stake is not only the demands of the G.E. workers but the fight to defend wages and conditions and the unions themselves against the attack by the employers, which G.E. is leading.



BY TIM WOHLFORTH

"The Grooming of A President 1962-1968" could well be the title of a book based on the kind of material recently published in the New York Times on Richard Nixon's "inner circle" during the years he lived in New York City. Listed among this "small group of intimate friends" are some of the key figures in the top circles of the American ruling class.

Particularly important is the close relations Nixon maintained over those years with the top bankers in America. These include George Champion, former chairman of the Chase Manhattan Bank; Gabriel Hauge, President of Manufacturers Hanover Trust Company, and George A. Murphy, Chairman of Irving Trust Company. These men in turn serve on the boards of dozens of key manufacturing firms which do business with these banks and have financial connections in all corners of the globe.

Among other intimates are multi-millionaire industrialists like Robert H. Abplanalp, inventor of an aerosol valve; Donald M. Kendall, President of Pepsico with worldwide marketing interests; Elmer H. Bobst, honorary chairman of Warner-Lambert Pharmaceuticals. Intimates like El-

THE MAKING OF THE PRESIDENT -- 1969



GABRIEL HAUGE (ABOVE)
AND DONALD KENDALL (LEFT),
NIXON'S BIG BUSINESS PALS.

liot V. Bell, former editor of Business Week and Thomas E. Dewey, former governor of New York, and leading corporation lawyer, have important connections throughout the top echelons of American business. Hobart Lewis, editor in chief of Readers Digest, plays a key role in mass communications.

The picture that emerges from all this is that Richard Nixon made good use of his stay in New York City following his defeat in the California governors election in 1962. Recognizing that the key to American politics lay in the hands of the powerful monopolists concentrated in New York City, Nixon moved here to prepare himself for the future.

Nixon was warmly welcomed by a group of leading capitalists who saw, despite his defeats in 1960 and 1962, that this man could be of great political use to them in the future. From 1962 to 1968 he was carefully groomed for the presidency.

In fact it was precisely Nixon's defeats of 1960 and 1962 which made him such a ready candidate for grooming. He had no power base of his own. All he had was a well known public name and a record which showed through his work with Joe McCarthy and his shouting matches with Khrushchev, that come what

may he was capable of doing anything in defense of American capitalism.

Of course Kennedy and Johnson served big business too. But Kennedy was himself a multi-millionaire and he served big business as HE saw fit, not necessarily as Chase Manhattan and Manufacturers Hanover saw fit. Johnson had become a liability for American capitalism, a product of the smoke-filled room, corridor politicking of the "American Way" and quite incapable of bailing big business out of the Vietnam mess.

Nixon was chosen for the presidency not only because he would serve the general interest of big business but because he had no independence at all from big business, was, in fact, the intimate and errand boy of the biggest bankers in America. The United States, faced with a serious world monetary crisis, its inability to either win or end the Vietnam War, increased class struggle in Europe, growing unrest at home, deepening rivalries among capitalist powers, needed a Nixon in charge.

So the millions rolled in for his campaign, the top political advisors mapped out every move, special communication experts planned the TV end of it, and Nixon rolled into the Presidency with greater finesse than the introduction of enzyme pre-soakers.

The lengths to which Nixon is willing to go for his big business buddies can be seen in the "touching" little story of the friendship between Donald Kendall, head of Pepsico, and Nixon. It seems in 1959 Nixon, then Vice President of the United States, was touring the Moscow Fair with Khrushchev. Kendall was at the same fair in charge of the Pepsi Cola Stand. Kendall's task was to break through into the Eastern European-Soviet market "or else." Kendall drew Nixon aside and explained his predicament, urging him somehow to get Khrushchev over to the Pepsi booth.

Nixon, in true colors, dragged Khrushchev over to the booth, Kendall shoved some Pepsi into Khrushchev's reluctant hand while the

cameras clicked and Kendall's job was saved. Needless to say, Kendall's firm gave Nixon's New York law firm a good deal of business in the 1960s.

Anyone who would use the office of the Vice President of the United States to peddle Pepsi Cola can certainly be reliably counted upon to defend to the end capitalism and its rulers when capitalism is threatened the world over by internal crisis and class struggle.

Few if any trade union militants have illusions about Nixon. They know him as their enemy. Those few illusions which might remain will be shortly ripped away as Nixon prepares his new offensive against the American labor movement. But what must be understood is that Nixon represents a CLASS, the class of owners of American industry. His crimes are the crimes of this class.

Nixon was able to win the 1968 election because the American labor movement had subordinated itself politically to this class of owners by supporting the Democratic Party which is equally controlled by big business. It was the futility of this policy and the demoralization of millions of workers with this policy under Johnson in particular, which made it possible for the big corporations to place a Pepsi salesman in the presidency.

The only way forward now for American labor is to take up the struggle to build its own party, a CLASS party, based on the American trade union movement.

Bulletin

EDITOR: Lucy St. John

ART DIRECTOR: Marty Jonas

THE BULLETIN, Weekly Organ of the Workers League is published by Bulletin of International Socialism, Rm. 8, 243 E. 10th St. New York, N.Y. 10003. Published weekly except the last week of December, the last week of July and the first week of August. Editorial and business office: Rm. 8, 243 E. 10 St., New York, N.Y. 10003. Phone: 754-7120. Subscription rates: U.S.A.-1 year: \$3.00; Foreign-1 year: \$4.00. APPLICATION TO MAIL AT SECOND CLASS POSTAGE RATES IS PENDING AT NEW YORK, N.Y.

Layoffs Hit Auto Workers; Economy Heads For Tailspin

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

The Commerce Department's announcement last week that the American economy had stood absolutely still, failing to grow in the fourth quarter of 1969, should serve as a sharp warning to the American trade union movement. Nixon and the bankers and big industrialists for whom he acts are prepared to virtually close down whole sections of the tremendous productive capacity of the American economy and throw millions of workers into the streets in the next period in order to save their profit system.

The GNP figures for the fourth quarter are far from the whole story. Almost daily new statistics pour out of government agencies, all re-enforcing what is now common knowledge--that the U.S. economy is in for a tailspin in 1970. Last week saw a drop in the industrial production index from 171.4 in November to 170.9 in December, the fifth consecutive decline. Housing starts likewise fell to their 1969 low of 1,245,000 compared with the high last January of 1,878,000.

AUTO

Perhaps the most dramatic and obvious expression of the oncoming recession is the absolute collapse taking place within the auto industry. Sales for the first 10 days in January have been off 22% from a year earlier, forcing lay offs and plant closures like never before. This is the real heart of the matter--Nixon's policies are now posing the threat of mass unemployment.

No sooner had the government last week announced the planned layoff of 50,000 NSA employees than Defense Secretary Laird announced that a staggering 1,250,000 military and civilian jobs were to become the victims of Pentagon economies by June 1971. This represents a drastic upward revision of the 750,000 figure tossed out by the Defense Department only last October.

However severely the Nixon Administration has slammed on the economic brakes it has still failed to achieve the halt to inflation it has sought. Economic growth has had to be brought to a complete standstill to reduce inflation in the fourth quarter of last year to an annual 4.4%. It is clear that nothing less than a real economic disaster in 1970 would be required to even cut another percentage point off this figure.

The real bankruptcy of Nixon's present anti-inflation strategy is ex-

pressed not only in the decision of Bethlehem Steel last week to hike prices on structural steel from 5% to 6% but above all in the all-out wage offensive now being threatened by the American working class.

OFFENSIVE

The Nixon Administration has been unsuccessful so far in breaking the G.E. strike, the defeat of which is the very cornerstone of its strategy to combat any wage offensive in 1970. Now the Teamsters come forward with demands for a 75% wage hike over three years. The New York City Sanitationmen's union has announced its intention to force a reopening of the last contract on the grounds that the wage increases have been completely offset by inflation. Meanwhile the UAW moves toward its September contract deadline with its members facing an unprecedented deterioration of working conditions together with unemployment and inflation.

The wage offensive slated for 1970 could make the wage increases of an average of 7.2% in 1969 look like peanuts. It is clear that the labor movement is not swallowing Nixon's "bitter medicine" and its refusal to pay for the economic crisis of capitalism is creating an explosive situation. This is why the Nixon Administration has moved in the last couple of weeks towards stiffer anti-labor legislation, a policy which Nixon's whole deflationary drive was initially designed to avoid.

SHULTZ

The announcement by Secretary of Labor Shultz last week that Nixon will seek changes in Taft-Hartley amounts to an admission that the policies of the last year have been a failure, that mere deflation and a modest hike in unemployment can not restrain the American working class. Now without pulling back from the recessionary policies Nixon is upping the ante with his moves toward anti-strike legislation.

The threat of such legislation to an angry working class on the move for big wage hikes and against unemployment only poses sharply the political character of the attack and opens the road for the creation by the labor movement of a labor party to beat back the policies of Nixon and the bankers. A labor party is the real weapon the American working class now requires as it enters the 1970's.



A CZECH ARGUES WITH RUSSIAN SOLDIER AFTER '68 INVASION

terror sweeps czechoslovakia

BY THE EDITORS

Terror is sweeping through Czechoslovakia in the wake of mass arrests and new reports of a "Trotskyite" plot. It is clear that the Stalinist Husak regime, frustrated by its inability to tame either the students or the trade unions, is now resorting to the infamous measures of the Moscow Trials and purges to maintain its tottering regime.

Just within the last week some 1,740 people were arrested in police sweeps through the country. More than 18,000 were questioned in Bohemia and Moravia alone, while in Prague itself 300 have been detained. 301 of those arrested have already been found guilty of "crimes against property" and 48 guilty of "crimes of violence."

While much remains unclear as to the nature of the group arrested and accused of being Trotskyists, recent reports do indicate at least some of those involved have been influenced by Trotskyist views. The "plotters" are accused of advocating an "anti-bureaucratic revolution" to establish a "completely free society" and that the army and police be replaced by workers defense units based in the factories.

The "plotters" are also accused of distributing "clandestine literature" as if literature critical of the Stalinist bureaucracy could be distributed in any other way. They are also accused of preparing "armed struggle against the present regime" as if the present regime was not installed against the wishes of the working class with the armed might of Russian tanks and guns, and as if there were any other way to remove it.

Several other features of the charges are important. First the "plotters" are accused of seeking to overthrow not only the Czech regime but that "in other socialist countries in particular the Soviet Union." This indicates that the mass arrests and threatened purges were undertaken under orders from the Kremlin and may well lead to similar repressive measures in the Soviet Union and other Stalinist countries.

Among the charges levelled against the "plotters" is infiltration of the universities AND the trade unions, particularly the metal workers and printing industry unions and of fo-

menting "strikes." This makes it clear that behind the arrests is fear by the bureaucracy of the continued resistance of the working class and youth to the repressive bureaucracy.

Other aspects of the charges are stolen directly out of the Moscow Trials and the Stalin period. Trotskyism is viewed as connected with the FBI and CIA, opposition to the Stalinist bureaucracy is equated with opposition to the socialist property relations even though Trotskyists have always defended these against imperialism, and the "plotters" are accused of all sorts of "acts of sabotage and fires" just as the Old Bolsheviks tried in the 1930's were supposed to have personally wrecked trains and put poison in the workers' food.

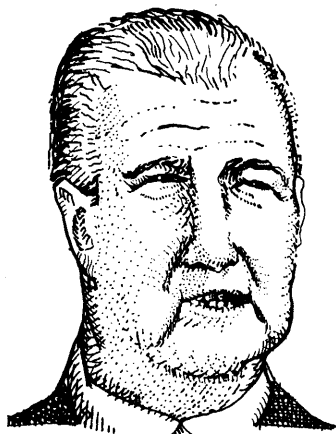
Finally earlier reports not only linked those arrested to "Trotskyite organizations in the West" but to China and Albania as well, even though the Trotskyist movement has been the principled opponent of the Stalinist bureaucracies in those countries as well.

These attacks are clear signs of the instability of the Stalinist bureaucracy and their recognition that their main enemy lies in the principled struggle of Trotsky and the Fourth International against the bureaucratic usurpation of the workers states. At the same time these attacks must be seen as a direct body blow against the working class in all countries.

*Hands Off The Czech Working Class!

*No Return to the Stalinist Purges!

CARPENTERS PROTEST AGNEW'S SCABBING



ST. LOUIS--Spiro Agnew will get a taste of the demonstrations he so deplores at a fund-raising dinner here on Feb. 10th. This time the pickets will be manned by members of the Carpenters Union. Agnew is scheduled to be the main speaker at a dinner which is being held in a non-union hotel. Ollie Langhorst, secretary-treasurer of the Carpenters District Council, has said: "We'll put them (pickets) up, if no one else will....It's common knowledge that it's the only large place in town that's non-union."

It is becoming more and more difficult for the Nixon Administration to hide its hatred of the "silent majority"--the working class. Mr. Agnew may feel confident about his ability to scare off the liberal capitalist press, but it is another matter when you step on the toes of the trade union movement.

**SUBSCRIBE
NOW!**
to the
WEEKLY BULLETIN

—\$1.00 6 MONTH INTRODUCTORY SUB
—\$3.00 FOR FULL YEAR

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____

STATE _____ ZIP _____

BULLETIN RM. 8, 243 E. 10 ST. NYC 10003

This is the second and last part of an interview by Pat Connolly with Dany Sylveire of the British Young Socialists. Dany Sylveire was interviewed while she was in the U.S. where she spoke at the Workers League Eastern Regional Conference and at a public meeting in Minneapolis.

Q. Once you were outside the Labor Party what strategy did you carry out?

A. The Socialist Labour League decided consciously, after having taken the Young Socialists through the struggle to defeat the strongest social democracy in the world in its youth movement, to turn the Y.S. in to the trade unions.

The Y.S. was established as a force in the Labor movement in its struggle for an alternative leadership to the Labor government, through a fight to expose the Labor government in all its betrayals-- anti-trade union laws, wage freezes--taking the working class through the experience of its traditional leadership in power, and to break the working class from the Labor Party, from reformism.

Beginning in 1965, the Young Socialists waged national campaigns in the trade unions against the anti-trade union laws that were being prepared with the Labor government's White Paper on the trade unions. This was the beginning of the turn of the Young Socialists in to the trade union movement, mobilizing 2-3000 youth and adult workers in a demonstration against the anti-union laws.

The Y.S. was able to intervene in both the 1966 Seamen's strike (against the Labor government's wage freezing policy, the first political strike in England since the 1926 General Strike), and the 1967 Dock strike, with massive campaigns against the anti-working class measures of the Labor government.

As a result of the struggle in the trade union movement, the Oxford Liaison Committee to Defend the Trade Unions (which later became the All Trades Unions Alliance) was formed, winning over car workers and dock workers in particular.

The history of the Young Socialists and its campaigns is completely relevant to the struggles of the working class--the struggle for higher wages, in defense of the unions, which poses for them taking on and fighting the Labor government. This struggle put the Y.S. on the map in the labor movement, made it an important element in the labor movement, as the Young Socialists struggles to take up the leadership in the fight of every section of workers.

Q. What do you think is the importance of this youth movement to the construction of the revolutionary party?

A. It was the turn of the Trotskyist movement in Britain towards the youth which began in 1960 which laid the basis for the complete transformation of that movement from a small propagandist, mainly middle class group, into the beginnings of a mass revolutionary party. It was the youth movement which made possible the publication of the daily newspaper, the Workers Press.

The Socialist Labour League made the turn towards the youth movement on the basis of their analysis of the development of the crisis of capitalism and the way in which this crisis would have its sharpest reflection amongst the youth who bear the brunt of this crisis. We anticipated the radicalization of millions of youth, who manifested an instinctive hostility towards bureaucracy, who were not ground down by the demoralization of the betrayals and defeats of the past and whose militancy was not enchained by all the ties of the family which hold back the adult workers.

Q. What is the relationship be-

An Interview With Dany Sylveire--National Committee, Young Socialists



SOCIALISM AND YOUTH



SHEILA TORRANCE AND BOB HAMILTON HUSTLED OUT OF TRANSPORT HOUSE IN 1964 LOBBY AGAINST EXPULSION OF TROTSKYISTS IN LPYS

tween the youth and the struggle for theory?

A. This analysis of the crisis and perspective was developed out of a bitter struggle against Pabloite revisionism within the Fourth International in the 50's and early 60's. It was this struggle against Pabloite revisionism, the essence of which is the liquidation of the party and the abandonment of dialectical materialism, which enabled our movement to develop theoretically to penetrate the developing world crisis of capitalism through a turn to those forces which were being thrust into politics by this crisis, that is, the youth. We saw the struggle against Pabloite revisionism not simply as a struggle against a wrong set of ideas but as a challenge to our own movement to maintain the continuity of Marxism through the struggle to develop dialectical materialism in a changing world situation: in a situation where Trotskyism changed from being a correct analysis of defeats, to becoming the instrument for victory.

The struggle against Pabloite revisionism, against the liquidation of the party, became a struggle inside our own movement to transform it

from a group into a party with solid roots in the working class. This involved the fight to build a mass working class revolutionary youth movement. It was only our intervention into the class struggle to bring forces from that struggle into the fight inside the Labor Party against the right wing that made possible our victory over the strongest social democracy in the world within its youth movement, so that the struggle against the bureaucracy was developed beyond simply a debate with the right wing, the centrists, the state capitalists and Pabloites.

Q. What kind of impact did this youth work have inside the party?

A. This turn towards the youth necessitated within our own movement a fight against propagandist methods which saw Marxist theory as a set of dogmas, of correct arguments against Stalinism, but which refused to take the struggle against revisionism into the working class, to develop and extend this theory through a struggle to build the party. These propagandist methods were a reflection of the pressure of revisionism on our own movement,

and splits from Pabloite revisionism had theoretically armed us for this struggle against propagandism, against idealism, to penetrate the vanguard of the working class, that is, the youth.

Q. How does this relate to the Workers Press?

A. We got more support and raised more money in these last five years than the Trotskyist movement had in its entire history. The reason for this was that we were expressing the need of the working class to have its own Marxist newspaper. This fact is reflected in the strength politically and organizationally behind the paper. Unlike other papers, such as the Stalinist's and the Labor "lefts" we do not operate with a crisis threatening to destroy us each day.

Our progress has reflected the development of the working class. It can be described as slow in tempo, deep-going in its strength and impressive in its appearance. There is today one single thought dominating the activity of the Young Socialists and the Workers Press: we alone believe that despite the enormous theoretical handicaps which the working class in Britain had inherited, it has nevertheless maintained its main strength despite the treachery of the Labor leaders. We say this is a powerful verification of the revolutionary nature of this epoch. We are therefore profoundly confident in our perspective of going forward to the building of a mass revolutionary party.

The building of a mass force in the youth movement, which came out on the streets in their thousands demonstrating, campaigning, selling papers, and continuously fighting to prepare the working class for all the struggles that it faced was the instrument to penetrate the trade unions, the mass of the working class.

In September 1964 the decision was made to launch a daily paper within five years. 1969, September 27th, the first issue of the Workers Press was published. In that period of five years the basis was laid for the daily paper through the fight inside the League to begin from the objective requirements of the working class in this rapidly developing crisis of capitalism, where more and more the struggles of the working class posed the question of power.

The training and development of real Marxist cadres, of dialectical materialists within the factories, within the trade unions, through the turn of the Young Socialists into the trade unions was the central task posed for us. We had to be prepared for the development of May-June (1968 in France) in Britain, through the construction of the weapon to take the working class to power, that is, the mass revolutionary party.

The daily paper is the instrument for the building of the mass revolutionary party. The actual raising of the finance for the daily paper took place only in the last 18 months before its publication. The first three and one half years was centered on the theoretical and practical preparation of our movement for this achievement.

The youth movement made the production of the first world Trotskyist daily paper possible, this daily paper which was ushered into the world by the unparalleled movement of millions of workers in the advanced capitalist countries in a revolutionary way against imperialism and the Stalinist bureaucracy. This is the significance of Trotskyism being transformed into the instrument of victory.



Guillermo Lora, secretary of the Bolivian Revolutionary Workers' Party (POR).

The Moscoso affair

A CASE HISTORY OF REVISIONISM

A LETTER FROM THE PABLOITES

The Political Committee of the IMG, British section of the Fourth International, wishes to raise with you a most serious question.

In two issues of your paper, Workers Press, you have reprinted statements by one Lora, who describes himself as a leader of the Bolivian POR. These statements apart from their many lies constitute a slander against Bolivian Trotskyists now suffering repression at hands of the police.

To describe Moscoso as 'widely being suspected as working for the Bolivian Government is to sink to the level of the worst aspects of Stalinism. The Trotskyist movement has fought these Stalinist methods for decades—now you, in the name of Trotskyism, indulge in them.

The IMG has been the victim of smears itself from your press: on numerous occasions you have accused us of joining with Transport House in expelling the Young Socialists from the Labour Party. Yet you know that our organization came into existence as a result of a split because we refused to be in the same organization as people who witch-hunted the Young Socialists.

We demand that you retract these slanders against the Bolivian Trotskyists. In the event of your refusal we will take steps to expose your methods to the British labour movement.

You will appreciate that until these slanders are retracted that it is impossible for members of our leadership to meet your representatives as has been suggested.

Pat Jordan
(for the PC of the IMG)

AND A REPLY

We are in receipt of your letter of January 5, 1970.

The author of the articles you refer to is Guillermo Lora—the elected leader of the

POR (Revolutionary Workers' Party of Bolivia) and a veteran Bolivian Trotskyist. Your pretended ignorance of Lora, whom you refer to as 'one Lora' can easily be cleared up by a perusal of your own press ('Intercontinental Press', December 15, 1969) which, in an article attacking our French comrades, states:

'The present Lora grouping has developed rather recently. [Lora was a leader of the POR in 1952 and represented his party at all the Congresses of the Fourth International.] There was a long-standing division in the Bolivian Trotskyist movement between the tendency led by Gonzales Moscoso and that led by the brothers Guillermo and Cesar Lora.

'In May, 1965, as the army moved in to occupy the

mines, Cesar Lora, a popular leader of the miners, attempted to organize guerrilla resistance. He was captured in the northern part of the province of Potosi by the army on July 20, 1965, and executed on the spot.

'On February 17, 1966, the two tendencies in the Bolivian Trotskyist movement united. Guillermo Lora, who is a well-known parliamentary figure, approved the unification although he was out of the country. [Lora was confined to an Amazonian jungle prison camp.] When he returned, however, he refused to work in the united organization...'

Independent

The authors of the article omit to mention the fact that the united party was independent of their 'Paris Secretariat' and that the unity broke down when Moscoso tried to liquidate the POR and convert it into an appendage to the rem-

We reprint here a letter from the International Marxist Group, British co-thinkers of the Socialist Workers Party, to the Socialist Labour League, British section of the International Committee of the Fourth International, and a reply from Mike Banda. The Pabloites are seeking to obscure the real meaning of the political statements of Comrade Lora and the political evolution of Moscoso by raising a hue and cry about "slanders." As Comrade Banda makes clear, the real issue is the question of the liquidation of the party into petty bourgeois and bourgeois political formations and the responsibility for this liquidation which rests with the Pabloite leaders in Paris and New York. The International Committee is now making important strides forward in the colonial and semi-colonial countries precisely because of its consistent struggle against liquidationism and guerillaism in defense of the central role of the working class and its party.

nants of the Castroite guerrilla army in Bolivia.

Your treatment of Lora contrasts sharply with the account in 'Intercontinental Press'. You know very well who Lora is but, for your own factional reasons, you cannot admit it. This is very much a part of your method.

In paragraph three of your letter you state that we have accused Moscoso of working for the Bolivian government. This is not what the letter of Alberto Saenz states.

'Today it is seriously suspected that Mr Gonzales Moscoso himself would work on behalf of the Bolivian government.' (Workers Press, December 5, 1969.)

In the translation appearing in 'Intercontinental Press' we note a discrepancy from that which is printed in the Workers Press. Your paper states:

'Serious suspicions exist today that Mr Gonzales Moscoso (the leader of the POR) in person is working in the pay of the Bolivian government.' (Our emphasis.)

This is not our translation. Our interpretation of the text leads us to believe that political collaboration between Moscoso and a bourgeois government in the future is quite possible. You don't have to be a police agent to work for a bourgeois government. Pablo

in Algeria and Perera in Ceylon who worked for bourgeois governments were not police agents. We have never suggested that Moscoso is a police agent.

We say this for the following reasons.

The whole content of your politics and the politics of the Unified Secretariat drives your

sections inexorably on to the path of class collaboration and bourgeois parliamentarism. This is the essence of the revisionism which you represent.

The most glaring examples of such a political degeneration are provided by Ceylon and Algeria for both of which your international leadership have tried to evade responsibility.

In the same issue of 'Intercontinental Press' in which the attack on Lora appeared, there was an article speculating on the possibility that N. M. Perera—the one-time leader of your section in Ceylon—would leave the bourgeois coalition of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party-Lanka Samasamaja Party and join the United National Party in Ceylon.

This is not only possible—

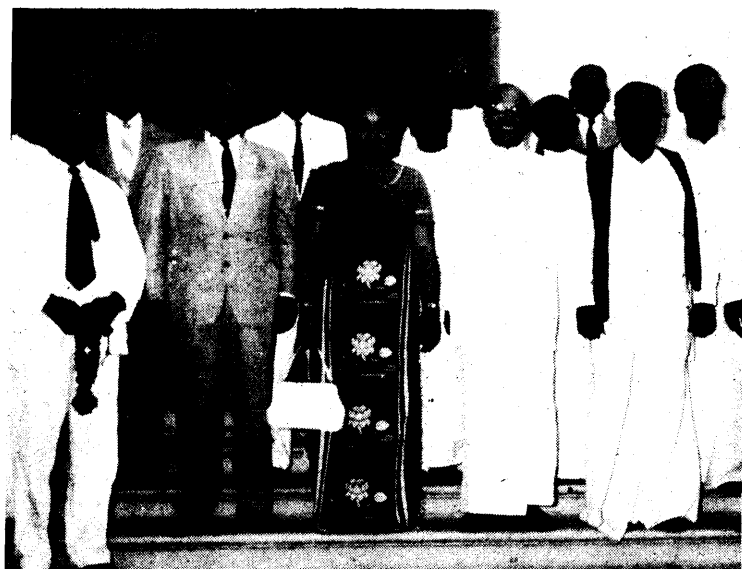
it is quite probable.

In fact the LSSP representatives in parliament, who also belonged to your movement—J. C. T. Kolelewela and P. B. Wijesundera—have already joined the reactionary capitalist UNP regime and there is every prospect that more renegade Trotskyists from the LSSP will follow them.

But what your paper does not—and will not—inform its readers is that N. M. Perera and Kotelewela have reached their present positions because of the political support and confidence which your leadership gave them in the past.

Let us recapitulate briefly.

After the split of 1953 the LSSP remained with the Pabloite leadership. Not accidentally.



Ceylon, June 1964: formation of the SLFP-LSSP coalition government. Left to right: A. Moonesingha (LSSP); C. Gunawardene (LSSP); N. M. Perera (LSSP); Mrs Bandaranaike (SLFP).

because the perspective of the LSSP leaders, covered by pseudo-revolutionary rhetoric and the willing support of Pablo and Mandel, was for a parliamentary road to power in Ceylon.

After the first coalition government (MEP-SLFP) in 1956, the opportunism of the LSSP leaders became very pronounced. In the early 1960s the LSSP leaders began publicly to solicit the co-operation of the native capitalists represented by the SLFP government of Mrs Bandaranaike.

The LSSP parliamentary faction even impugned the discipline of the Pablo leadership publicly by voting for the Throne speech of the SLFP government in 1961. For this act of gross treachery they should have been immediately expelled from the ranks of the Unified Secretariat.

The leadership of the Secretariat, however, did nothing, apart from mild criticism, to disturb the harmonious relations existing between Paris and Colombo because they were preparing for an unprincipled unification with the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the Canadian group lead by Ross Dawson, the Moreno and Vitale groups in Latin America and the Chinese group of Peng, and the Swiss group, all of whom split from the International Committee of the Fourth International.

Despite the urgent requests of the International Committee of the Fourth International for a preparatory discussion on the causes of the 1953 split, the subsequent experiences of the two tendencies and their future prospects, the Paris and New York leaderships concluded a hasty and unprincipled agreement in July 1963.

This agreement, because it was based on a complete suppression of democratic discussion on important political and historical questions, encouraged the growth of opportunism and reformism within the ranks of the Unified Secretariat. In Ceylon the unification had the most predictable results.

In 1963 as part of a manoeuvre to get closer to Mrs Bandaranaike's government, the LSSP launched a campaign to form a United Left Front with the Communist Party and the petty-bourgeois MEP. This was another betrayal of Trotskyism since the MEP (the People's United Front) is a petty-bourgeois racist party whose avowed purpose is to drive the Tamil minority out of Ceylon.

Massive

At the same time that the ULF was formed a massive and unprecedented movement of the organized workers around the 21 demands was taking place (see Gerry Healy's pamphlet 'Ceylon—The Great Betrayal').

The task of the ULF was clearly to derail this movement. As zero hour approached

a minority group led by Pablo and Anderson in the Unified Secretariat placed a motion before the Secretariat meeting of December, 1963, which, inter alia, censured

'1) the non-publication, internally [sic] or externally, of the letter of the World Congress [a letter critical of the LSSP] and demand its immediate publication, internally and in the next publications of F.I., Q.I. and C.I.' It protested

'2) at the alterations made by the Bureau of the United Secretariat in the letter approved by the 7th World Congress, which softens its criticisms of the LSSP majority', and

'3) at the scandalous support given to the ULF in the resolution sent on the occasion of the establishment of the ULF, which is contrary to the line of the 7th World Congress, and also particularly protest at its publication in the last Q.I. before [sic] the publication of the letter of the Congress', and lastly, demanded,

'4) the rapid publication of a dossier of all documents on the ULF, as agreed unanimously [sic] at the September meeting [it was now December] of the Unified Secretariat and which has so far not been published.'

What did the Secretariat have to say in response to this motion?

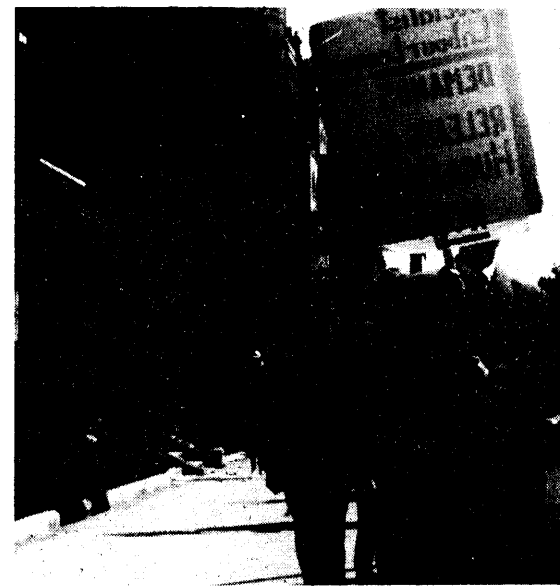
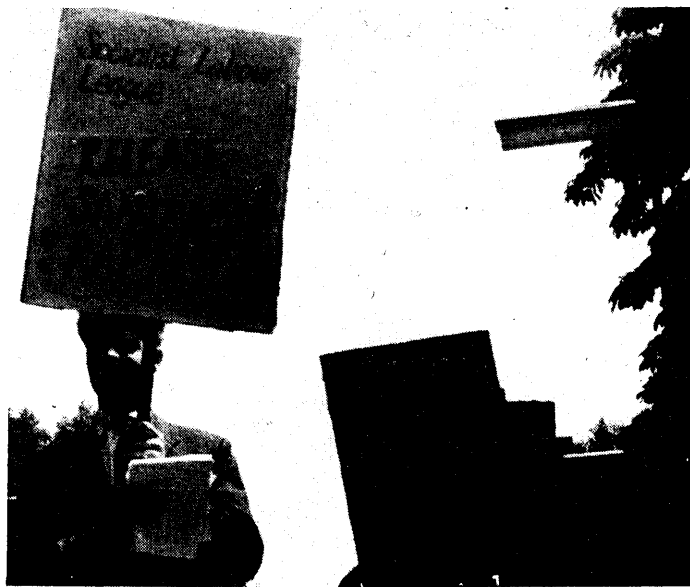
Its reply reveals clearly the opportunist-eclectic method of the Secretariat leaders and is truly an historic record of betrayal which, for reasons of space, we are unfortunately unable to publish.

The United Secretariat defended its indulgence of the LSSP leaders by reference to the Reunification Congress and the necessity of not rocking the boat.

'The Reunification Congress placed with the united new leadership responsibility of doing everything in its power to cement the ties re-established after a long split and to work for fresh cohesion and stability in the world Trotskyist movement. This required a certain organizational relaxation for a period (!) and a serious effort to ameliorate internal disputes in the various sections [sic] and in the components of the united movement—especially disputes inherited from the past [this is an oblique reference to the split of 1953 and the refusal to discuss the theoretical and programmatic questions involved] in order to help every area in the common problem of making a fresh start . . .'

Extenuating further and retreating rapidly the Secretariat went on:

'The United Secretariat "in essence" as Comrade Anderson puts it has not modified in the least the criticisms of the LSSP made by the 7th



World Congress. What it has done is to place confidence in the capacity of the leadership of the LSSP to prove responsive to these criticisms. The letter addressed to the LSSP was not intended as some kind of public pillorying or as a challenge to pitch into a factional brawl, as Comrade Anderson appears to believe. The criticisms which it contained were made with complete goodwill by the assembled representatives of the world Trotskyist movement and in full confidence that they would be given thoughtful consideration (!) by the LSSP. The United Secretariat has sought to maintain this loyal and comradely attitude toward the Ceylonese section, while frankly acknowledging that its members tend to sympathize (!) politically with the left wing of the LSSP.' (Our emphasis.)

The Secretariat wooed the right wing (N. M. Perera, de Silva, Goonewardene) with kindness and the left sympathy then went on to delude its supporters with all manner of fanciful prospects for the ULF—the creature of the right wing.

'The same responsible attitude has been taken toward the connection of the LSSP leadership with the United Left Front. In and of itself [sic] the formation of the United Left Front cannot be condemned; under certain [?] conditions it could prove to be the opening of new developments fraught with revolutionary possibilities. What is decisive is the real [?] aims of the LSSP leadership in participating in the United Left Front . . .'

What was decisive was the entry into the ULF and not the aims—real or pretended—of the LSSP leaders. Like the POUM in Spain, the LSSP traded its political independence for a rotten compromise with bourgeois allies.

The Secretariat however continued to disarm its critics with more centrist bromide:

While welcoming per se the creation of the United Left Front, the United Secretariat has consistently made clear its own political views with regard to the perspectives of the Front. . . . However, the United Secretariat feels that it would be wrong for it as a body representing the movement as a whole to brush aside the declarations of the majority of the LSSP leadership and refuse to grant them the time needed to prove in action the sincerity of their stand in relation to the United Left Front and the good faith of their assurances.' (Our emphasis.)

'Time' and 'good faith' was precisely what the LSSP leaders needed. Time, to negotiate with Mrs Bandaranaike behind the backs even of the ULF, and good faith to disarm its critics, reassure its supporters and pave the way for the coalition of 1964.



The rationale of Mandel and Hansen—the architects of this rotten unity—was made explicit in the next section:

'The course implied in Comrade Anderson's motion . . . would be the creation of conditions the precise opposite of those required to consolidate and stabilize the reunification. It would mean first of all to deliberately heat up the atmosphere in the LSSP by injecting the sharpest kind of factionalism; secondly, to exacerbate matters still further by transferring the dispute to the public arena. A divisive policy of this kind would put in jeopardy, if not destroy, fraternal relations between the United Secretariat and the leadership of the LSSP. The end result would be highly injurious to the Fourth International and to the LSSP . . . ' (Our emphasis.)

It is evident from this statement that Hansen and Mandel were determined to prevent any discussion anywhere for fear that such a process by its very logic would shatter the rotten foundations of Reunification and bring into question all the ideas and methods of the revisionists—and the split from the International Committee.

History, however, proved stronger than Hansen's strait-jacket and within a year all 'fraternal relations' had ceased, 'good faith' dissipated and in its place the 'sharpest kind of factionalism' was prevalent.

Even worse, the dispute was transferred into the 'public arena'.

The LSSP voted by a large majority to join the coalition in the summer of 1964 and with it went, for ever, the largest section of the Secretariat.

The orphan minority which enjoyed the 'sympathy' (and little else) of the Unified Secretariat never recovered from the split and disintegrated in a short time into its various component factions.

It is a fact that the Unified Secretariat has never been able to reconstitute a viable group from the debris of 1964.

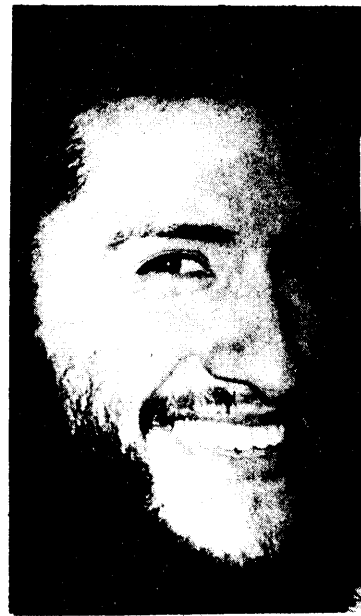
Revolutionary

The only revolutionary tendency in Ceylon today is the

Revolutionary Communist League which supports the International Committee of the Fourth International.

While the coalition farce was entering its final act a new drama was being staged in Algeria with Michel Pablo cast in the central role.

Pablo (like Moscoso today) for many years during the Algerian war led to a semi-conspiratorial existence helping the FLN and revising Marxism.



Hugo Blanco

For his activities in helping the FLN he was given a jail sentence in Holland. While supporting the campaign for his release the International Committee warned the revisionists (and Pablo) that the policy of uncritical support to the FLN combined with the refusal to construct a revolutionary party in Algeria would unquestionably strengthen the most reactionary forces of the Algerian bourgeoisie.

So complete was the capitulation of the Pabloites that they even justified the assassination of the trade union militants of the Messalists group such as Fillali and Bekhat in 1957-1958.

When de Gaulle terminated the war and handed power to Ben Khedda and the FLN after the Evian talks, the French revisionists came out in the fraudulent plebiscite of de Gaulle and voted 'yes' not only for the Evian treaty, but for an increase in his Bonapartist



1967: The first conference of the Oxford Liaison Committee for the Defence of the Trade Unions, which laid the basis for the All Trades Unions Alliance, the trade union arm of the SLL.



The SLL and YS demanded the release of (left to right) Santen and Raptis (Pablo) in 1961, Hugo Blanco in 1964, Modzelewski and Polish Trotskyists in 1966 and Kenyatta and Ben Bella in 1961.

THE NEGOTIA
WITH



powers. They thereby betrayed not only the Algerian people, but the French workers as well. As the FLN split into two petty-bourgeois factions Pablo supported Ben Bella and soon became economic adviser to Ben Bella when he came to power.

Algeria, after Ben Bella's accession to power, was proclaimed a 'workers' state' by the revisionists and Pablo, on Ben Bella's behalf, stomped Europe with bourgeois liberals to collect tinned milk for the starving Algerian masses who hardly benefited from the meagre reforms of Ben Bella's government.

In 1965 the euphoria came to an end—the reformist government of Ben Bella was overthrown by a military conspiracy led by Boumedienne, and Pablo made his escape to Europe.

What did the Unified Secretariat gain politically from this disastrous excursion into bourgeois nationalism? What conclusions did the Secretariat draw? Was their consciousness advanced or their knowledge of revolutionary struggles deepened?

The answer is a categorical no.

For confirmation we must turn to a veteran revisionist who had first-hand knowledge of this traumatic experience: T. S. Peng, member of the Unified Secretariat.

Peng, in the past, has attacked the International Committee bitterly as 'secretarian', 'ultra-left', etc.

Nobody can accuse Peng of harbouring sympathies or being an under-cover agent of the Socialist Labour League.

Yet despite this antipathy to us and loyal adherence to the revisionist centre for the last seven years, Peng has been forced, belatedly, to draw conclusions which are similar to the prognostications we made ten years ago.

In a document submitted by him to the 1969 congress of the Unified Secretariat and called 'Return to the Road of Trotskyism', Peng returns to the Algerian experience in order to warn the revisionists of the fatal course they are following. It is a remarkable document and should be read by all revisionists.

In section III ('What we

should learn from the Algerian Events') Peng remarks:

'This coup [Boumedienne's coup of June, 1965] also represented a heavy blow for the Fourth International and its political position, not only because of the direct involvement and participation in the Algerian events on the part of several sections . . . but also because one of the International's leaders, Michel Pablo, participated in Ben Bella's government. As a result, we must accept as much of the responsibility as anybody for the serious setback. For this reason, it is mandatory that we examine this setback and our own responsibility for it, in order to draw certain conclusions and lessons from the Algerian events. It was for the above reason that I asked the Second Congress after reunification [December 1965] to discuss formally the Algerian events. But no formal discussion took place. [Not even hindsight is allowed in the Unified Secretariat!] Again at a meeting of the IEC in February 1968, I proposed the Algerian events be officially placed on the agenda of the coming World Congress and a formal position be taken. At this meeting both comrades Livio Maitan and Sirio Di Giuliomaria objected to the proposal, although the majority at the meeting accepted it.' (Our emphasis.)

Two years have passed and we are still awaiting the publication of such an analysis—although the latest issue of 'Rouge', organ of the French revisionists (No. 41, January 5, 1970), informs us that such a document is in preparation.

Although the coup took place—and Pablo left the revisionist Secretariat—five years ago, the Unified Secretariat is still unable to come up with an explanation for its actions.

In Ceylon there has been no accounting at all—only sweeping diversionary generalizations and half-truths from Mandel.

The cynical way in which these events are handled by your so-called International leadership testify to the contempt and ridicule in which they hold the organizational and political principles on which the Fourth International was founded.

Peng warns his colleagues about the lessons of Algeria:

'The most important lessons should be drawn from the International's mistakes in relation to the Algerian events. One of the most important mistakes was the failure of the International to seriously criticize Ben Bella's government as well as the failure to propose any revolutionary programme for the Algerian masses in order to advance

their struggle. On the contrary, the International and the International leadership in their many articles, gave much praise to the FLN leadership, especially to Ben Bella and even Boumedienne.' (Our emphasis.)

This revealing admission of Peng shows what a scandalous situation obtains in the leadership of the revisionists today.

How can Hansen, Mandel or even Pat Jordan justify 'praise' for a reactionary militarist like Boumedienne? Is this why they hope to delay any discussion on Algeria?

No Marxist analysis of Algeria will be complete without including Peng's cogent warning contained in this document:

'The mistakes committed by the International, as mentioned above, represent an adaptation to a petty-bourgeois leadership. Such an adaptation is not accidental or without precedent.

Of course we know that it is difficult for the revisionists to draw the lessons of Algeria without recognizing the same mistakes in Cuba, Black Power, Vietnam Solidarity Campaign (VSC), Canadian separatism and Bolivia.

But unless this is done, there is no escaping the invariable rule that the Moscosos of today are the Pablos and N. M. Pezaras of tomorrow.

You lyingly accuse us of using 'Stalinist methods'. This is a gross impertinence. You are least qualified to judge our methods since the history of your group from the formation of the Lawrence group in 1954, is a history of political collaboration with the Stalinists in Britain.

Your policy and methods on many questions are no differ-

at the instigation of the Belgian Stalinists, to remove our banner commemorating the tenth anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution.

When this failed there was an attempt by the organizers of the demonstration—also your supporters—to get the police to intervene. Stalinist methods indeed!

At the inaugural conference of the VSC, your group, in particular Pat Jordan, supported Schoenman, the chairman, when he prevented our comrades criticizing the counter-revolutionary role of the Soviet bureaucracy and King Street in relation to Vietnam—even though the Stalinists did not support VSC.

In the subsequent correspondence Tate and Jordan implicitly defended Schoenman and his nauseating defence of the National Socialist — Colin Jordan—when this fascist was up for expulsion from the National Union of Teachers.

Instead of making VSC a part of the revolutionary struggle against capitalism and reformism in Britain, the International Marxist Group deliberately converted it into an all-embracing, single issue, non-exclusionary front whose sole purpose was to act as a liberal safety-valve for the frustration of students and middle-class protesters.

This led the IMG straight into the arms of the Stalinists who were finding great difficulty in keeping their own creation—the Peace in Vietnam Committees—alive.

Thanks to the opportunist policy of the IMG the Stalinists were given a new lease of life with the formation of the Ad Hoc Committee on Vietnam in March, 1968.

The Stalinists who were thoroughly discredited because of their support for a 'negotia-

there is not a single flattering reference to the SLL.

The Stalinists hate us because we are a revolutionary movement; they like the IMG because IMG talks their language even if the dialect is different.

Your correspondent, Purdie, unashamedly defended the Young Communist League (YCL) when it refused to debate Stalinism and Trotskyism with the YS last year. He did so on the grounds that the term Stalinism had lost its 'usefulness'.

But any Marxist knows that Stalinism cannot be compared to a garden-fork or is even a collection of bad memories. Stalinism is the ideology and practice of a counter-revolutionary bureaucracy which exists even after Stalin's death and will continue to do so until it is overthrown by a political revolution of the working class.

As Peng indicates in his document, the degeneration of your movement has been accompanied by continuous adaptation to petty-bourgeois leaderships — primarily the Stalinists.

The most despicable and sinister act in the course of your collaboration with the Stalinists was, undoubtedly, the September 20 Ho Chi Minh Memorial Meeting in London which, interestingly, was sponsored not by the Stalinists, but by VSC and IMG!

This meeting was disrupted because the IS spokesman, Chris Harman, in the course of his speech, alluded to the murder of Vietnamese Trotskyists by Ho Chi Minh.

Indefensible

Whatever we think of IS and Harman we think that he had every right to refer to this side of Ho Chi Minh's career, which is factually correct and

Ceylon, October 24, 1969: Delegates vote for the main resolution at the second conference of the Revolutionary Communist League, the only Trotskyist Party in Ceylon and part of the International Committee for the Fourth International.



ent from the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB). You supported all the lobbies of the Stalinist liaison committees on the Prices and Incomes Act which were designed not to fight Wilson or make the 'left' MPs fight him, but rather to avoid any confrontation with the right wing.

Opposed

For the same reason you opposed all the lobbies organized by the Young Socialists.

At the second Conference of the Oxford Trade Union Liaison Committee in 1967 you tried, unsuccessfully, to gang up with the 'state capitalists' and prevent Trotskyists controlling the Committee.

On Vietnam your record is the same.

In Liège in 1966 the Young Socialists and SLL had a physical confrontation with your supporters because they tried,

fed settlement' in Vietnam, were able to use the VSC as a political stalking horse and cover up their shameful role during the May-June events in France. Despite differences the Stalinists still retain the friendliest feelings for the IMG.

Mrs Betty Reid in her pamphlet on ultra-leftism says, a propos the differences between the CP and IS about multi-issue and single-issue movements:

'Whatever our disagreements with the International Marxist Group they have at least not accepted this line of International Socialism on Vietnam.' (p. 57.)

The British Stalinists know very well who their political friends are and they have not given up hope for the IMG.

Unlike the IMG, we are proud to say that in the whole literature of British Stalinism

politically indefensible.

What your press had to say on this very important issue will stand forever as a monument to the cynicism and prostration of the revisionists.

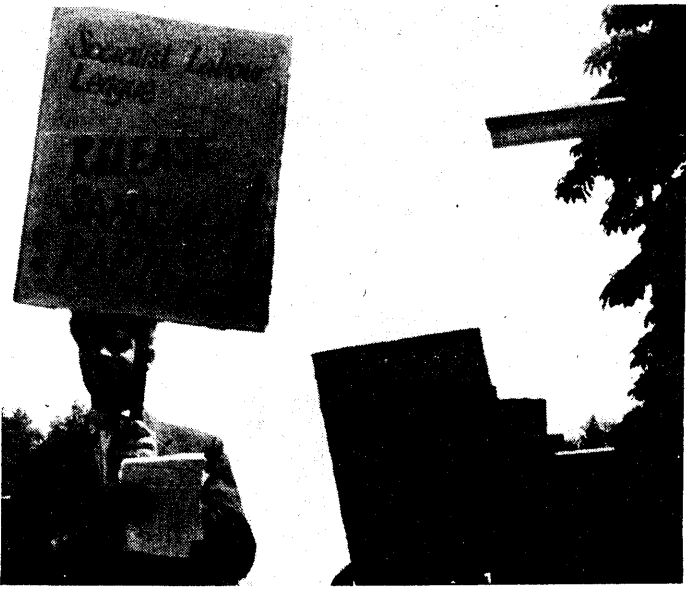
In an article called 'Unity and Vietnam' your anonymous writer stated vis-a-vis Harman and the IS:

'Trouble erupted when Chris Harman, speaker from International Socialism, outraged (!) the audience by asserting that: Ho Chi Minh was responsible in the mid-forties for the murder of hundreds of Trotskyists . . .

'The Speech was provocative [sic] and in complete contradiction with the united front principles (!).

'We ask the IS why they raise the question of the Vietnamese Trotskyists just now . . .

'At the beginning of the solidarity campaign, when the



World Congress. What it has done is to place confidence in the capacity of the leadership of the LSSP to prove responsive to these criticisms. The letter addressed to the LSSP was not intended as some kind of public pillorying or as a challenge to pitch into a factional brawl, as Comrade Anderson appears to believe. The criticisms which it contained were made with complete goodwill by the assembled representatives of the world Trotskyist movement and in full confidence that they would be given thoughtful consideration (!) by the LSSP. The United Secretariat has sought to maintain this loyal and comradely attitude toward the Ceylonese section, while frankly acknowledging that its members tend to sympathize (!) politically with the left wing of the LSSP.' (Our emphasis.)

The Secretariat wooed the right wing (N. M. Perera, de Silva, Goonewardene) with kindness and the left sympathy then went on to delude its supporters with all manner of fanciful prospects for the ULF—the creature of the right wing.

'The same responsible attitude has been taken toward the connection of the LSSP leadership with the United Left Front. In and of itself [sic] the formation of the United Left Front cannot be condemned; under certain [?] conditions it could prove to be the opening of new developments fraught with revolutionary possibilities. What is decisive is the real [?] aims of the LSSP leadership in participating in the United Left Front . . .'

What was decisive was the entry into the ULF and not the aims—real or pretended—of the LSSP leaders. Like the POUM in Spain, the LSSP traded its political independence for a rotten compromise with bourgeois allies.

The Secretariat however continued to disarm its critics with more centrist bromide:

While welcoming per se the creation of the United Left Front, the United Secretariat has consistently made clear its own political views with regard to the perspectives of the Front. . . . However, the United Secretariat feels that it would be wrong for it as a body representing the movement as a whole to brush aside the declarations of the majority of the LSSP leadership and refuse to grant them the time needed to prove in action the sincerity of their stand in relation to the United Left Front and the good faith of their assurances.' (Our emphasis.)

'Time' and 'good faith' was precisely what the LSSP leaders needed. Time, to negotiate with Mrs Bandaranaike behind the backs even of the ULF, and good faith to disarm its critics, reassure its supporters and pave the way for the coalition of 1964.



The rationale of Mandel and Hansen—the architects of this rotten unity—was made explicit in the next section:

'The course implied in Comrade Anderson's motion . . . would be the creation of conditions the precise opposite of those required to consolidate and stabilize the reunification. It would mean first of all to deliberately heat up the atmosphere in the LSSP by injecting the sharpest kind of factionalism; secondly, to exacerbate matters still further by transferring the dispute to the public arena. A divisive policy of this kind would put in jeopardy, if not destroy, fraternal relations between the United Secretariat and the leadership of the LSSP. The end result would be highly injurious to the Fourth International and to the LSSP . . . (Our emphasis.)

It is evident from this statement that Hansen and Mandel were determined to prevent any discussion anywhere for fear that such a process by its very logic would shatter the rotten foundations of Reunification and bring into question all the ideas and methods of the revisionists—and the split from the International Committee.

History, however, proved stronger than Hansen's strait-jacket and within a year all 'fraternal relations' had ceased, 'good faith' dissipated and in its place the 'sharpest kind of factionalism' was prevalent.

Even worse, the dispute was transferred into the 'public arena'.

The LSSP voted by a large majority to join the coalition in the summer of 1964 and with it went, for ever, the largest section of the Secretariat.

The orphan minority which enjoyed the 'sympathy' (and little else) of the Unified Secretariat never recovered from the split and disintegrated in a short time into its various component factions.

It is a fact that the Unified Secretariat has never been able to reconstitute a viable group from the debris of 1964.

Revolutionary

The only revolutionary tendency in Ceylon today is the

Revolutionary Communist League which supports the International Committee of the Fourth International.

While the coalition farce was entering its final act a new drama was being staged in Algeria with Michel Pablo cast in the central role.

Pablo (like Moscoso today) for many years during the Algerian war led to a semi-conspiratorial existence helping the FLN and revising Marxism.



Hugo Blanco

For his activities in helping the FLN he was given a jail sentence in Holland. While supporting the campaign for his release the International Committee warned the revisionists (and Pablo) that the policy of uncritical support to the FLN combined with the refusal to construct a revolutionary party in Algeria would unquestionably strengthen the most reactionary forces of the Algerian bourgeoisie.

So complete was the capitulation of the Pabloites that they even justified the assassination of the trade union militants of the Messaliat group such as Fillali and Bekhaï in 1957-1958.

When de Gaulle terminated the war and handed power to Ben Khedda and the FLN after the Evian talks, the French revisionists came out in the fraudulent plebiscite of de Gaulle and voted 'yes' not only for the Evian treaty, but for an increase in his Bonapartist

THE NEGOTIA WITH PABLO



powers.

They thereby betrayed not only the Algerian people, but the French workers as well.

As the FLN split into two petty-bourgeois factions Pablo supported Ben Bella and soon became economic adviser to Ben Bella when he came to power.

Algeria, after Ben Bella's accession to power, was proclaimed a 'workers' state' by the revisionists and Pablo, on Ben Bella's behalf, stomped Europe with bourgeois liberals to collect tinned milk for the starving Algerian masses who hardly benefited from the meagre reforms of Ben Bella's government.

In 1965 the euphoria came to an end—the reformist government of Ben Bella was overthrown by a military conspiracy led by Boumedienne, and Pablo made his escape to Europe.

What did the Unified Secretariat gain politically from this disastrous excursion into bourgeois nationalism? What conclusions did the Secretariat draw? Was their consciousness advanced or their knowledge of revolutionary struggles deepened?

The answer is a categorical no.

For confirmation we must turn to a veteran revisionist who had first-hand knowledge of this traumatic experience: T. S. Peng, member of the Unified Secretariat.

Peng, in the past, has attacked the International Committee bitterly as 'sectarian', 'ultra-left', etc.

Nobody can accuse Peng of harbouring sympathies or being an under-cover agent of the Socialist Labour League.

Yet despite this antipathy to us and loyal adherence to the revisionist centre for the last seven years, Peng has been forced, belatedly, to draw conclusions which are similar to the prognostications we made ten years ago.

In a document submitted by him to the 1969 congress of the Unified Secretariat and called 'Return to the Road of Trotskyism', Peng returns to the Algerian experience in order to warn the revisionists of the fatal course they are following. It is a remarkable document and should be read by all revisionists.

In section III ('What we

The SLL and YS demanded the release of (left to right) Santen and Raptis (Pablo) in 1961, Hugo Blanco in 1964, Modzelewski and Polish Trotskyists in 1966 and Kenyatta and Ben Bella in 1961.

should learn from the Algerian Events') Peng remarks:

'This coup [Boumedienne's coup of June, 1965] also represented a heavy blow for the Fourth International and its political position, not only because of the direct involvement and participation in the Algerian events on the part of several sections . . . but also because one of the International's leaders, Michel Pablo, participated in Ben Bella's government. As a result, we must accept as much of the responsibility as anybody for the serious setback. For this reason, it is mandatory that we examine this setback and our own responsibility for it, in order to draw certain conclusions and lessons from the Algerian events. It was for the above reason that I asked the Second Congress after reunification [December 1965] to discuss formally the Algerian events. But no formal discussion took place. [Not even hindsight is allowed in the Unified Secretariat!] Again at a meeting of the IEC in February 1968, I proposed the Algerian events be officially placed on the agenda of the coming World Congress and a formal position be taken. At this meeting both comrades Livio Maitan and Sirio Di Giulimaria objected to the proposal, although the majority at the meeting accepted it.' (Our emphasis.)

Two years have passed and we are still awaiting the publication of such an analysis—although the latest issue of 'Rouge', organ of the French revisionists (No. 41, January 5, 1970), informs us that such a document is in preparation.

Although the coup took place—and Pablo left the revisionist Secretariat—five years ago, the Unified Secretariat is still unable to come up with an explanation for its actions.

In Ceylon there has been no accounting at all—only sweeping diversionary generalizations and half-truths from Mandel.

The cynical way in which these events are handled by your so-called International leadership testify to the contempt and ridicule in which they hold the organizational and political principles on which the Fourth International was founded.

Peng warns his colleagues about the lessons of Algeria:

'The most important lessons should be drawn from the International's mistakes in relation to the Algerian events. One of the most important mistakes was the failure of the International to seriously criticize Ben Bella's government as well as the failure to propose any revolutionary programme for the Algerian masses in order to advance



Tin miner militia marches through La Paz to mark anniversary of revolution in 1961. Cesar Lora was murdered in 1965 when army moved in and disarmed miners.

SLL sought to use the VSC platform to attack the CP, the IS spokesman, John Palmer, very ably combatted the SLL's disruptive tactics (1)

'We will not deal with the question of the Vietnamese Trotskyists in this editorial . . . the truth is a lot more complicated than the IS leaders seem to think . . .

'Although the events at the meeting were a blow to the carefully nurtured unity . . . the IMG will spare no effort to build this unity.' (International, November, 1969.)

Your article speaks for itself. It is now an 'outrage' and a 'provocation' to mention the Trotskyist martyrs in Vietnam; it is impermissible to raise this question at public meetings in the presence of Stalinists and, no matter how many Trotskyists are murdered in Vietnam, IMG will never let this impair their 'unity' with Stalinism.

Everything is now very clear. Moreover the VSC was

'correct' to throw the SLL out for criticizing Moscow and King Street.

Your disgusting behaviour at the meeting and your references to the 'truth being more complicated', leads us to the inescapable conclusion that:

(1) You are not concerned about the Stalinist murders, and

(2) that you think that there were extenuating circumstances which, possibly, justified these murders in the same way as you justified the murder of the Algerian militants in 1957.

Our concern is not only to defend the Vietnamese Revolution but—more important—to construct a Trotskyist movement in Vietnam.

Such a task is impossible without the defence of the Trotskyist martyrs who were assassinated in the 1940s by Ho Chi Minh's Stalinist agents.

You do not do this. Instead you turn the VSC into an instrument against Vietnamese Trotskyism by suppressing all

reference to the murder of our comrades and thereby play the Stalinist game.

If you continue along this road you will end up like Pablo's first group in England led by John Lawrence and Hilda Lane—inside the Stalinist Party.

That is the logic of your evolution—or rather, degeneration.

Encouraging

It is encouraging to see that there are people like Peng and Tariq Ali who even at this late hour draw back from a total and irreversible capitulation to Stalinism.

Our record in relation to Stalinism is a record of relentless struggle. Our struggle against revisionism for the last 16 years has been a struggle to defend the Fourth International from being dissolved into the reformist-Stalinist movement and establishing its theoretical and political independence.

That is why we reject your allegation as a foul slander on the integrity of our movement.

The publication of our daily paper—the Workers Press—is a declaration of war on Stalinism and its apologists like yourself.

You protest too much when you complain of our accusations that you collaborated with the right wing in expelling our members from the Labour Party.

The truth is that you did: in South Paddington, Wandsworth and East Willesden.

You did so because you refused to fight the bureaucracy in a principled way, and instead, together with the 'Militant' and state capitalist groups, you tried to form a loyal, if not obsequious, opposition to Gaitskell and Wilson. This contemptible diversion around the journal 'Young Guard', whose main aim was to preserve the facade of a YS within the Labour Party after the majority split from it, was a resounding failure.

Moreover your split with the Grant group in 1964 had nothing to do with the witch-hunt against us and really centred on whether the Labour Party was the best place to work in. What you state is just another falsehood.

Anyone acquainted with your history knows that your movement lacks theoretical continuity and your policy is devoid of clarity.

Both reflect the panic and hysteria of the middle-class leadership caught between the nether stones of the class struggle.

Your leadership alternates between euphoria and despair, between ultra-left intoxication and opportunist prostration. That is probably why you were able to write, in December, 1968, that the time was ripe for the building of a revolutionary party outside the Labour Party 'as an urgent task with huge possibilities' and yet two months later contradict yourself totally by stating that 'There is no perspective for the development of a mass revolutionary party outside of the traditional working class movement'!!! (February, 1969 'International'). What will you say next?

Despite all your pretensions to Marxist orthodoxy and revolutionary organization, the stubborn fact remains that your group continues to go round in ever diminishing circles while your numbers and influence decline and this in a period of unsurpassed working class militancy.

Without the boost from the mass media, which you received in 1968, your group would have faded out altogether.

Why is this? Is it not because you have tried to sub-

stitute subjective impressions and idealist abstractions for scientific socialism and the so-called 'student detonators' for the revolutionary role of the working class?

Or, to put it differently, because you have abandoned the central tenet of Marxism that without the working class and a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement?

As Comrade Black has shown in issues 75, 76, and 77 of the Workers Press you have not only revised the most important tactic of the revolutionary movement, you have also prostituted your ersatz Marxism to suit the squalid requirements of the British middle class.

While your leaders saw little or no prospect of building a revolutionary party in 1969 and were lamenting the passing of the 'era of confrontation' the SLL was able to chalk up some of its most spectacular successes; the most notable success being the publication of the first Trotskyist daily in the world.

None of this was possible without the support of the working class and the development of consciousness through the struggle for theory in the party.

Unlike you, we can look forward to the 1970s with revolutionary optimism and confidence.

In our opinion the sole purpose of your letter is to create a diversion to obscure your political impotence, your crawling before British Stalinism and your failure to construct a viable party, press or youth organization after six years of activity.

The last time you tried this kind of scurvy stunt was when you tried to create an incident outside the 10th anniversary meeting on the Hungarian Revolution.

You even tried, to involve the late Isaac Deutscher to defend your actions, but the labour movement treated your lying appeals with the contempt they deserved.

You learn nothing from your own stupidities.

Now, once again, you try to scare us with your silly little threats and menaces because you are alarmed by the growth and qualitative development of the Socialist Labour League and the International Committee and, conversely, agitated by the isolation and insoluble crisis of the revisionist move-

ment which you represent.

It is an integral part of our history that we have never resorted to Stalinist methods, to lies, innuendo or provocation to secure our political ends.

Our differences with opponent organizations in the working class has never prevented us from defending their members from persecution by the class enemy.

We defended Pablo, Santen and Hugo Blanco when they were imprisoned.

We fought for the legalization of Krivine's and Pierre Frank's group and their release after the May-June events.

We agreed to your representatives marching with us in the demonstration to protest the illegalization of French left-wing organizations in July, 1968.

We also campaigned for the release of the Rosenbergs and the Smith Act victims in the States during the McCarthy era as well as the Stalinists Ambatielos and Grimau, the libertarian Francisco Abarca as well as Kuron and Modzelewski in Poland.

We are completely opposed to the political repression of the left carried out by Ovando's regime and for this reason support the right of Moscoso and his group to full political and civil liberty as well as the amnestying of Regis Debray.

As you can see, we have no 'slanders' to retract.

Since we never suggested meeting your representatives at any time, we do not see the purpose of the gratuitous warning contained in the last line of your letter.

We have taken some time and gone into considerable detail in this reply because we want all those who read this letter to acquaint themselves with the history of the struggle as well as the policies and methods employed by our opponents.

In conclusion we would like to point out that Comrade Lora in his reply to the attack in 'Rouge' has stated his willingness to appear before any tribunal of the working class to prove his charges.

It is up to you to accept or reject his challenge.

M. Banda,
Assistant National
Secretary, SLL.

British section of the
International Committee
of the Fourth Inter-
national.

THE NEW SERIES "DOCUMENTS FROM THE SOVIET OPPOSITION" ORIGINALLY SCHEDULED FOR THIS ISSUE HAS BEEN POSTPONED ONE WEEK SO THAT THIS IMPORTANT STATEMENT COULD BE PUBLISHED

Four Pamphlets on Pabloism's Betrayals

CEYLON, THE GREAT BETRAYAL

by g. healy 25¢

CEYLON, THE LOGIC OF COALITION POLITICS

by m. banda 10¢

BALANCE SHEET OF REVISIONISM

by c. slaughter 25¢

PROBLEMS OF THE FOURTH

INTERNATIONAL by g. healy 40¢

BULLETIN PUBLICATIONS—ROOM 8-243 E. 10 ST.—NYC 10003

GE STRIKE AND LABOR HISTORY

BY FRED MUELLER

When Senator Javits made his proposal that a three-man fact finding panel be set up in the GE strike, the leaders of the United Electrical Workers (UE) were the first to approve. On January 6th, UE President Albert J. Fitzgerald sent a telegram to Javits which included the following:

"While we, as you do, firmly believe that the issue in dispute should be settled between the parties at the bargaining table, there comes a time when an objective review of the facts by a third party can be of help in bringing them into proper focus... In 33 years of collective bargaining with the General Electric Co., only once before, in 1946, did UE reach a similar impasse. At that time the recommendation of a fact-finding board proved to be helpful in bringing about a settlement. We believe it could prove helpful now."

The UE leadership goes out of its way to point to the 1946 strike and there are some very important lessons to be learned from that struggle, though they are not the lessons that Pres. Fitzgerald has in mind.

The great strike of electrical workers in 1946 began almost exactly 24 years ago on January 15. 200,000 workers went out, 100,000 of them at GE, 75,000 at Westinghouse and 25,000 at the electrical division of General Motors. The most important union demand was for a wage increase of \$2 a day.

1946

This strike began in the midst of the tremendous 1945-46 strike wave. When the electrical workers went out, the production workers at GM had already been on strike for almost two months, and 800,000 steel workers joined on January 21.

What was the record of the UE leadership in the great struggles of 1946, since Fitzgerald and the rest of the same officials who led the union then now point to that struggle to reinforce their approval of Javits' call for fact-finding?

First of all, the workers in the electrical division of GM, who were represented by the UE, did not even join their brothers in the UAW when the GM strike began in November, 1945. The UE leaders held back and these workers only joined the rest of the GM strikers on January 15 of the next year.

On January 13, two days before the strike began, the same Fitzgerald who is now congratulating Javits on

Behind Javits 'Fact Finding' Plan

his efforts to settle the GE strike made a statement in which he said a strike could be averted if GE and Westinghouse met the U.S. Steel wage rise offer of 15¢ an hour and if GM met the recommendations of Pres. Truman's fact finding board which had come up with a proposal of 19 1/2 ¢ an hour. Thus even before the strike began the leadership whittled down the demands of the workers by a very large margin and made it clear that it was going to strike only if absolutely forced to.

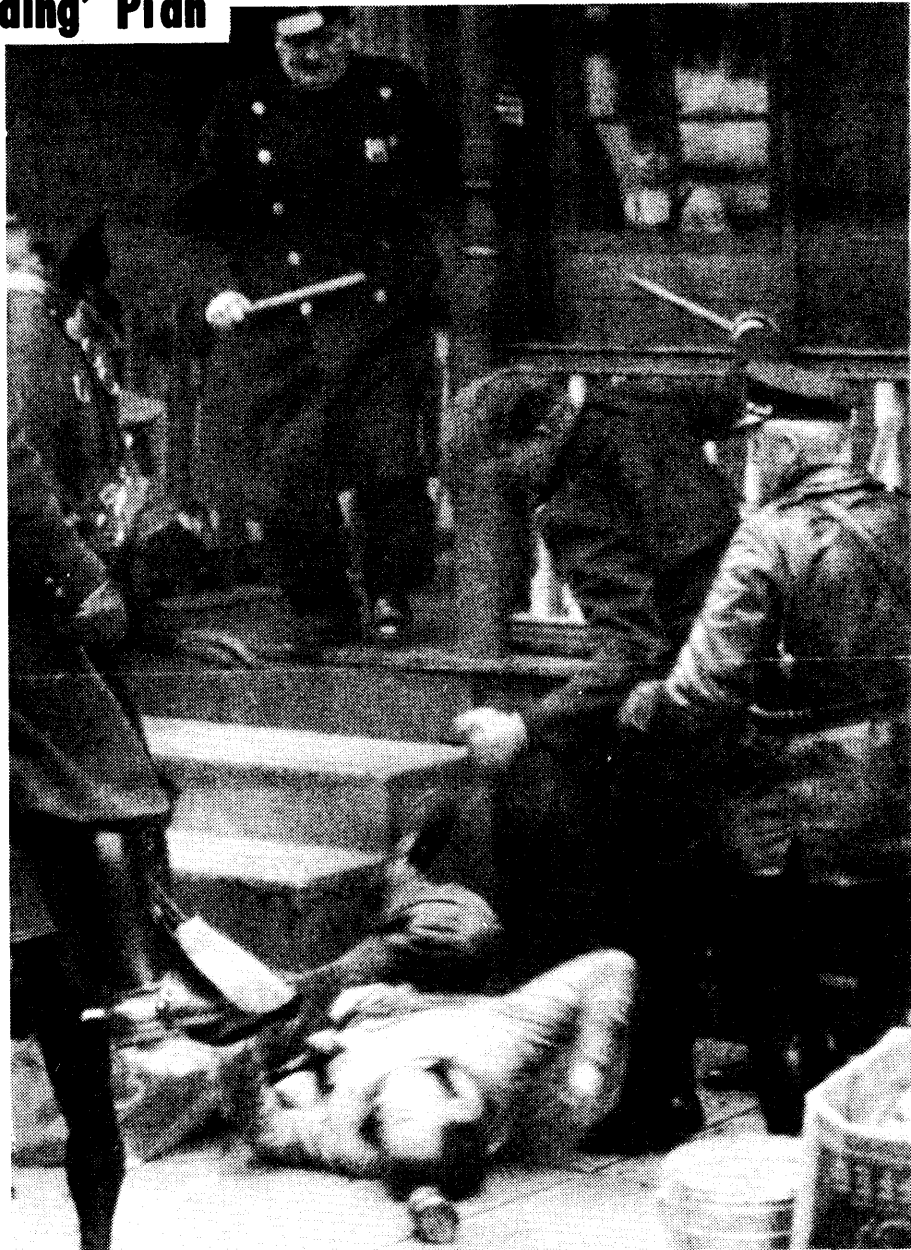
On January 18th, Fitzgerald offered to accept arbitration of the wage dispute. He was clearly afraid of the struggle which had just come up.

SECRET

On February 10th, the UE leaders settled with GM for 18 1/2 ¢ an hour or \$1.48 a day, one cent an hour less than the fact-finding recommendation and one cent less than what the 175,000 GM production workers now said they were holding out for after nearly 3 months on the picket line. The leadership of the auto workers then denounced the UE leadership for making a secret agreement with GM behind the backs of the vast majority of GM workers. This was the result of the fact-finding that Fitzgerald points to today!

The strike at GE, meanwhile, continued for another month, before a settlement was reached on March 14. The UAW settled with GM on the same day for the same increase, 18 1/2 ¢ an hour. Although this represented an important gain won by the workers through a very long and bitter struggle, it was clear that the UAW had been forced to accept the same 18 1/2 ¢ offer which the UE leaders had secretly agreed upon with the GM electrical division in February.

The ranks must be absolutely clear on the lessons of these past struggles. Then as now the call for fact-finding or arbitration or third parties could only weaken the unions. The workers won what they did in 1946 IN SPITE OF fact-finding, not because of it. There is no such thing as an "objective review" by a "third party." The third party is government and there are only two sides in the struggle. The government is a government of the bosses and will always side with the bosses with the chips are down. The only way the workers can win is by waging a class fight which mobilizes the support of the entire labor movement.



PHILADELPHIA POLICE ATTACK PICKET IN 1946 G.E STRIKE

The Communist Party played a big role in these struggles. In 1946 the leadership of the UE was Stalinist-dominated. During the Second World War this leadership had been the biggest defenders of strikebreaking on behalf of the government and the bosses. In following Stalinist policy these leaders subordinated the interests of the working class to the foreign policy needs of the Stalinist bureaucracy. They became more chummy with the bosses than even the old right-wing union bureaucrats. And this same policy was reflected in the foot-dragging of the UE leaders as the postwar strike wave gathered steam.

All the bureaucrats tried to compromise and avoid a struggle, just as they do today. The UE leadership tried harder. But the class conflict was so great that the pres-

sure from the ranks forced strike action, strike action which the leadership then tried to contain and limit in every way it could. Later on the UE was thrown out of the CIO as part of the anti-communist witch-hunt which was launched throughout the labor movement. The UE leadership made the job of the witch-hunters much easier by their whole class collaborationist role which did so much to discredit them in the eyes of militant workers.

FACT-FINDING

The UE continued through the 50s and 60s as a much smaller union and the leadership has sought to maintain what little membership it has left by agreeing to settlements with the bosses which have made the IUE look very good in comparison. Throughout this period the fact-finding precedent set in 1946 was used time and again to erode working conditions and other union gains in GE and elsewhere in the industry.

Though the Communist Party does not have the influence in the UE it once did, the UE leadership continues with the same policies with the full support of the C.P. In the Daily World the Stalinists have nothing but praise for the UE and IUE bureaucrats, nothing but praise for Javits' call for fact-finding and the calls from the union officials for fact-finding or arbitration. Thus the Communist Party, just as in Britain, France, Italy and all over the world, works to strengthen the union bureaucracy and tie the workers to the bosses and the capitalist politicians.

Now the impact of the crisis once again has forced these bureaucrats to mobilize the ranks, and the UE and IUE are collaborating in a united struggle for the first time against the GE bosses. The main lesson for the workers must be that they cannot rely upon these leaders.

imperialists maneuver for nigerian oil

BY OUR FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

Despite all the scare stories and pleadings of the Pope, it is clear that no massacre is following the collapse of Biafra. The imperialists have been frustrated in their attempts to use relief shipments into Biafra to re-gain the influence they lost with the collapse of Biafra.

There can be no question that the United States had its oily finger in the Biafran pie, as well as such open supporters as Portugal, France and South Africa. The Pope has been clearly acting in the interests of the United States for some time now on this question.

Latest evidence of this is the United Press International story by Jon A. Callcott to the effect that Biafran leader Ojukwu was flown out of the country by the "U.S. Intelligence" in a large transport plane together with his closest intimates and his white Mercedes-Benz. Whatever the validity of this story, the U.S. has

been in the forefront of this campaign to use the starvation in Biafra as a way of maintaining Biafra's separateness.

Recent information on oil interests in Nigeria make very clear what was at stake in this war. It is now predicted, with the war over, that Nigeria could produce one million barrels of crude oil a day which would draw her even with Algeria and second only to Libya in African oil-producing countries. The stakes in Nigeria were very high indeed!

OIL

It is of interest that British oil interests, Shell-BP, are confined almost exclusively to the Biafran area, while American oil interests are offshore in the Federal Republic area. Thus if the Biafran rebellion had been successful it would have opened up British holdings to the other imperialists. Britain, for its part, saw to it that Gowan's first military

thrust was aimed to secure the Port Harcourt refinery and Biafran pipeline and installations.

The major U.S. holding is Gulf, with a \$100 million investment in offshore installations. Prior to the war, oil was flowing from Gulf wells at the rate of 30,000 barrels a day while today these wells are producing 200,000 barrels a day. Mobil's \$50 million investment is about to pay off with oil flowing at the rate of 50,000 barrels a day in March.

The war temporarily disrupted British oil production but the death of a reported two million people did not lead to the loss of a quart of oil to U.S. interests. Which ever way the war went the United States gained. The Federal Republic victory means Gulf and Mobil production rolls merrily along. A successful Biafran succession would have opened up British-controlled oil interests in Biafra to the United States, France, and Portugal.



HELMUT BERGER
IN
"THE DAMNED"

BY MARK ROSENZWEIG

Finding the subject of Nazi Germany a veritable reservoir of the sort of cinematic sex and violence that is a prerequisite today for a successful screenplay, Luchino Visconti's "The Damned" is a film so intoxicated with the historically documented depravity of its subject that all the impact of historical reality is completely lost in lurid sensationalism. The film clarifies nothing; Visconti proceeds as if history exists primarily to justify his own aesthetic, his own

moral preoccupations.

The film is concerned with a family of powerful capitalists in Germany at the time of the rise of Hitler. This family is supposed to represent some sort of microcosm of German society. Visconti, subjugating, in this manner, the historical to the psychological, has accomplished the dubious aesthetic feat of reducing the actual horror and tragedy of the Third Reich to a mere myth. For him Nazism is a study in social pathology, fundamentally reducible to individual patho-

'The Damned' Hides Reality of Nazism



logy. The aberrant and inhuman behavior of his characters is supposed to be "symbolic" of the sickness of pre-Nazi Germany. However, in the symbolic transformation of reality we see only an attempt to obscure, rather than clarify, the meaning of the rise of fascism.

The conflicts in the film are false conflicts, psychological conflicts. The class struggle never enters into it. As a matter of fact, the working class is completely absent. "The Damned" makes it seem as if fascism was precipitated by a mythological disagreement between good, peaceful capitalists and the bad, imperialist capitalists. When art distorts reality, when it distorts history for its own ends, as Visconti does in this film, it becomes clear how closely aesthetics and artistic techniques are tied to class interests.

In fact it is not at all insignificant to note Visconti's collaboration in the past with the Stalinists. It is easy to see how in the Stalinist milieu the blurring of the class nature of fascism developed. This political confusion when coupled with artistic idealism produces a strange irrationalism. On the one hand Visconti's use of symbolism exhibits in its falseness his methodological inability to effectively use the cinematic techniques he has mastered in the service of truth. On the other hand, his incapability of approaching the complexity of history with any artistic method capable of revealing the actual interaction of forces can be traced to his political development in association with the Stalinists. Visconti

reduces the rise of German fascism to just so much perversity.

Fascism arose in Germany in a period of deep crisis when the capitalist class could no longer control the working class with the means of bourgeois democracy. Fascism came to power because of the betrayals of the leaders of the German working class, the Social Democracy and the Communist Party. It was the Stalinists who played the key role in preparing the defeat of the working class. It is this central lesson that Visconti conceals.

IRRATIONALITY

One thing the film does succeed in doing is exposing us to certain dramatic manifestations of the internal contradictions of the Nazi regime. But it characteristically leaves us to assume that the unstable nature of the Nazi state was the result of some blindly evil principle, inherently self-annihilating. It seems as if Visconti has allowed his dramatic form to shape his material. The stamp of his own irrationality is all too obvious, the question of fascism all too real.

Nothing could be more dangerous today when fascism is raising its head than the conceptions that Visconti puts forward in this film. "The Damned" obscures the class basis of fascism. It perpetuates the mysticism and idealism upon which fascism bases its appeal. It is this outlook that serves to paralyze the working class and prevent its mobilization for state power--the only alternative to fascism.

Hospital Workers Fight to End Job Freeze, Speedup

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK-- The growing crisis in the hospitals was sharply reflected at the January General Delegates Assembly of Local 1199. The way this meeting was run by the 1199 officials indicates their fear of any discussion of the issues facing hospital workers, and the extent to which they will go to suppress discussion.

1199 President Davis did not call for a discussion of the job freeze on the agenda he brought to the meeting, even though this freeze and the resulting attack on working conditions is already directly hitting thousands of workers. Then he refused to allow a delegate to make a motion that this item be put on the agenda, and then to be certain that absolutely no discussion took place he refused to allow the delegates to vote on acceptance of their own agenda!

On top of this, the motion unanimously passed at the last Guild Delegates Assembly calling for 1199 to initiate a union-sponsored demonstration in defense of the Panthers was also not brought up. Davis refused to allow a delegate to move that the resolution be brought before the meeting. He implied that this motion would be brought before next month's SEPARATE division assemblies. In this way the officials can play one section of the union off against another.

SUPPRESS

The leadership suppresses discussion and the democratic rights of the union members because it knows that a discussion of these issues

means a struggle-- a struggle which requires the mobilization of the ranks and a break with the hospital bosses and their representatives in City Hall. The 1199 bureaucrats fear this struggle.

The problems facing hospital workers exist whether Davis and Company choose to see them or not. The bosses have taken every advantage of the leadership's inaction by stepping up harassment while the job freeze makes it very difficult for workers to transfer to jobs at other hospitals. Workers are quitting their jobs under the pressure.

SPEED UP

The time studies introduced at Beth Israel and Bronx Lebanon Hospitals in order to speed up the workers will no doubt soon be extended to others. Layoffs are on the way unless a fight back is launched immediately. In addition to everything else, a commission has now been proposed by Theodore Kheel, which would have the power to delay hospital strikes and then submit issues to arbitration. The bosses have been preparing for the contract fight in July. This is the meaning of the time studies, the job freeze, the talk of new no-strike schemes. The only way the workers can prepare is by fighting NOW against the job freeze and the time studies and by connecting this fight to the contract demands.

Within the union only the Rank and File Committee has been urging this kind of struggle. In a leaflet distributed at the hospitals and at the January Delegates meeting this committee called for the launching of a

fight against the job freeze and the time studies through noon hour demonstrations at the hospitals. An opposition to the bureaucracy based on

a program of all out struggle against the job freeze and the time studies and for the just contract demands of the hospital workers must be built.

crisis grips sds at wisconsin

BY STEPHEN DIAMOND

MADISON, WISC.-- The University of Wisconsin over the last several weeks has been the scene of a number of fire-bombings of military-related buildings. At the last meeting of SDS these bombings were debated at length, with most members supporting them uncritically. Another section of SDS, while expressing their sympathy with the bombers, opposed them on tactical grounds, comparing them to the Russian terrorist Narodniks in the 19th century. What the bombings really represented eluded them all, and the formal analogy to the Russian terrorists prevented a political response. The Narodniks reflected, it is true, the separation of middle class radicals from the working class. But this separation stemmed from the immaturity of the Russian proletariat, the retarded development of Russian capitalism. The sabotage which has seized Madison is a product of the over-development of American capitalism, and not simply the separation from the working class but the hostility and fear of the middle class toward the working class.

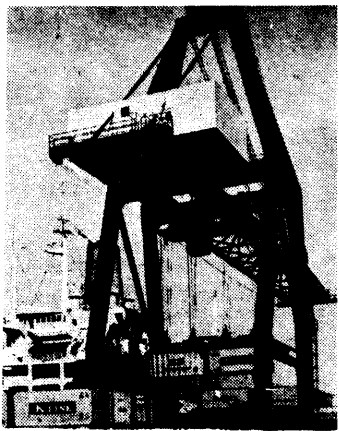
It is no coincidence that at the same meeting a large section of SDS came out openly against the GE strike, on the grounds that work-

ers are racist. In an advanced capitalist society a movement which does not base itself on the working class can only gravitate toward fascism. This class-significance of the bombings was missed by the dwindling "pro-working class" forces in SDS. These elements could only respond to the attack on the GE workers by urging the necessity of student support of workers' struggles to get the workers to support students.

By basing themselves on student struggles these fake allies of the working class are contributing to the middle class frenzy which is driving SDS sharply to the right. Their position that the struggles of the working class, the only force capable of smashing capitalism, must be diverted into middle class channels, is only one step away from the position that the workers must be opposed by self-appointed middle class "revolutionaries."

The crisis gripping SDS here and elsewhere is part of the crisis of the American middle class. Only the program of the Workers League which bases itself on the class struggle of the working class and the subordination of the middle class to the working class, can prevent the imminent degeneration of middle class radicalism into open fascism.

CRISIS IN MARITIME



PART FOUR

BY DAN FRIED

The "container revolution" began in the United States in the mid-fifties. Containerization remained in the experimental stage on both the East and West coasts during the first few years. By 1960 containerization had definitely established a foothold in the U.S. In the last few years, the container "revolution" has exploded with full fury throughout the world, affecting all transportation workers in every country and port.

It is hardly possible to exaggerate the effect on dock workers of containerized sea and air cargo handling and the related automated techniques now being developed with astonishing rapidity. First and foremost, of course, is the catastrophic elimination of jobs. The house organ of the U.S. chemical trust, "Chemical and Engineering News," put it most baldly in a recent issue: "Intermodal (integrated land-sea-air) transportation of containerized cargo could reduce by 90% the number of dock workers that handle cargo." The authors go on to describe a demonstration in 1957 of the infant containerization process by the Sea-Land Corporation, which pioneered in the development of containerization: "A little over 11 years ago a longshoreman stood...at dockside in Newark watching a new automatic method of handling cargo...Midway through the demonstration, sponsored by Sea-Land, the longshoreman turned to a friend and murmured, 'the best thing we can do is sink the thing where she sits right now.' " It is a long haul, as we shall see, from this first response of an American dockworker, to today's statements by Brooklyn ILA leader, Anthony Scotto, who says, in effect, that containerization is here to stay, so we may as well do what we can to get a "piece of the action."

EXPLOSION

In 1968 only 12% of the dry cargo entering and leaving the port of New York was containerized. The fact is that the real explosion of containerization is still in the future, and this means that the biggest struggles of U.S. longshoremen are still to come. It is estimated that up to 85% of New York's general cargo will be containerized by 1975. The basis of the new surge forward of containerization is the development of new fleets of specialized container ships, roll-on roll-off and related ships (such as the LASH ship) now being planned and produced by almost all of the advanced nations. (See "Crisis in Maritime, Pt II, Bulletin, Dec. 22, 1969 and Jan 5, 1970). Nine new containerships will replace an existing 80.

These new ships are designed to carry 1150 20ft containers and, according to a recent study by the ILO (International Labor Office) will carry "about 20,000 tons of cargo...discharging and loading it at the rate of about 1,000 tons an hour, the operations being carried on simultan-

ously." It is now possible that a mere 5 of these new vessels can handle the entire British-North American trade with only one terminal at each end! The production of these new container ships has been proceeding with haste. In September 1968 there were 50 container ships in operation, and before 1970 is out there will be more than 300 operating throughout the world.

A phenomenal capital investment has already been made, not only in ships and containers but just as important in automated cranes and loading devices, in specialized container berths and new terminals. Yet there are plans by the shipowners in collaboration with local "port authorities" for much, much more. Between 1946 and 1970 some 3 1/2 billion dollars has been spent on U.S. port development projects, with New York having spent the largest proportion. Plans are underway for an additional Port of New York Authority investment of 175 million dollars for new container berths in New Jersey, Staten Island and Brooklyn.

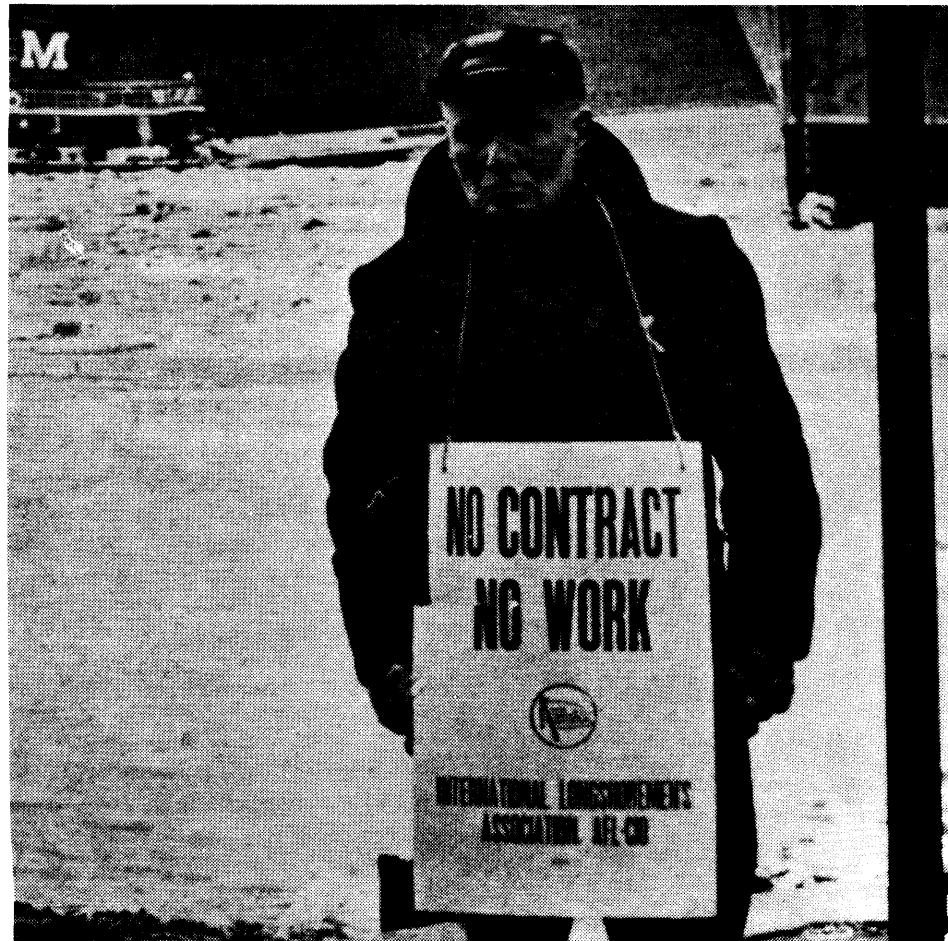
Behind these tremendous investments is the inescapable drive by the owners of the transportation industry

tional cartels and conglomerates but also between ports and as in the case of New York, within ports. These transportation combines, such as Sea-Land and Sea-Train who got in on the ground floor at the Elizabeth-Port Newark container-ship terminal (the world's first) which was completed in 1962, got a jump on the other East Coast ports and especially on other sections of the New York port. By Oct. 1968, 11 container-ship berths had been completed with plans for another 20 more by 1975 in the Elizabeth-Newark area.

BROOKLYN

But now the race is on to "catch up" with Newark-Elizabeth. In Brooklyn plans are going ahead for the construction of a new container terminal on the site of the old piers which are being demolished from 33rd to 39th Street in Brooklyn, which is due for completion in 1972. Along with the demolition of these piers, there has been a slowdown on other Brooklyn piers and the closure of the old Bush Terminal. Thousands of jobs have already been eliminated on the Brooklyn docks, not to speak of thousands more which will go

containerization shakes u.s. ports



and the bankers who control the "port authorities" to raise profits by increasing the productivity of labor. As the ILO report puts it, "shipping companies, land transport agencies and others are convinced that the investment will pay off." It is estimated that in New York, containerized loading costs have been reduced from \$22 to \$6 a ton and terminal costs from \$12 to less than \$1 per ton. Containerization means that the turn-around time of a container ship is only one tenth that of a conventional ship. With the modern methods it only takes about 2 1/2 minutes to load or unload a twenty five ton container. This means that the employers' labor costs are cut way down since the output with containerized cargo averages 600 freight tons per man-week as compared with only 25 tons per man-week with conventional cargo handling.

Because of the tremendous savings obtained from this investment fierce competition has developed not only between different nations, interna-

with the completion of the new container terminals in Brooklyn, Staten Island and New Jersey. The 33rd-39th St. terminal by itself will provide berths for nine 10-12,000 ton container ships or 7 super-sized "roll-on roll-off" ships which can all dock at once.

To make matters worse, the new facilities planned for Brooklyn come at a time when a portwide shipping slump is beginning to hit New York. Brooklyn has been very hard hit by this slump which is the result not only of increased use of containers on conventional ships and competition from the New Jersey facilities and new containerized air transport, but also of the international economic recession now developing.

While the port of Brooklyn is faltering, the Manhattan piers are staggering into the oblivion of obsolescence, which is heightened by the recent layoffs of the United States and other luxury liners. The story of the Manhattan docks can be told by the announcement in May

1969 that the United States Lines was closing down piers 59-62 in Manhattan's Chelsea area, throwing 1400 longshoremen out of work and that the company's operations at pier 76 were also slated to be shut down. The United States Lines was reportedly seeking to transfer operations to one or another container terminal under construction at Staten Island, Fort Elizabeth or Point Breeze in Jersey City. The company blamed the union for the move, saying: "The insistence of the ILA local that each pier be considered a terminal did not permit the interchangeability of the work force on the piers and thereby raised operating costs."

The complete hypocrisy and cynicism of the millionaire owners of U.S. Lines was revealed in an article in the New York Times of May 1, 1969 which recalled that two years before a Vice President of U.S. Lines, Mr. Francis Grant, had sworn that the company "was not abandoning the Hudson River." The piers were described as "a mark of the company's faith in the Chelsea piers and the men who work them." The Times article concluded with the terse statement that "Mr. Grant has retired." We might only add that he has most likely retired to a life of ease and luxury while the most a longshoreman thrown off the job could hope for under the "early retirement" provisions of the contract is a maximum of \$300 per month after 20 years of service IF he is 55 years of age.

RACE

The mad race for each port or section to get ahead of the others in the construction of container terminals has also led to port modernization plans in many cities. Competition is raging for the capture of the position of the leading container-port for the different routes on the East Coast. In the South, the battle rages between Jacksonville, Charleston and Savannah. For the mid-Atlantic route, the New York and Hampton Roads are in the lead against Baltimore and Philadelphia, while in the North Halifax, Nova Scotia has the edge.

The outcome of this competition is the wholesale elimination of jobs and the destruction of entire ports. The ILO report sums up the outcome of the competitive struggle: "As there is at the outset no certainty as to which ports will be most used for this traffic, every port seeks to be in a position to handle a major share of the traffic going to its region. There is therefore a serious risk of over-investment, with the result that the yield on investment may be in some cases much below that which was planned for, and it is by no means impossible that some concerns, whether public or private, will find themselves operating at a loss." What a striking confirmation we see here of Karl Marx's analysis of capitalism more than one hundred years ago in which he pointed out that the unplanned anarchy of capitalist production leads to an over-development of the productive forces, a general lowering of the rate of profit and the resulting destruction of jobs.

With the container war proceeding at its present rate under capitalist ownership in the ports and on the high seas and with the increasing competition of air transport, there is only one way out for the dock worker, the seaman, the airline worker, the teamster and all transport workers--that is to launch a united struggle for expropriation of the transportation magnates in order to bring every aspect of working conditions and containerization under the control of and for the benefit of the workers.

British workers fight viet war

BY PAT CONNOLLY

British workers are showing the way forward in the fight against the Vietnam war. A massive campaign is now in full gear to bring the British working class into action against the imperialist war in Vietnam. The Socialist Labour League, the Young Socialists and the All Trades Unions Alliance have begun this fight in the trade unions against Wilson's visit to the United States, scheduled for the end of January.

The campaign ties the support of the Labor government for the war in Vietnam to its attacks on the British working class. Wilson and the Labor bureaucracy attack the working class through wage freezing, increasingly high unemployment, productivity deals, and anti-union laws, in order to repay loans to the U.S. through the International Monetary Fund. At the same time Wilson demonstrates the active and full support of the capitalist class for American imperialism by visiting Nixon now in support of the Vietnam war.

DEMONSTRATION

The fight against Wilson's visit started with a petition campaign carried out by the Young Socialists in the factories, trade union branches,

and shop stewards committees, as well as among youth and students. Motions were passed in the trade unions and shop stewards committees supporting the huge demonstration called for January 11th in London against Wilson's visit.

After collecting thousands of signatures, including those of trade union militants, and leading Communist Party members, who defied the C.F. leadership by supporting the SLL campaign, a large demonstration of 1,500 trade unionists and youth was held in London, demanding that the visit be stopped.

The campaign against Wilson's visit is being carried into every section of the trade union and labor movement, joining the fight against the Vietnam war to the fight against the Labor government, and the necessity for the working class to take the power.

As SLL National Secretary Gerry Healy put it at the packed meeting following the demonstration, "We must take Vietnam from the streets into the factories!...We must talk Vietnam the same as we talk wages and prices."

Between now and Wilson's proposed visit to Nixon at the end of January,



YOUTH AND UNIONISTS ATTEND MEETING AFTER JAN. 11th MARCH

the SLL, YS and ATUA will fight in the factories and unions for mass meetings and strike action against the visit, and against the Labor government's support for American imperialism.

INTERNATIONALISM

This is a major step in the fight for socialist internationalism, the fight for the working class to understand that its struggles are inseparable from the struggles of the Vietnamese workers and peasants. The fight to mobilize the working class politically against the Vietnam

war on a class program for action is the fight to build the revolutionary party, to prepare the working class to take power.

For the revisionists who have seen their protest movement disintegrate, who are unable now to mobilize anyone for a protest march, the lesson is clear. Only working class action internationally can stop the war. The protest movement of the middle class is being swept aside by the massive offensive of the working class internationally, in Italy, France, England and America, as well as in Vietnam.

A DETROIT AUTO WORKER SPEAKS OUT

(The following is an interview by a Bulletin reporter with a member of the UAW in Detroit.)

Q. How was the last wage package received?

A. With disinterest because the last two wage packages didn't show up on the checks.

Q. What do you expect from this one?

A. As for wages--not much different because wages are a pattern. Taxes have gone up and we feel that it will be absorbed before we get it. The last 10¢ that we received wasn't even realized by the workers.

Q. How did the last contract affect the attitude of the workers toward Reuther and the union?

A. They feel that Reuther is not negotiating for what they wanted.

Q. What did they want?

A. A short work week and early retirement age!

Q. What about conditions in the

factory, both safety and assembly line speed?

A. The contract has given nothing new on working conditions. They are constantly demanding more and more work out of individuals. The union contract is of no help so in each department the workers work together to hold down production, by various forms.

Q. How is speed-up affecting the management?

A. In our place they're falling apart. In our place this last week three had heart attacks. And one was a young man in his twenties. Many have left and gone into other white collar jobs.

Q. What is the attitude toward Flint?

A. Many have worked in Flint and they feel the strength is with the workers and that they should stay out because that's the way they have always solved their problems there. The old history of the union is with the new workers there.

Q. What's the attitude toward Vietnam? Is it changing? How fast? What about taxes and the war?

A. On Vietnam, it is a war of lives and money and we should get out. That is the general feeling. It's playing politics. On taxes, our pay increases mean nothing because of taxes. Our increase is taxed away before we get it.

Q. How does auto see other wage gains by the skilled trades?

A. They're always glad to see other workers get increases.

Q. What about union democracy?

A. There is none. The very fact that people don't go to union meetings. They hardly get a forum at the meetings. There is no feeling of belonging.

Q. Do workers see serious unemployment?

A. Definitely. We have been notified in the papers that there will be shut downs, shut outs. We had a layoff Friday. Most of the young ones that get laid off never come back because they have no benefits from the contract.

Q. What's the attitude of the young workers?

A. You say new workers. They keep so few. They're in and out. A lot of new workers have worked for other corporations. They go from one plant to another.

Q. What about Wallace? Friend or foe of labor?

A. There is very little discussion on Wallace, I don't think he has gotten much attention from here.

Q. Are there any changes in the attitude of the workers toward the race question?

A. I think there definitely has been. Many of the Negroes and whites have integrated socially and you just don't hear the remarks anymore.

Q. Do the workers believe as strongly that the Democratic party is in their interest? Or that they can get what they want through the party?

A. I don't think so because the number of people that vote has been cut down and our own political action committee has been unable to get financial contributions. They sold Democratic buttons for a dollar and few were bought.

Q. In the 40's there was a call for a labor party. Do you see the seeds of one being formed in the consciousness of the workers?

A. No, I never hear any discussion toward a labor party or need for it.

Q. Do you think the union has

weakened or become stronger?

A. The need for the union is strong and the solidarity of the workers proves that point.

Q. What is ahead in the 70's?

A. A rough year of struggles beginning with the negotiating of a new contract and a recession..Everyone feels that there will be a recession. There is constant talk. Out of these struggles often comes new leadership.

Bulletin Fund Goal Raised to \$ 12,000

The Weekly Bulletin Fund has now passed the \$10,000 mark. We received another \$726.33 since our last report for a total of \$10,194.09. Our original goal of \$10,000 has been surpassed but that is not good enough. Previously we said it was absolutely necessary to go over the goal by \$1,000 by the deadline of Jan. 31st. We were far too modest. We have now decide to shoot for a goal of \$12,000!

This decision was made because we need every penny of this money to produce the kind of paper that can lead the struggles of the working class. We have been greatly encouraged by the increases in pledges from Workers League members and friends. There are new forces among workers and youth moving toward the Workers League as the class struggle deepens internationally. We are convinced we can make the \$12,000 goal BUT IT IS GOING TO REQUIRE A REAL STRUGGLE.

All our readers can play a critical role in this. We ask each and every reader to contribute something, no matter how small to the Bulletin Fund and help us carry forward the fight for socialism! Send in your contribution today to Bulletin, 243 East 10th St., New York, N.Y. 10003.

Workers League

CALIFORNIA: San Francisco: 1333A Stevenson St. Phone: 626-7019

CONNECTICUT: P.O. Box 162 Shelton, Conn. 06484

ILLINOIS: Chicago: Box 6044, Main P.O. Michigan: Detroit: P.O. Box 1057, Southfield, Mich. 48075

Oakland University: Phone: 377-2000, Ext. 3034

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis: P.O. Box 14002 Univ. St. Phone: 336-4700

MISSOURI: St. Louis: Phone: 863-7951

NEW YORK: Brooklyn: Phone: 624-7179 Manhattan: Rm. 8, 243 E. 10 St. NYC. Phone: 254-7120

Columbia: Phone: 866-6334

Cornell: Ed Smith, Rm. 1305, Class of 1917 Hall. Phone: 266-1377

Stony Brook: Phone: 246-5493

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: G.P.O. Box 7714

State College: 718 W. College Ave. Phone: 237-0739

CANADA: Toronto: P.O. Box 5758, Postal Station A

Montreal: Phone: 925-5373