

# Bulletin

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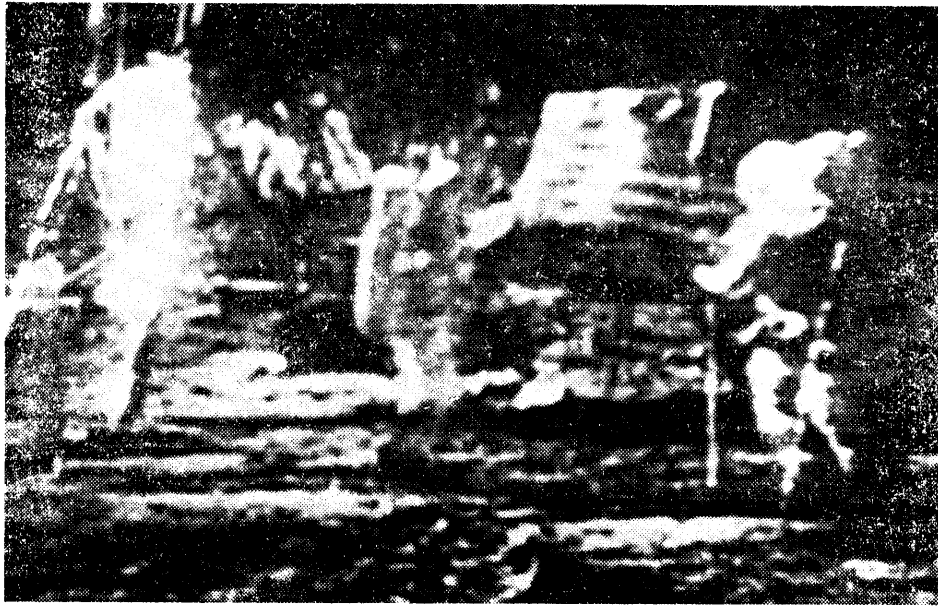
TEN CENTS

inside:

**PANTHERS  
UNITE FOR  
REFORMISM**

AUG 18 1969

## MOON OVER VIETNAM



The trip to the moon proves, not the viability of capitalism but quite the opposite, its completely reactionary character. The trip to the moon shows that man can technically do anything he wishes. But because of the capitalist system millions in America live in poverty and billions of people throughout the world live in poverty.

Nixon declares a holiday in the United States but the killing of the Vietnamese workers and peasants is not interrupted for one hour. Tremendous wealth, coordination and planning place men on the moon while the two small republics of Honduras and El Salvador fight it out to divert their impoverished masses from the real issue of capitalist rule in their countries.

The United States can place a man on the moon but can that same system provide full employment and at the same time keep prices down? Planning takes a man to the moon but inflation must be fought by perpetrating unemployment and misery.

Rational thought placed a man on the moon but his trip was used to perpetuate irrationality. Pope Paul peers through a telescope in the Vatican, fearful, we suspect, that his domain was being invaded by rational man. Mrs. Eisenhower informs the spacemen that "someone up there" is watching over them. One of the astronauts smuggles a piece of communion cracker to munch on in space. So fearful they all are that man's rational achievements will destroy mythology in the minds of millions of men.

On to the virgin crust of the moon an American flag must be raised. As there is no atmosphere on the moon the flag must be wired so it appears to be flying. A trip beyond the earth itself is utilized to perpetuate outworn national divisions on the earth. Where would we be today with a truly international space program based on a worldwide planned economy -- Mars, Venus, other galaxies? And more important, what kind of world would the astronauts return to--the world of Vietnam or to a world of real progress, peace and plenty?

The great rocket which sent man to the moon, the satellite which circles the moon, the landing vehicle which took man on the last 60 miles of the trip, the tremendous technical facilities back on earth which designed and guided the project--these were not the products of a nation as a nation and certainly not of those who realized millions of dollars of profit from man's quest of scientific advancement.

The rocket, like everything else of worth, is the

product of the labor of human beings. It is the working people who built that great rocket -- not Richard Nixon who probably doesn't even know how to replace a light bulb. This achievement is our achievement--the achievement of working people all over the world.

Now that we can see so clearly what we can do, we must be all the more determined to take this great productive plant out of the hands of the profiteers and place it into the hands of the working people of this world and utilize it to abolish poverty everywhere and for the development of a socialist society so that man can not only leave this world for other galaxies but return to a world worth living in.



## revisionists in crisis

• 8 PAGE SUPPLEMENT •

An analysis of the documents of the international conference of the so-called 'United Secretariat of the Fourth International'

# delury embraces his boss lindsay

BY DAN FRIED

NEW YORK--John DeLury, President of the New York City Uniformed Sanitationmen's Association, has come out in support of Mayor Lindsay's re-election. DeLury stated that Lindsay "had a good chance" of winning the union's endorsement and personally described Lindsay as "the only Mayor that recognized the true value of the Sanitation Department."

What gall, Mr. DeLury! Either DeLury is a complete idiot or else he has the nerve to believe that the rank and file sanitationmen have forgotten that John Lindsay is the Mayor who threatened to bring in the National Guard to smash the sanitationmen's strike in February, 1968. Lindsay's plan to smash the sanitationmen as part of his war against labor in New York was thrown back only because of the militancy of the ranks

and the counter-threat of a general strike by the New York Central Labor Council.

RUIN

After the strike DeLury in fact charged that Lindsay "had brought the Sanitation Department to the brink of ruin". Today, as if by magic, Lindsay has become the greatest friend of the sanitationmen ever had! DeLury explains this miracle by explaining that the Mayor "has a great capacity for learning". But we would like to ask Mr. DeLury a simple question: What has Lindsay DONE to change him from the greatest enemy to the greatest friend of the sanitationmen?

DeLury can't answer this question honestly because Lindsay had done absolutely nothing for the sanitationmen. The abominable conditions that even DeLury had to complain about last year not only remain, but have gotten worse:

understaffing, speed-up, innumerable safety hazards from broken and defective equipment, the deplorable state of locker rooms, lunch areas and toilet facilities, etc.

STINKS

Perhaps worst of all is the rapid wiping out of the wage gain of last year due to the rise in the cost of living in New York at the recent rate of almost 10%. Ironically, it was none other than DeLury who two months ago said his union "may" have to demand a cost of living adjustment this fall because the last year's wage gains would be wiped out by November. DeLury said at that time that his union "will ask all other unions to join with us" if the demand on the wage re-opener was made. Suddenly DeLury is silent on this demand. But he can make plenty of noise whooping it up for Lindsay.

All we can say is, something stinks to high heaven of a political deal and it's not a very sweet smell. If DeLury believes that a soft-peddling of the wage re-opener and holding hands with Lindsay his union will get some favors or "patronage" he is either a fool or a liar. Like the other bureaucrats who support Lindsay he is only paving the way for stronger anti-labor measures and the continued deterioration of working conditions and services for New York workers at the hands of union-buster Lindsay. Perhaps DeLury has forgotten but the ranks of his union will remember that it was Lindsay that threw DeLury behind the bars of the civil jail during the strike. That is the kind of treatment the sanitationmen and other unionists who have fought for their rights have received from Lindsay

and his "friend of labor" predecessor, Wagner.

Now DeLury is asking for more of the same so that the sanitationmen fall even further behind under the heel of inflation and deteriorating conditions. But the sanitationmen don't forgive and forget as easily as does Mr. DeLury. This is one question there is going to be a fight on. The ranks are not going to just sit by as Lindsay is shoved down their throats by DeLury and they are expected to jump on the Lindsay bandwagon and ring doorbells for his honor. We say that the sanitationmen had better start fighting DeLury's proposal to endorse Lindsay right now. This is the ONLY chance they have of getting the cost of living wage adjustment.

LYNCHED

DeLury has quite a record of talking tough and militant and then doing an about face in order to sell out his membership in practice. He tried to settle with Lindsay for a miserable 15 cent an hour increase which he hoped to force on the membership through a mail ballot. But when he proposed this "settlement" at a mass meeting at City Hall, he was roundly booed, pelted with eggs and nearly lynched by the 7,000 irate sanitationmen at the meeting.

So, DeLury had to tell Lindsay that the deal was off and the strike was on. Later, after the nine day strike had paralyzed the City and Lindsay had backed down on bringing in the National Guard, victory was in the hands of the union. But DeLury folded up and agreed to end the strike, accepting a binding settlement under compulsory arbitration. The result was that the union settled for wage gains of approximately \$420 per year instead of the \$600 they had demanded and could have won.

WOOL

Once again the situation is clear for the ranks of the sanitationmen's union. They can't afford to let DeLury pull the wool over their eyes. The only way to fight Lindsay and City Hall is to say NO to DeLury's proposal to endorse Lindsay. It is time to say NO to Lindsay, Procaccino, Marchi and the whole rotten gang of Democratic and Republican politicians who run this city and country for the bosses and against the workers.

We propose that the members of the Sanitationmen's Union demand that DeLury withdraw his support to Lindsay and that the union instead come out in favor of the organization of an independent labor party. We propose that the ranks of the union demand that DeLury and the other officers of the union begin the fight for the wage re-opener right now preparing to bring this demand into a mass demonstration on Labor Day which will unite the ranks of City labor around demands for a wage re-opener and against the budget cuts and the Taylor Law.

## Disunity Hurts East Coast Trailways Strike



BUS DRIVERS ON STRIKE AGAINST TRAILWAYS PICKETTING AT PORT AUTHORITY BUS TERMINAL

BY TOM GORDON

On April 1, drivers for the Trailways bus system in New York, Philadelphia, and Washington, D.C. who are members of local T1023 of the United Transportation Union struck for improved vacation pay, hospitalization benefits, sick pay, paid holidays, and more union control over job conditions. On June 25, at the expiration of their contract, local 1112 of the Amalgamated Transit Union, representing ticket agents, baggage handlers, and other terminal personnel, struck Trailways at the same locations for basically the same demands. Both locals are now trying to rally other support and to cooperate with each other in bargaining with Trailways.

DISCIPLINE

Workers for Trailways face prison-camp discipline, generally low wages, and benefits lower than those paid by Greyhound, even though Trailways is owned by the giant Holiday Inn company. Drivers have been suspended 150 days for smoking on the job, baggage-room employees are not pro-

moted to ticket agents, while men fresh off the street are hired instead. Terminal employees must be sick four days to get eleven dollars sick pay and get no sick leave. Drivers can be forced to "cushion" at half-pay by being sent to another city to look for work instead of going out on a run at full pay; the best runs are not distributed evenly among drivers with high seniority.

FIRINGS

Employees who do not pass the stiff Interstate Commerce Commission physical exam are fired or demoted to toilet cleaners or other menial work with a drastic cut in pay. Drivers for New England Trailways who wildcatted several years ago to protest an arbitrary firing were all fired.

The striking drivers and terminal employees face direct pressure from Trailways, who refuse to negotiate and more subtle pressure from bureaucrats in their own and other unions. Although members of the Teamsters and the International Association

of Machinists, representing bus cleaners and mechanics, were out on strike, they have been forced back to work, reportedly for as little as nine to fifteen cents an hour wage increase. When prices increase 10% a year, this is a wage cut.

BOYCOTT

Although both the ATU and the UTU strikes are official, the heads of these unions have not boycotted Trailways buses in other cities run by other subsidiaries of Holiday Inn. The Central Labor Council of New York has promised money and legal aid, but has made no attempt to use the strength of organized labor to boycott Holiday Inn and Trailways. The labor movement must put out the call to all union men and women not to step one foot on a Trailways bus or in a Holiday Inn until the workers have won their demands and the strike is over. This is the demand that the ranks must raise to their leaders.

Getting support for the ATU-UTU strike means not only mobilizing support now,

but working for one big union in transport under real control by the ranks. The Teamster and IAM bureaucrats both here and in the San Francisco Greyhound strike have tried to destroy the strike.

The ATU and UTU bureaucrats can pretend to democracy in their unions, but when they are in a position to put up material support for a strike they show their colors by offering only token or verbal support.

The bus companies are being taken over by the conglomerates like Holiday Inn. This means that route consolidations and layoffs are in store as Nixon cools off the economy. The time to build a position of bargaining strength is now. Accepting job attrition in exchange for wage or other benefits will only throw men into the street, since unemployment is already starting to grow.

FIGHT

START THE FIGHT IN THE ATU, THE UTU, AND OTHER TRANSPORT UNIONS, FOR ONE UNITED TRANSPORT UNION, under control of the ranks, with one bargaining unit and one contract expiration date for all transport workers.

FIGHT FOR WAGE AND FRINGE BENEFITS EQUAL TO THE BEST PAID ANYWHERE IN THE TRANSPORT BUSINESS, including an escalator clause to keep up with the rising cost of living.

WORK FOR UNION CONTROL OF JOB CONDITIONS, with an end to "cushioning" at half-pay -- full pay for time spent on the job, whether working or not. Give present employees first choice of all positions open before hiring off the street. Guarantee no cut in wages and no dismissals to men who fail the ICC examination. Guarantee no job cuts for any reason.

NO FIRINGS OR RETALIATION OF ANY KIND FOR STRIKING.

# DOCTORS DUMP KNOWLES

## PLACE WEALTH BEFORE HEALTH

BY OUR SCIENCE REPORTER

The inability of capitalism to meet even the basic needs of the workers in this country is being exposed in the tremendous crisis in health and medical services. The problem has even forced Nixon to warn of a "massive crisis" in the next two years. His solution of course is to plead with the "private bring about some changes.

The attitude of the "private sector" and in particular of the American Medical Association, is hardly turned toward making any serious changes. This was brought out sharply by its opposition to the appointment of Dr. Knowles to the position of Under Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare.

MODEST

Dr. Knowles is hardly a "radical" in his field. The most that can be said for him is that he called for a few minor reforms which would do little to change the situation. Knowles' rather modest proposals for improvements include support to Medicare, more government subsidation of hospitals and an emphasis on "preventive" as opposed to "curative" medicine. He has also criticized the medical profession for its lack of concern for the poor and has advocated lower doctor and hospital fees along with a turn to group practice as a substitute for the archaic individual "private practice."

It was obviously these later proposals that struck at the heart of the very reactionary American Medical Association.

Prior to Nixon's public urgings, the AMA president, Dr. Dwight Wilbur, has for the past few months been telling his members that in order to avoid further measures, they should try to keep their fees down a bit. It is not that Wilbur is concerned that more people get medical care, but he is concerned with the possibility of "socialist" solutions to the health crisis.

REACTIONARY

The whole outlook of the AMA reflects one of the most backward and reactionary aspects of capitalism. The AMA stands for "free enterprise" that is according to Adam Smith the "natural law of supply and demand." In other words if you cannot pay the fee you are out of luck.

Some AMA members even go so far as to admit that they consider that good medical care is a privilege to be enjoyed only by those who will pay, and that the conception that people have a "right

" to medical care is "illusory." As one AMA member has put it: "Unless Constitutional law is no longer the supreme law in our country certainly any dialogue promising the services of a physician as the right of any other citizen, even for those unable to pay, fails to acknowledge the 13th Amendment prohibiting involuntary servitude except as legalized punishment."

While such statements appear to be extreme, this is the prevailing philosophy behind health services under capitalism. This is becoming increasingly clear.

DECAY

In the last 15 years health care costs have risen over 66% with the result that millions upon millions of people are not able to afford basic services. Over 30 million people are not covered at all by any health insurance and 2/3 of all personal health costs are not covered by insurance.

At the same time, there are fewer and fewer doctors. In a

study done in Chicago, it was found that where there were 110 doctors in 1930 to serve a population of 28,000 there are now 5 doctors to serve a population of 45,000. While the U.S. is producing 8,000 doctors a year, the Soviet Union is producing 35,000 a year.

The past few years have seen hundreds of hospital mergers all over the country, resulting in the closings of hospitals and the contraction of medical services. At present you might have to wait a year to get a bed in a hospital to have an operation or even longer if you do not have a "private doctor."

If this situation is not bad enough, the government has this Spring cut back the already meager health program. Nixon ordered \$328 million cut in Medicare and Medicaid. This includes \$100 million for new hospital construction, \$28 million for medical research, cuts in hospital reimbursement. These cuts on local levels have resulted in thousands being made ineligible for Medicaid, forcing

them to choose between no coverage or a further cut in their standard of living to pay expensive premiums on private insurance. In New York City, Lindsay proposed a cut in the budget of the Department of Hospitals of up to \$75 million. Dentists in New York are boycotting Medicaid patients because of the 20% cut in fees.

These cuts together with the cuts in welfare and other public services in the past months show that the "welfare state" is the frankenstein creation of capitalism, of a decaying system, its admission that it cannot provide for the basic needs of the working class.

It is precisely this decay that presents the contradiction of the great scientific and technological advancement being used not for the benefit of the masses of people but for the profit of a few, not for the saving of life but for its destruction. While more and more funds for medical research are cut back, while millions of workers go

with little or no medical service, 350 million a year is being spent on chemical and biological warfare.

SOCIALISM

What is required is a program of socialized medicine, a program which will provide the best of care to all without cost. This means the training of doctors and other medical personnel, free education and salaries while they go to school. It means the construction and complete expansion of all medical facilities.

To do this the productive forces must be harnessed, owned, and controlled by the working class. It means the nationalization of basic industry under workers' control to turn billions from profits to providing the basic necessities for the working class.

Health care is indeed a "privilege" under capitalism. It is clear that even the smallest of reforms such as Medicare are no longer possible. Only the fight for a workers government can change this.

## PACKINGHOUSE WORKERS FACE MASS LAYOFFS

BY J. RENEE

SOUTH ST. PAUL, MINN.

14,000 Swift packinghouse workers face unemployment as Swift plants throughout the country close. With ruthless disregard for the needs of the workers, a reminder of the thirties and a forecast of problems ahead for workers in all industries as the crisis deepens, Swift is determined to make its workers pay for its modernization.

250 "obsolete" plants are closed or scheduled to close. The big Omaha plant closed in June. The South St. Paul plant, one of the largest in the Swift chain, is scheduled to close November 29, throwing over 2,000 workers, members of Local 167, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, AFL-CIO, into the streets.

JUNGLE

The packinghouse bosses have decided to replace the general, all-purpose plant (which uses "everything but the squeal of the pig" and still resembles in many ways the Jungle of Upton Sinclair) with small, scattered, specialized and highly automated plants. Theoretically workers can request transfers to the newer plants. In fact, there are not enough openings for half those who will be laid off. Moreover, the majority

of the South St. Paul workers are age 40 to 50 with twenty to thirty years seniority. Why should they be expected to pull up roots and try to sell their homes in what will become a ghost-town merely to work at less skilled and, hence, lower paying jobs in a strange, rural community?

Workers of that age bracket won't find jobs easily. Too old to retrain even if jobs were found, most of the laid off men and women will be labeled "obsolete" along with the plant they have spent their lives in - that is if they let Swift carry out its plans to close down.

UNEMPLOYMENT

So far the Union has done nothing to prevent the closing. To the bureaucrats like Ralph Helstein and Ray Wentz the job is merely "to educate the workers about the alternatives and remain calm". The alternatives apparently are early retirement at reduced pensions for a few, transfers to distant communities at reduced wages for a few more, and permanent unemployment for the vast majority.

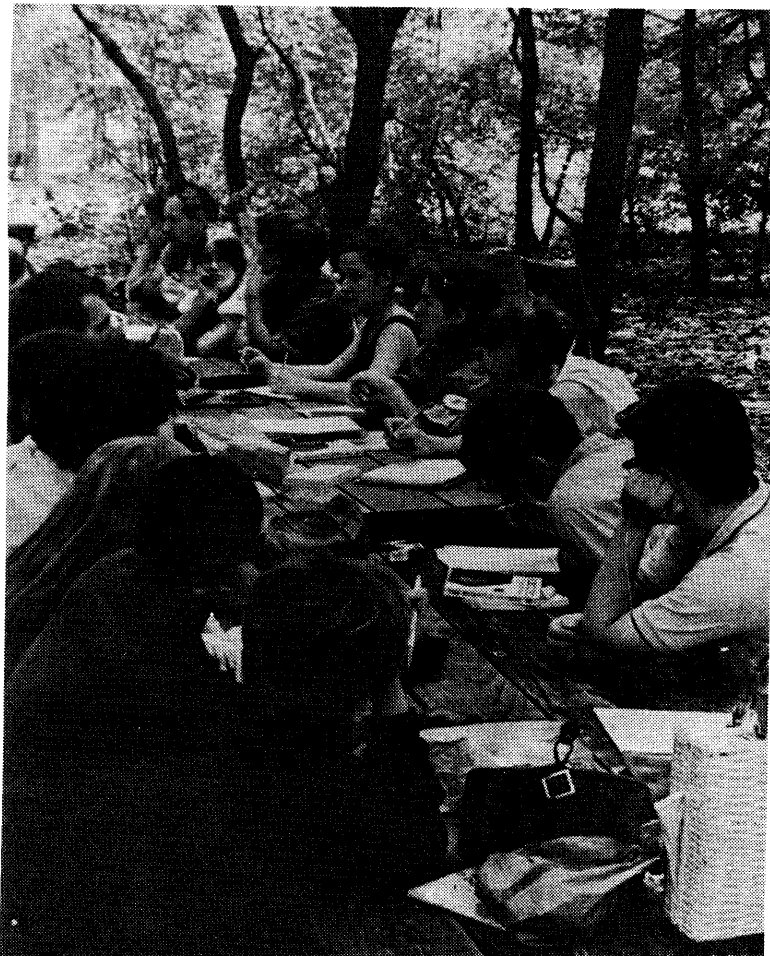
Instead of remaining calm in the face of threatening unemployment, the union must stop the closings! Why should the workers sacrifice their livelihood so the meatpacking trust can modernize its plants and increase its profits? Keep the plants open! Keep the workers on the payroll! If the company cannot or won't run the plants and keep workers on the job, let the union do it. The union must fight to protect the job of every single worker. The bosses have made their money for years. Now the plants must be nationalized without compensation.

NATIONALIZE

Politicians of both capitalist parties in Minnesota are humbly running to Swift, begging it to reconsider and keep at least a token plant open. On the other hand labor is totally ineffective because it doesn't even have its OWN party. Labor must organize a party of its own that will fight the

owners, not plead with them. The union must stop pussy-footing with Swift and with both boss parties. The needs of the workers require the organization of a Labor Party that will: (1) Nationalize the plants without a penny of compensation and (2) Institute workers control of the meat plants with full employment.

## NY Workers League Holds Outing



THE LESSONS OF OCTOBER IS THE THEME UNDER DISCUSSION DURING OUTING TO CLOVE LAKE PARK STATEN ISLAND.

NOTE: Because of summer holidays the next issue of the BULLETIN will be published on August 25th. It will also be a 16 page issue.

### WORKERS LEAGUE BRANCHES

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# THE PANTHERS AND FASCISM

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

The latest line of the Black Panther Party that the United States is under the rule of fascism has opened up a virtual Pandora's Box letting out all the vermin of revisionism that has historically poisoned the working class and prevented its victorious struggle for socialism.

The announcement by the Panthers and its accompanying rationalization has sent the present and erstwhile supporters of the Panthers such as the Communist Party, Progressive Labor, and the Socialist Workers Party looking for explanations. While some agree and some disagree the political cement that binds all these groups together is reformism and it is reformism that comes through in all their critiques and it is reformism that has historically prevented the working class from achieving its struggle for power and has paved the way for the rise of fascism.

Overwhelmed by the police attacks which have been launched against them, the Panthers have announced: "Fascist forces move nationwide to destroy Black Panther Party." "Capitalism plus racism equals fascism." "Fascism: the power of finance capital itself." "The Black Panther Party recognizes it (fascism) for what it is in America. The demagogic politician, the avarious businessman and the fascist pig cops."

## FASCISM

A few quotes such as these combined with the simple expedient of changing 'pig' to 'fascist pig' is all these self-proclaimed 'Marxists' require to conclude that the working class has suffered the greatest defeat in its history, the conquest by fascism.

But it is this latter point that is central. The working class in fact has not been defeated. Quite to the contrary. The working class is stronger today than it has been historically. Capitalism today faces an unprecedented economic crisis. The capitalists must put a stop to the advancing working class, must solve its crisis by throwing the working class back through unemployment so as to destroy its organizations and lower its living standard.

The working class however is determined to advance its conditions. The majority of workers in the capitalist countries have known prosperity and full employment for over two decades. More and more the working class is confronting the capitalist state which can no longer grant concessions; more and more reformism is being exposed; more and more the question of the struggle to bring down the capitalist structure is being posed.

Thus we have seen the struggles of workers in France, Italy, Britain. In the United States the working class has refused to buckle under to the calls for restraint in wage demands. The workers are turning away from their traditional alliances with the Democrats throwing the two parties into deep crisis.

It is in this period when the real question posed is the struggle of the working class against capitalism for socialism requiring a program for victory that the forces of reformism come forth with their cries of "fascism." These cries serve as a screen behind which these forces are refusing to take up the necessary program for the struggles of the working class.

The Workers League from the beginning fought all those tendencies that viewed the Panthers as a "revolutionary" force that could be pushed to the left. We pointed out that the nationalists of all types would only serve the interests of the ruling class dividing the working class and containing the struggles on a reformist level, on the level of the fight more "free breakfasts." Rather than moving to the left the nationalists are forced to reveal their counterrevolutionary perspective faced with the deepening crisis and their bankrupt program.

## NATIONALISM

The program of nationalism is not consistent with Marxism with revolutionary socialism but it is consistent with reformism and with Stalinism. This is why it is not surprising that the Panthers have taken a page from Stalin's book to defend their latest maneuver. The hero of the Panthers has become Georgi Dimitrov, the head of the Stalinist Comintern during the disastrous "Popular Front" period of the 1930's. Following Dimitrov and Stalin, the Panthers call for a "United Front Against Fascism." This united front is actually a popular front of everyone including sections of the ruling class.

## United Front Formed To Promote Reformism



GEORGI DIMITROV IS NEW HERO FOR BLACK PANTHERS

The call to the Panthers recent conference reads: "People! Organizations! Groups! Yippies! Political Parties! Workers! Students! Peasant-Farmers! You the Lumpen! Black People, Mexican-Americans, Chinese, etc.!" In an article entitled "Two Faces of Fascism" in the Black Panther, the Panthers make explicit their conception of a "united front." "If the ignominious crimes of the fascist regimes are not met with an alliance of workers, students and progressive Democrats, the future of America will reflect the heinous crimes of fascist Germany."

## STALIN

This is the policy adopted by Stalin and the Comintern which led the Communist parties in all countries into an alliance with the bourgeoisie. This was the period of support to a bourgeois government in Spain, in France, to Roosevelt in the U.S., and Chiang Kai-shek in China. This policy prevented the independent mobilization of the working class against capitalism. It was precisely the peoples front that paved the way for the victory of Franco and the opening of the Second World War.

The cries of fascism coming from the Panthers have nothing to do with an objective analysis of the crisis nor with the real preparation for a struggle against the repression of the state. It is a reaction to that crisis. The Panthers do not pose the attacks on their organization as attacks on the working class as a whole requiring not just a defense policy but a struggle by the working class as a whole against the system that is perpetrating these attacks. It is only in this way that the working class can be defended.

The fight is viewed pragmatically and isolated. The Panthers seek a separate solution apart from the working class. The Panthers want a respectable cover to hide behind to thwart the attacks on their organization. Thus they look to the liberals for protection.

This becomes increasingly clear if we look at the Panther's program for fighting fascism. "To end fascism" they propose a petition for an amendment to city charters for the "community control of the police." Under such a proposal each community "black," "predominately white," Mexican-American" would elect its own police. This proposal in itself exposes the Panthers' claims of "fascism". If a fascist state were really now in power does any one seriously maintain it could be fought with a petition for community control of the police? As with all other reformists any conception of the class character of the state and its rule is missing. The police are not just some neutral body but the arm of the

capitalist state to oppress the working class. The Panthers seek to participate in the administration of their oppression rather than to smash the very instrument of it.

## BONAPARTISM

Fascism is not just an abstract form of "evil" and "unjust" rule but is a form of capitalist rule. Fascism is the last link in a cycle of political and economic crisis of capitalism. When the ruling class, faced with the decay of its system, can no longer contain the working class through "normal" parliamentary means it moves towards a Bonapartist regime. Bonapartism is a transitional form of rule, a balancing act in which the Bonapartist, such as deGaulle in France, appears to rise above the class struggle, above the parties, above the nation in the name of "law and order." The legislative functions are for all practical purposes abolished and the government rules through decree. All police powers are concentrated and rule is through a military and police dictatorship. The Bonapartist poses as an arbiter with one foot on the working class and the other on the bourgeoisie, while all the time ruling for the bourgeoisie. This balancing act is of course very unstable and is a regime of crisis. It gives way either to the power of the working class or the naked power of the fascist state.

Fascism arises then only when the working class is not victorious. Historically fascism has taken hold only after a period of crisis during which the working class is radicalized. In Italy and Germany the fascist regimes were preceded by tremendous upheavals on the part of the working class. In Italy there was no party capable of leading the working class to power. In Germany the Social Democracy capitulated to the fascists and the CP under the leadership of the Comintern put forth the theory of social fascism which prevented the unity of the working class and paralyzed it.

## FAILURES

It was through the failures of the working class leaderships and parties that fascism took hold in Europe. The fascists won to their side the disillusioned and despaired middle class which was destroyed by big capital and saw no leadership coming from the working class. This is the mass basis of fascism. The function of fascism is then to smash the working class, destroy its organizations and stifle political liberties when the capitalists can no longer solve its crisis through bourgeois democratic government. The regular armed bodies of police and army are replaced with special trained bands.

This is not the situation that currently exists in the capitalist countries where the working class has not been pushed back but is on the offensive. U.S. workers are entering this period of crisis with organizations that are the strongest in the world. This is not the period of the thirties when the working class did not have the CIO, when millions of industrial workers were not organized. The CIO did not gain its strength until the early forties. Today the trade union movement has that strength and power built up over two decades.

This is not to say that fascism is not a threat. But it is easy to invoke the days of Hitler while forgetting the actual conditions which made the strengthening and victory of fascism possible. Fascism conquered only in those countries where the working class leaderships prevented the working class from utilizing the revolutionary situation and seizing power.

Today the task is to utilize the great power and strength of the working class in a political struggle to bring down capitalism. This requires above all the building of a revolutionary party and an alternative leadership in the trade unions, a Marxist leadership with a program for victory.

It is precisely this task which the Panthers cannot take up - with its petty bourgeois nationalist program. It is the refusal to take up the struggle for the working class which unites the revisionist tendencies with the Panthers.

## COMMUNIST PARTY

This is why the Communist Party can welcome the latest moves by the Panthers without batting an eye about their pronouncements on fascism. The CP is not about to call the current government fascist but it is not about to allow such niceties to get in the way of the main task of building a broad liberal coalition to divert the working class into reformism and capitalist politics.

The CP has responded in an article in its West  
(CONTINUED ON PAGE FIVE)

# black panthers promote reformism

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE FOUR)

Coast Peoples World: "The Panthers are to be highly commended for their call for unity in the face of reaction. All people of good will, sanity and good intention should respond immediately and favorably. Of greatest importance and urgency at the moment is action to halt and turn back the reactionary offensive. Ronald Reagan's power in Sacramento and Sam Yorty's victory in L.A. have emboldened the reactionaries and the pigs."

The way the CP proposes to fight the reaction of the capitalists is to support a section of them. Thus the CP supported an ex-cop, a Democrat, in the mayoral election in Los Angeles. Likewise The Daily World has lately hinted of a fascist threat in such headlines as "Nazis Linked to Drive for ABM." What the CP uses this threat for is to whip up support for the Fulbrights and Kennedys. Thus the horror of fascism is used by the CP to capitulate to the ruling class, to disarm and paralyze the working class. This is the historical role of Stalinism, to preserve the privileges of the Soviet bureaucracy through collaboration with the imperialists. The "Peoples Front" becomes a brake on the working class by orienting it toward class collaboration.

## PROGRESSIVE LABOR

This is the matter that Progressive Labor refuses to confront in its attack on the Panthers. In the August issue of Progressive Labor, Epton, Jerome and Wiley say the following: "Attempts to curry favor with the ruling class are precisely what is involved in the BPP leaders' call for a United Front Against Fascism Conference in July. In calling this conference BPP leaders have relied heavily on material from Georgi Dimitrov: Dimitrov's strategy of the Thirties is the CP strategy now. He said fascism was the open terror against the people by the most ruthless section of the ruling class. Therefore communists must decide which are the 'progressive' capitalists and unite with them. This is the tired-out CP line of everyone uniting against the 'ultra-right'. WE THOUGHT THIS OLD CHESTNUT HAD DIED. (our emphasis)"

This "old chestnut," PL, is very much alive! This "old chestnut" is Stalinism. It is this that you cannot face up to because you do not dare to examine your own history. This is why PL can attack the Panthers and the CP but carry forth with the same policy. In the same issue of PL in its Trade Union Program it proposes the same formulation, the "anti-fascist, anti-racist Left-Center coalition." The fight as PL sees it is for "immediate demands" now and revolution sometime in the far distant future.

## SWP

While the Socialist Workers Party protests that fascism is not here, it essentially ends up with the perspective of the Panthers, the CP and PL. The SWP has been very reluctant to directly attack the Panthers and take up the inevitable logic of their perspective and its connection with Stalinism. For the SWP the Panthers have been the "vanguard". Now that they are moving closer and closer to Stalinism and the Democratic Party the SWP will no doubt change their tune.

In the last few months the Militant has had a number of articles on repression, fascism, and their program for struggle. The articles contain an orthodox definition of fascism. They conclude that fascism is not now on the agenda.

The heart of the matter for the SWP is the "fight for democratic rights, for civil liberties." This it sees as "an indissoluble part of the struggle for major demands and for the basic transformation of society." While it is absolutely true that the struggle for democratic demands is a part, an important part of the struggle for socialism, the SWP makes it the central struggle and the method of its struggle—reformism follows from this.

Miss Barnes approaches this struggle not from the point of view of the working class and the struggle for socialism but from the point of view of "morality" and "justice". "Over the years, belief in democratic procedures has become so deeply ingrained in the American people that huge struggles can erupt over such rights. This is part of what's happening today. And because capitalism is in a period of historical decline, in which its growing contradictions compel it to grant ever fewer concessions, these struggles over democratic rights tend to extend

beyond themselves to challenge the very basis of the system."

This "belief in democratic procedures" is nothing but bourgeois ideology "ingrained" into the heads of the working class to tie them to the capitalist system. The task of the revolutionary party is not to perpetuate the illusions the ruling class utilizes to lull the working class but to expose them.

This is reformism. Reformism is bourgeois deception of the workers, who despite any single improvement will always remain as wage slaves as long as there is capitalism. The point is not to perpetuate this deception as the SWP does but to destroy it. Each attack on the rights and freedoms of the working class must be utilized to expose the fraud of bourgeois democracy and its instrument as a means of class oppression.

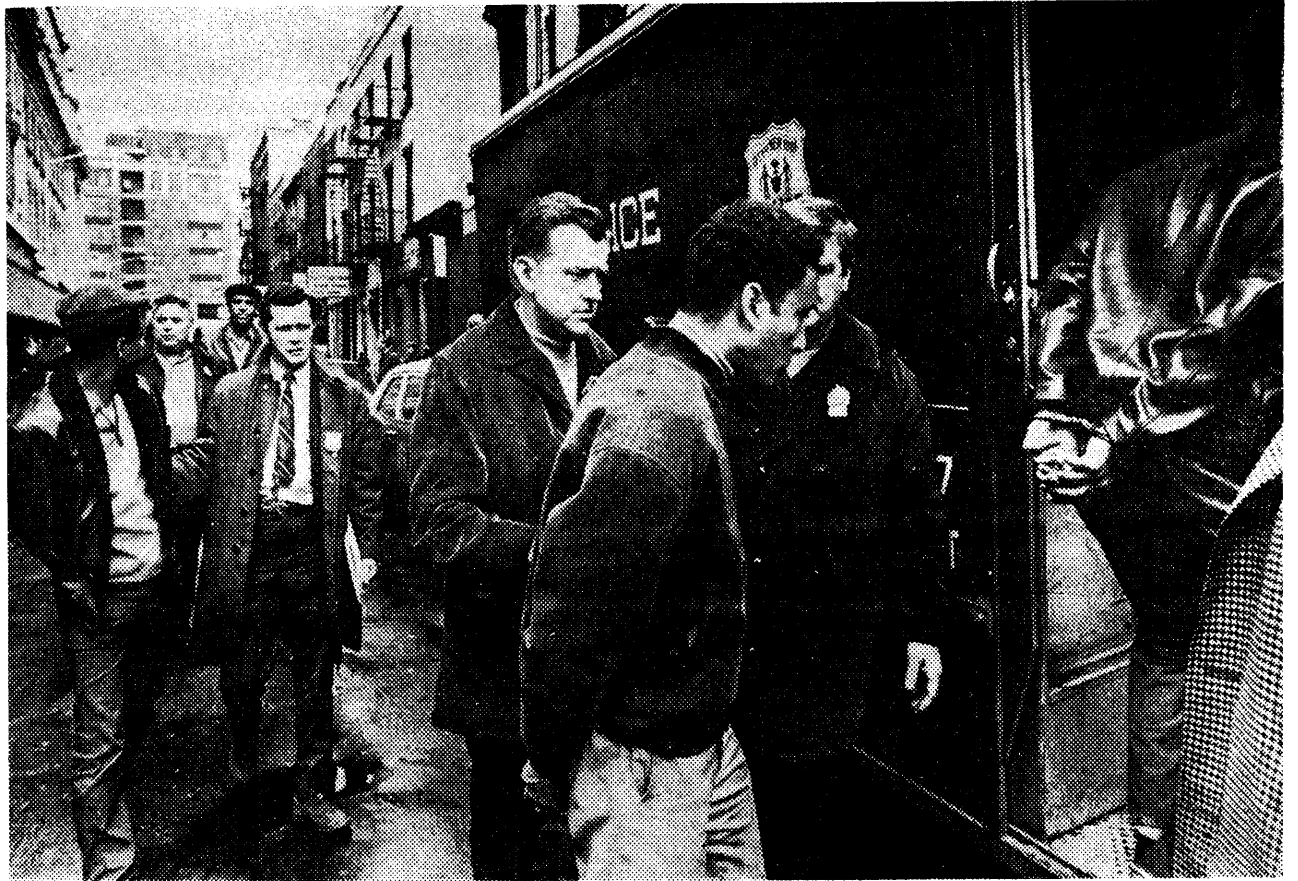
## AMERICA

But the SWP is too attached to "America". Miss Barnes goes on "To say that people have the inalienable right to determine their own destiny is as American as apple pie. But when

these cases is the violation of civil liberties involved. This must therefore be the political essence of the united front." The main goal of this front is "to bring the pressure of aroused public opinion to bear upon the authorities, expose their frame-ups and make them think twice about further attempts at repression." Novack seeks to differentiate the united front of the SWP from the CP-Panther conception by counterposing "common action" to a "common anti-fascist political program".

The distinction which Novack makes is a phony one. Mr. Novack calls it "common action"; the CP calls it a "common program" but both proceed from the standpoint of a common bloc with the liberal section of the bourgeoisie. Both mean a united bloc of democratic forces versus undemocratic forces. This conception is totally devoid of class content.

What is required is not a common action with the bourgeoisie in the defense of the bourgeois capitalist system, but the common action of the working class in defense of all working class victims against the real enemy, the capitalist system.



IT IS POLICE REPRESSION, LIKE ABOVE NEW YORK JAILINGS WHICH HAVE LED PANTHERS TO TALK OF FASCISM

black people act upon it and concretize it by demanding black control of black schools and black control of all other institutions in the black community, it has an explosive revolutionary content."

First Miss Barnes would have been more accurate if she had said that "to say that people have the inalienable right to determine their own destiny is as BOURGEOIS as apple pie." The conception of inalienable rights is hardly just American. It in fact originated in the French revolution, the bourgeois revolution. While it was a "revolutionary" demand during the bourgeois revolution, it is a fraud today. Despite what the SWP contends, it is the socialist revolution not the bourgeois revolution that is the order of the day.

In an article "The Way to Defeat Ruling-Class Attacks" George Novack takes up the fight against the repression being launched against the Panthers. "This wave of persecution poses a grave threat to every critic and opponent of the status quo and to the civil liberties of the American people. It must be met and beaten back by the united effort of all those organizations and individuals concerned with the protection and preservation of human and constitutional rights in this country."

Here again we have posed the fight not against capitalism and its phony constitution and rights but to "preserve" it. The SWP has become the best defenders of the bourgeois revolution and its class system.

The solution to the constitutional problem as Novack sees it is the "united front", a "broadly based defense movement". The basis on which this front is to be made is not a class basis. "The key political issue linking together all

It is Novack's conception of the united front of everyone not for class struggle but for winning over "progressive public opinion" for the defense of constitutional rights that guides the work of the SWP.

This is a far cry from a proletarian defense policy which only indicates the complete degeneration of the SWP. A proletarian policy does not proceed from the basis of "progressive public opinion" but from the basis of class consciousness and the mobilization of the working class in any defensive efforts. It is only in the context of such a mobilization that there can be any talk of victory.

Although Novack cites the case of Sacco and Vanzetti, the SWP has come a long way since then. Cannon as head of the International Labor Defense spoke a different language than he and Novack speak today. In 1927 Cannon pointed out the differences between a liberal and a class defense: "One policy is the policy of the class struggle. It puts the center of gravity in the protest movement of the workers of America and the world. It puts faith in the power of the masses and no faith whatever in the justice of the courts... It calls for unity and solidarity of all workers on this burning issue, regardless of conflicting views on other questions... Its goal is nothing less than their triumphant vindication and liberation."

The Workers League sees the attacks on the Panthers, on the students as class attacks on the working class. It is not just a question of abstract moral "violation of civil liberties". We are definitely concerned with the fight for democratic rights, as these rights are essential to the working class not because they are "morally" good but because they affect the ability to openly organize,

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SEVEN)



LUIGI  
LONGO

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

The fall of the Italian center-left coalition government of Prime Minister Mariano Rumor, brought about by a split within the Socialist Party, has opened up a political crisis which could well be the most serious since World War II.

The center-left coalition (a coalition between the Christian Democracy, the United Socialist Party of Nenni and Saragat, and the Republican Party) has in any case been in its death throes since May, 1968.

The center-left formula served the Italian bourgeoisie well enough at the time of its inception in 1963 in the midst of the so-called Italian "economic miracle." Even though the Italian working class never fully participated in a prosperity which found its reflection in profit figures and balance of payments surpluses, there was sufficient muting of class antagonisms so as to make the center-left coalition effective.

#### TEARING

The reassertion, however, of the world crisis of capitalism has the effect of tearing the center-left coalition apart and reducing it to its constituent elements. The economic crisis in Europe has penetrated into Italy and has meant for the working class not only that it would never enjoy a decent share of the prosperity created in the period of boom, but that the meager gains achieved in that period were to come under attack by the Italian bourgeoisie. This has caused a real resurgence of class struggle in Italy which the center-left coalition is no longer capable of straddling.

This is precisely what was posed in the political crisis of May 1968. The inability of the Socialist Party to fight back for the working class much less carry out its promised reforms within the center-left coalition led in the May elections to big electoral losses for the Socialists.

#### COMBATIVITY

The combativity of the working class, which by that time produced a whole series of important strike struggles found its political expression in a big upward leap in the vote for the Communist Party and the PSIUP (a split off from the SP in alliance

# ITALIAN POLITICAL CRISIS DEEPENS WITH CP IN KEY ROLE

with the CP). Together they won over 30% of the electorate. The Socialist Party realising that it stood completely compromised in the eyes of the working class and fearing further desertions from its ranks withdrew from the center-left coalition toppling the Moro government and forcing the Christian Democrats to rule as a minority under CD Prime Minister Leone until December 1968.

Big strike actions at that time culminating particularly in the General Strike of November 14 involving 12 million workers posed the inability of the Christian Democrats to rule independently. On the basis of certain concessions aimed at saving face for the Socialists the center-left coalition was reformed under Prime Minister Rumor.

Now this government after seven short months collapsed on July 4. Behind its collapse has been a real crescendo in the class struggle over the past few months. Strikes have occurred in many sectors of industry particularly in the auto industry where both official and unofficial strikes have occurred at Fiat, Alfa Romeo, and Vespa. A general strike called in the Turin area on July 3 over rising rents turned into a tremendous clash involving thousands of workers who fought police armed with tear gas in front of the Fiat factory.

No less spectacular was the action of thousands of customs officials who brought frontier posts to a standstill with a "work to the rules strike", a recent one day national rail strike, and the devastatingly effective postal strike which tied up Italian mails for weeks. Side by side with struggles in basic industry and civil service has been the outbreak of new explosions in rural southern Italy.

Struggles in Battipaglia in April and Caserta in June over issues of growing impoverishment and unemployment in the South turned into virtually local insurrections.

One wing of the Socialist Party the former Nenni wing now led by deMartino seeks to regain the working class' allegiance to the center-left coalition by reapproachment with the Communist Party which has become the focus for the working class' hostility to the regime. The former Social Democrats, the Saragat wing under the leadership of Tanassi, who has now set up the Unitary Socialist Party seeks a clean break with the Communists and favor a rightward turn within either a new center-left formation or a minority Christian Democratic government.

#### CARETAKER

Meanwhile Italy is without a government. Although President Saragat has nominated Rumor to

act as "caretaker" Prime Minister and to seek to form a new government, the refusal of the CD to rule alone, the deep rift between the socialist parties and the refusal of the Republicans to enter any more center-left coalitions on the grounds they are incapable of ruling leaves the question of the new government in doubt.

The Communist Party for its part is apparently prepared to do all in its power to bail out the center-left coalition including entry into the government. Thus Luigi Longo raises the bugaboo of an imminent fascist coup, a repetition on Italian soil of the Greek coup to justify his call for a solution which he not so enigmatically describes as "a coming together, albeit from different positions of all left and democratic forces." It is of course not the danger of fascism that Longo fears but the independent action of the working class under conditions where the center-left coalition is unable to govern. This may well lead the CP into the center-left capitalist government in order to prop it up. For a betrayal of this magnitude the threat of fascism, the same justification used for the popular front in the 1930's is now required.

#### KEY

The Italian Communist Party, precisely because it has been excluded from the center-left coalition has become the political vehicle through which the Italian working class expresses its desire to go beyond bourgeois reformism to socialism. The Communist Party becomes the very key to the political situation in Italy today. It is the task of the Trotskyists to pose that the break-up of the government requires a working class solution. The Italian workers voted Communist and PSIUP because they wanted a workers' and not a liberal bourgeois government in Italy.

We must demand that the Communist Party take the initiative to fight for such a government which would include all the workers parties. It should join with the SP to bring down the existing government, force new elections and campaign around a socialist program to be carried forward by a workers government.

Only through this kind of political struggle can Trotskyists expose these parties in the eyes of Italian workers and open the road for the construction of a mass Trotskyist party to take the power in Italy as well as other European countries.

There is no question but that a May-June explosion is building up in Italy, an explosion which from the very beginning can take on a more developed political form than last year's events in France. This makes the construction of a section of the Fourth International in Italy with a clear strategic line such an urgent necessity.

## behind honduras - el salvador war

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

Perhaps the cruelest expression of the deadend crisis of the Latin American countries is the recent short but bloody war between Honduras and El Salvador. Over 1,000 lie dead and tens of thousands are homeless as two impoverished countries briefly fought it out.

Behind the war stands the maneuvers of the small ruling landowning elites which manipulate the military governments of these lands. Unrest has been growing against the 14 families who own virtually all land in coffee-producing El Salvador as the sagging price of coffee on the world market has made the tenant farmers even poorer. In the midst of this agitation against the 14 families, the Salvadoran press suddenly started printing atrocity stories about purported mistreatment of Salvadoran immigrants in less populated Honduras.

Meanwhile, Honduras faced a similar problem as its sugar, banana and cattle eco-

nomy tottered under falling

commodity prices and agitation for the division of the land grew. As most of the Salvadoran immigrants had moved into government-owned virgin land in the mountainous border region and simply squatted, the Honduran landowners sought to turn the Honduran landless peasants against the Salvadorans, urging the government to evict the squatters and turn the land over to Hondurans.

#### DESERTIONS

One reason why the ruling oligarchies of both lands agreed so readily to a ceasefire was the widespread desertions from the armies of both countries. The soldiers couldn't care less about the war and many joined local bandits to make what they could out of it for themselves while others just deserted. This will be a warning to the ruling classes of other Latin American countries who may have similar diversions in mind--like the border conflict between Venezuela and

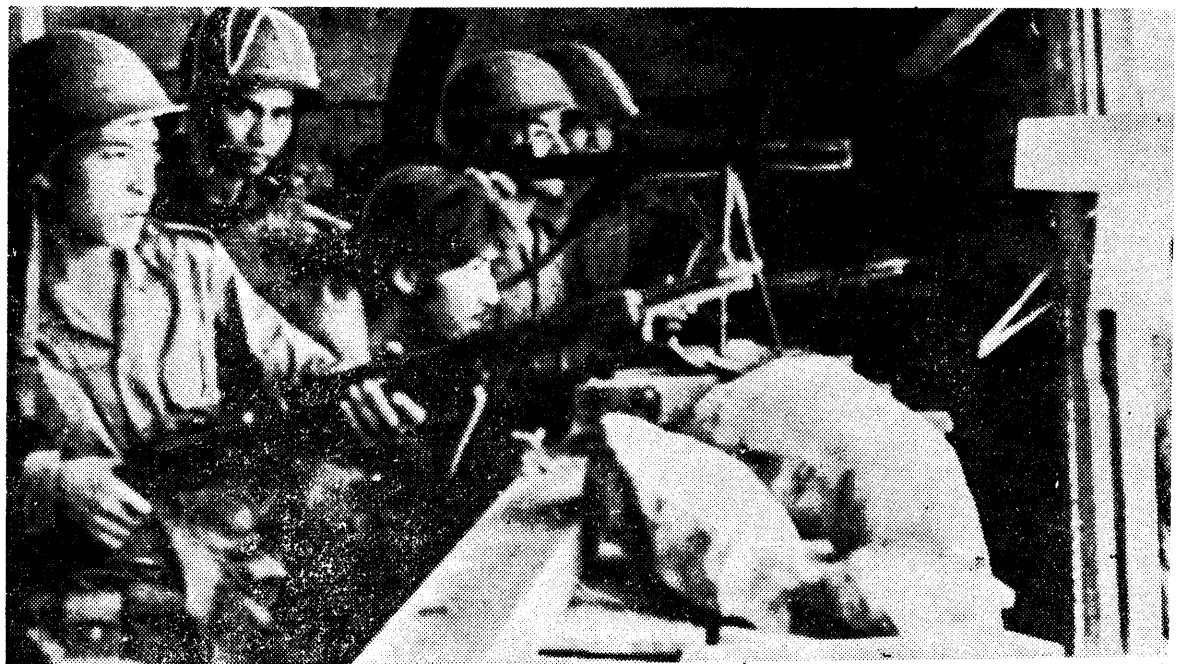
Guyana.

The United States has taken a very "clean" hands off stand. For once, the State Department sighs, it bears no responsibility. But it is with American bullets that American trained troops fight

each other and the distorted commodity producing economies of these countries is the result of America's imperialist domination of Latin America.

We are quickly approaching the time when the workers

and peasants of Latin America with the aid of their brothers and sisters in the United States and Europe will put an end to these oligarchies, the 14 families, and the American capitalists who stand behind them.



SALVADORAN TROOPS POINT WEAPONS INTO HONDURAN TERRITORY DURING SHORT WAR

# mboya killed as tribalism rises

BY

OUR POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The assassination of Tom Mboya will undoubtedly open up a bloody new chapter in the history of Kenya. According to Nairobi police he was murdered by a Kikuyu tribesman. As Mboya comes from the Luo tribe there is expected to be deeper tribal rivalries over the successor to aging Kenyatta.

Mboya was symbolic of one trend of African politics, a pro - American reformist trend only to be assassinated by another equally reactionary tribal trend. Mboya's base was not so much in tribal loyalties as in the trade union movement and the detribalized dwellers of Nairobi. This domestic base was combined with his close friendship and ties with a section of the American ruling class.

It is of significance that his closest friends in the United States, who put up money for a body guard for him, were Frank Montero, an executive in Tishman Realty and Construction Company; William Scheinman, a stock analyst; and Robert Gabor, of Great Neck, Long Island, described by the New York Times as 'a businessman with a background in international trade union movements who acts as a purchasing agent in Europe for some African governments.' One cannot help but wonder if Mr. Gabor might actually be a purchasing agent OF African governments.

It would be a mistake to view this revival of tribal conflicts in Africa as some sort of reflection of the backwardness of the African peoples. It is actually a reflection of the backwardness

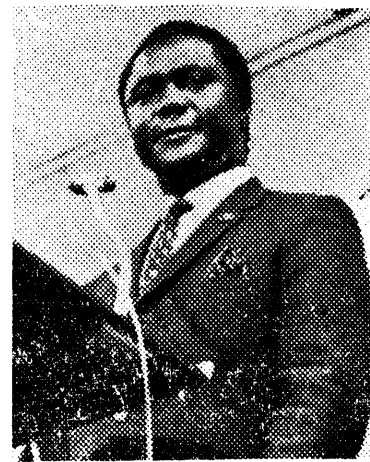
of world imperialism, particularly American imperialism. As the Mboyas and Kenyattas have been unable to develop their countries through aid from and ties with the imperialists, the various petty bourgeois factions in Africa use their tribal connections to get themselves government jobs and to stir up the masses against each other.

FUTURE

Tribalism is a complete and utter fraud in Africa and its growth is a reflection of the inability of Mboyas to

develop their countries on a capitalist basis. The future lies neither with people like Mboya and his Great Neck millionaire buddies nor with the petty tribal manipulators and factions.

It lies with the working class of Africa determined to force out of its trade unions the bureaucrats and the agents of the CIA and to develop a class movement cutting across tribal and national boundaries and linked with the working class movement in the advanced countries.



TOM MBOYA

## dave dellinger plays at peace deal

BY FRED MUELLER

It was recently reported that "noted pacifist" David Dellinger has met with both the North Vietnamese and U.S. delegations at the Paris talks. As of this date, a delegation from the U.S. is on its way to Vietnam to make final arrangements and bring back three U.S. prisoners being free by the North Vietnamese.

It is significant that Mr. Dellinger's trip was quickly cleared at the top levels of the State and Justice Departments, despite the fact that he is under a federal indictment as a result of last year's demonstrations at the Democratic Party Convention, and is not supposed to be allowed to leave the country. Furthermore, Dellinger is supposed to have spoken for at least one hour with none other than Henry Cabot Lodge of the U.S. delegation in Paris.

GO-BETWEEN

All of this raises serious questions. Does Dellinger propose to fight imperialism

by serving as a go-between in its secret diplomacy. Perhaps he would care to make public to the American peace movement his discussions with Mr. Lodge in Paris? Or perhaps he can explain how his role in these moves helps the Vietnamese freedom fighters.

Dellinger is known as a real "left-winger", as an advocate of militant confrontations and of close cooperation with SDS (the RYM wing). Confrontations such as those in Chicago and elsewhere are supposed to expose the imperialists. Now we find Dellinger actually helping Nixon to improve his image, to suggest that he is, slowly but nevertheless surely, making progress toward ending the war.

These maneuvers can only confuse and demoralize whatever small section of the so-called peace movement is not already confused and demoralized by reformation and revisionism. They make it easier for the imperialists, give them more time in which to push for a deal at the expense of the Vietnamese wor-

kers and peasants.

REFORMISM

In reality there is a connection between the policies of confrontation and these diplomatic maneuvers. As long as the fight against the war is separated from the class struggle at home it must be reformist, it must become a cover for liberal bourgeois politicians like Mc Carthy or even for phony and treacherous peace feelers from the government itself.

This is the logic of the middle class peace movement. It is not enough to be in favor of bringing the troops home, or even for the victory of the NLF. These slogans must be part of a class policy. The only way to aid the Vietnamese is to step up the fight against capitalism right here at home.

The Socialist Workers Party, uneasy allies of Mr. Dellinger, bears as much if not more responsibility for betraying the fight against the war in Vietnam, for they have fought hardest of all against any working class perspective.

## Daily World Attacks 'Trots' For Opposing Carl Stokes

An article, "Ultras, Trots out to defeat Stokes", which appeared in the July 17th Daily World, is of more than passing interest in the light of the recent Black Panther conference. The article criticizes the Socialist Workers Party for running Syd Stapleton for mayor on the grounds that this will contribute to the defeat of the present mayor, Carl Stokes, a black Democrat. This is then linked with Wallaceite efforts to defeat Stokes on racist grounds.

The position of the article and the Communist Party is all out support to the bourgeois Democratic Party and the Stokes candidacy in order to prevent another victory for

"reactionaries" like the reelection of Yorty in Los Angeles.

This gives us a pretty good concrete example of how the Communist Party views this question of a "United Front" against fascism and reactionaries--a position carried at the recent Black Panthers conference whose keynote speaker was Herbert Aptheker of the Communist Party. For the Communist Party it means open support to "progressive" members of the ruling class capitalist Democratic Party--particularly if their color is black--and conversely slander of any socialist tendency which runs its own independent campaign.

# BLACK PANTHERS PROMOTE REFORMISM

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE FIVE)

to spread our ideas and raise consciousness and to develop organizations such as trade unions and political parties. But we defend these rights from a class standpoint. It is on this basis that a broad defense movement can and should be built. This means involving all those no matter what the political differences who want to fight the attacks from a class standpoint. It is on this basis that all support is welcomed, including liberals, but it must proceed from the standpoint of the attack as a blow against the working class.

What the SWP does not see is that REPRESSION is as American as apple pie. The "inalienable rights" are crumbs the ruling class can toss the working class in a period of class peace but which must be taken away in a period of growing class antagonisms.

Because the SWP begins, as Novack says, with "the reality of the situation" it is trapped within the framework of capitalist society. Thus the struggle is seen as a defensive one; the whole strategy of the party is reduced to the tactics of isolated defense efforts. The key struggle is not then the struggle of the working class for power but the struggle of the "American people" for democratic rights.

CRISIS

The point is that U.S. imperialism is in deep economic and political crisis. It is indeed consolidating its state power for an all out attack on the working class. Each step it takes today against the struggles of the blacks and the students, each act of repression, is a move towards Bonapartism and the preparation for the taking

on of the working class to drive back its living standards. In the next period it will be not just a question of attacking democratic rights but of going over to a policy of unemployment to break the working class, to break the power of the trade unions. This is why the struggle must be an offensive struggle by the working class.

A revolutionary offensive cannot be developed on the basis of democratic demands or even partial economic demands. What is required is a revolutionary socialist program of transitional demands which mobilize the working class and direct the struggle against the very basis of capitalism. Absolutely central to this program is the demand for the nationalization of basic industry under workers control combined with the demand for full employment and the thirty hour week, the fight on wages and the escalator clause, and the labor party.

It is only within this context that the fight for democratic demands becomes meaningful. The fight for these demands is not a question of abstract right but is viewed by Marxists as necessary only in so much as they advance the class struggle as a whole. As Lenin put it: "In practice the proletariat can retain its independence only by subordinating its struggle for all democratic demands ...to its revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie."

SOCIALISM

Yes this struggle is an indissoluble part of the fight for socialism but there can be no illusions--social reforms are only by-products of the revolutionary struggle. The revolutionary party must take up this fight and must be the best fighters against all attacks on the students, on

the blacks, on the workers. But to pose this fight within the confines of capitalism is to lead the working class down a blind alley of defeat.

Regardless of all its protestations to the contrary and all its orthodoxy, the SWP, like the Panthers, like SDS, like PL, finds itself drawing closer and closer to Stalinism and the policies of Stalinism--containing the struggles of the working class within a bourgeois framework and preventing the workers from a struggle for political power.

Fascism arose in this epoch of capitalist decay as a result of the failure of the working class leaderships to lead the struggle for power. This failure was linked to the attempts by these leaderships to confront the crisis with reformism, the struggle for "immediate demands" and "democratic demands".

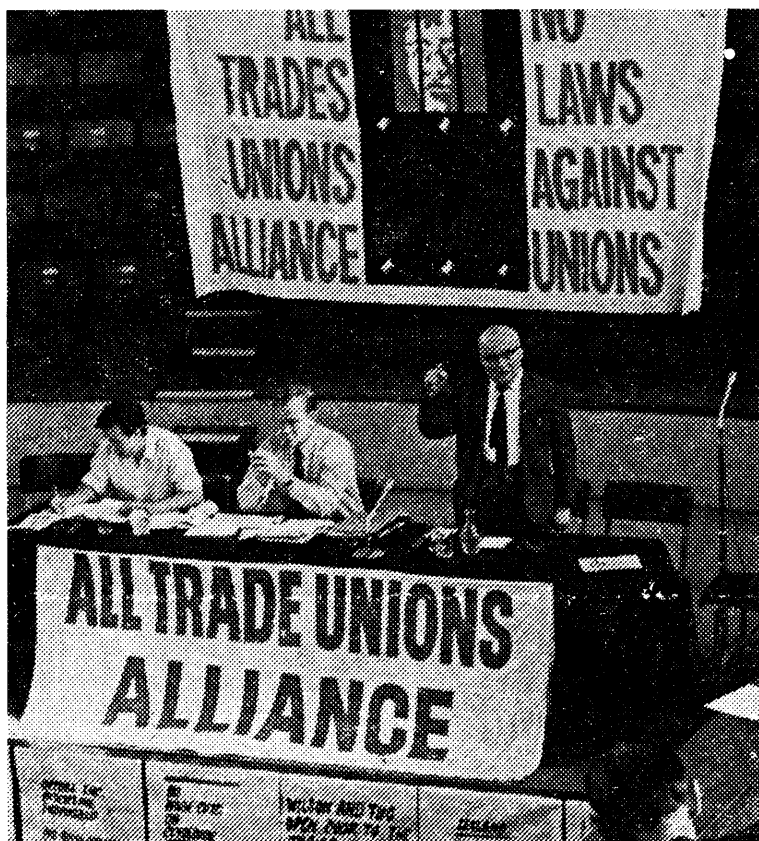
It is the same policy which all the revisionists--the CP, SWP, PL put forward today and it is precisely such a policy that opens the door to fascism.

The Workers League has no illusions about the strategy the ruling class is preparing. This is why we took Wallace's campaign in the past year very seriously, showing that while Wallace is not a fascist, he represents the danger of fascism.

HITLER

The fascism of Hitler will look like nothing compared to the barbarism the U.S. ruling class will pursue with all its stockpiles of deadly germs and chemicals. This is why we say that fascism cannot be allowed to arise and thus we address ourselves today to the task of the socialist revolution and above all to the building of the revolutionary party.

# BRITISH HOLD CONFERENCE OF UNIONISTS



GERRY HEALY ADDRESSES TRADE UNION CONFERENCE

BY KAREN FRANKEL

On July 5, a very successful national conference of the All Trades Unions Alliance was held with over 600 delegates and visitors from different shops and industries throughout Great Britain in attendance.

The conference stressed the need at this point for an all out political fight in the unions—to bring Marxist policies and theory into the daily struggles of the workers. Alan Thornett, ATUA national committee member, stated that the combination "...of the confidence of the working class with the revolutionary theory and program of the Marxist party, is the most powerful force in history."

#### POLITICAL

The conference stressed the political fight against the bosses in this period as the only way to prevent a Tory return to power. The Labor Party had proven itself the ally of the capitalists and not the workers, and thus could not be depended upon to defend the workers in any situation. In fact, the Labour Party, with the help of the Trades Unions Council, had been the chief weapon used by the capitalists against the working class. The Prices and Incomes bill-freezing wages, and the anti-strike measures, leaving it to the TUC to discipline the working class made very clear to workers that a political offensive was imperative.

The conference was opened by G. Healy, National Secretary of the Socialist Labour League who emphasized the need to understand the plans

the capitalists had in store for the working class and the need to take leadership in the struggles. He stated that "since the reformists have never at any time proposed overthrowing the system, it is small wonder that they are in permanent crisis."

The program developed for this struggle in the unions is key. The All Trades Unions Alliance and the SLL are demanding an Emergency Labour Party Conference to discuss the institution of socialist economic and political policies for the nation. This will be the only move which could stop the return of the Tories to government.

The first demand would be to completely oust the Wilson government and his Inner Cabinet and to mobilize the whole working class around a socialist labor government. The demand for nationalization of industry without compensation, under workers control, is key to the solving of the crisis. Thus the economic crisis would be solved at the expense of the small minority of big industrialists rather than at the expense of the masses of working people. Various other demands aimed against big business and the rising cost of living, and

to defend the independence of the trade unions would also be raised.

#### PROGRAM

A continuing discussion of the SLL's policy for the crisis is being held by workers from all over Britain. One worker from Yorkshire stated, "It is necessary to find a program that can re-activate the enthusiasm of the rank and file of the Labour Party and unite the different sections of workers that are faced by the attacks of Wilson. Such a program would have to include the nationalization of the banks and basic industries to make inroads into the wealth of the monopolists and speculators."

The most advanced sections of the working class have broken from the policies of the Labor government. As one shop steward from the auto industry in Swindon stated: "Back in 1963-64...I was impressed by the Labour Party's policies for reforms of the present system. After playing an active part in the Labour Party organization, both at general management and at executive level, I realized that the change could not take place as a result of the Labour government's policies."

It still remains for the masses of workers to be presented with a real socialist alternative. This is the task that the ATUA is posed with. The workers are beginning to realize that the old syndicalist struggles are not enough in this period of economic decay. The biggest fight within the unions today is the struggle to show precisely that political alternative and to develop the Marxist leadership which will be capable of leading the workers in an offensive against the state.

#### CRISIS

The evolution of the ATUA reflects the economic and political crisis in England. The first conference of the All Trades Unions Alliance explained to the workers the meaning of productivity deals, job evaluation, and Measured Day work. The bosses at that time had not yet come out with direct and blatant

attacks upon the working class. All pay hikes were tied to clauses which demanded more work from the working class, higher productivity. The trend was to hold out the carrot with one hand by presenting certain gains in the area of wages, and with the other hand, whip the workers into line by abolishing piece-work.

The ATUA was formed with the understanding that these attacks would be even more direct and drastic in the future, and thus the need for unity between workers across shop or industry boundaries, and the need to fight back politically. It was formed as the first line of defense of the trade unions with the understanding that the capitalists would try more and more to tie the unions to the state in a period of crisis.

The attacks of the capitalists have been even more direct in the recent months. The whole question of unemployment has become a sharper issue, as the bosses attempt to hold down wages and increase productivity have proved incapable of solving their economic crisis. Thus the emphasis of the ATUA has shifted from explanation of the attacks of the bosses and the government, to a clear definition of the socialist program to be taken into the unions.

#### NATIONALIZATION

The demand for nationalization has taken on new urgency in this period. This is the only answer to the bosses' attempts to save their system on the backs of the workers. This is the lesson of the sell-out on jobs of 1,000 Upper Clyde Shipbuilder's workers, and this is the only program which can put the dockers, whose jobs are endangered by containerization, back on the offensive.

Fred Campbell, secretary of the Irish All Trades Union Alliance, in speaking about the impossibility of getting a raise without selling something summed up the situation quite aptly: "We sold a tea break. But if you sell a tea-break the next thing you have to sell is the dinner break. Then its

your mate at the bench next to you."

#### HEALY

"Once you begin to accept these systems of productivity," Comrade Healy pointed out, "you come more and more into the hands of the man with the white coat, the stop watch and the note pad. He starts to control your life."

"When he takes decisions to make you work harder, he actually cuts down on your life. There's no middle-of-the road position here. The faster you work, the faster the crisis--and unemployment will come."

"We're not opposed to technological change," he continued, "provided it makes life more tolerable; reduces the working day..We're opposed to capitalism not modern techniques."

"We call for nationalization that will only be implemented by the revolutionary will and strength of the working class. We must call for the expropriation of banks, the shutting down of the stock exchange, an end to speculation, and the publication by a worker's government of the real economic state of the country, in which all the resources will be brought to bear not just to help the working people of Britain, but to help the working people all over the world, in the colonial and semi-colonial countries especially."

"To ignore the question of power, was to ignore not just past English history, but the history of Germany before Hitler, of Italy before Mussolini, of the colonels Greece, of Gaullism in France. This would be an enormous mistake."

"We need to come forward with a policy to take the working class forward to power. Capitalism is bankrupt. The question of control is absolutely vital-- ignore it and you open the door for the dictator of tomorrow. We will not repeat the defeats of 1926 and 1931. A leadership and a policy is required to take the movement forward to the real goal of all wage workers --- the socialist society."

## MUNICIPAL HOSPITAL WORKERS FACE BLOWS

BY A HOSPITAL WORKER

NEW YORK-- The DC 37 leadership boasts in the latest issue of the union newspaper that it has won protection for hospital workers within the new municipal hospital corporation which will begin operating the city hospitals under a law passed by the state legislature last April.

This so called public corporation is an attempt to deal with the crisis in the hospitals by cutting the hospitals away from their present status as an ordinary city department. The corporation will have greater flexibility in cutting costs through mergers and job cuts. It will not find new sources of income for the hospitals. Its

only aim is reorganization directed against the workers.

The DC 37 officials are so proud of the various guarantees they have gotten that they go so far as to say: "Our members have every reason to look forward with great hope to a better Municipal Hospitals system."

#### PHONY

City hospital workers should beware of this phony optimism. They have received all sorts of promises that civil service status will be continued, but personnel policies are now to be referred for "final decision" to a new tripartite board.

The workers are told to trust a board consisting of

union, management and so-called impartial members. Hospital workers must realize that the City did not set up this corporation merely to continue the present conditions. Furthermore there is no mention of automation and job cuts, and attrition can be expected to be used to cut jobs without even going further than the present agreement.

Instead of denouncing the phony schemes of the city and state and preparing for a real fight the union officials become the most enthusiastic advocates of the reorganization scheme! Municipal hospital workers should demand an explanation of this, demand an alternative policy and fight.

Workers in government and voluntary hospitals must fight against all attacks with a positive program. It is not enough to fight rearguard actions to save individual jobs or soften the blows which are coming. The bankrupt policies of the union bureaucracy must be fought with alternative policies.

There will be no progress in dealing with the hospitals crisis without a fight for socialized medicine. It is high time this fight was taken up. Instead of taking the pressure off the government and hospital bosses by supporting various reorganization schemes there must be an all out fight for more jobs, new hospitals, decent wages and working conditions.

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# REVISIONIONISTS IN CRISIS

Earlier this year, there took place the international conference of the so-called 'United Secretariat of the Fourth International'. This body, which claims the name Trotskyist, is in fact a product of groups which have abandoned the programme of Trotskyism and the building of revolutionary parties. Originating from the group following Michel Pablo in the 1953 split in the Fourth International, they have been supported since 1963 by the US Socialist Workers' Party. The documents of the recent conference of this Pabloite tendency are analysed here by Tim Wohlforth, secretary of the Workers League of the United States, which works in solidarity with the International Committee of the Fourth International.

**BY TIM WOHLFORTH**

## PART ONE

### *Trotskyism and the strategy of guerrilla warfare*

**A DISCUSSION of the most fundamental kind has broken out within the organizations affiliated with the United Secretariat and the Socialist Workers' Party, which is in political solidarity with the United Secretariat.**

A liquidationist tendency has developed of such an extreme nature that Peng Shu-tse, one of its leading members, has called for a 'return to the road of Trotskyism'.

This tendency, formed primarily around the question of uncritical support to guerrilla warfare, dominates the European and Latin American sections of the United Secretariat, placing the supporters of the Socialist Workers' Party of the USA in a minority at its recent International Congress.

Among the leaders of this tendency

are Ernest Mandel, Livio Maitan and Moscoso of Bolivia. Supporting the SWP are essentially the Canadian section and Peng Shu-tse.

The emergence of this tendency and the questions raised in this discussion pose before all members of the SWP, its youth affiliate the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), and other supporters of the United Secretariat the question of the complete liquidation of their organizations. It is of the utmost importance that these questions be probed to their depths, that the origins of these questions in the history of the Fourth International, particularly the split in the International Committee in 1963 and the fusion of the section led by the SWP with the United Secretariat, be seriously confronted.

The central document in the dispute is the 'Draft Resolution on Latin America'. This document puts forward 'the perspective of a prolonged civil war with rural guerrilla warfare as its principal axis . . .'. Flowing from this it proposes the liquidation of the Latin



*The SWP and the Pabloites came together over Cuba; now they are falling out over Cuba*

*Tim Wohlforth,  
National Secretary,  
Workers League*



American sections of the United Secretariat into Castro's movement:

'Integration into the historic revolutionary current represented by the Cuban revolution and the OLAS, which involves, regardless of the form, working as an integral part of the OLAS.'

The most fundamental attack on this position was made by Peng Shu-tse, who reports that he was a minority of one on the International Executive Committee on this question.

'The comrades,' he states, 'have consciously or unconsciously discarded the Transitional Programme and have replaced it with the strategy of guerrilla warfare.'

This, he holds, poses a very fundamental question for the comrades of the Fourth International: Should we continue to carry out the traditional and fundamental programmatic line of the International — the Transitional Programme—or should we adopt the new strategy of guerrilla warfare?'

Peng points out, drawing on Trotsky's 'Problems of the Chinese Revolution', that guerrilla warfare conducted isolated from urban struggle is adventurist and leads to the destruction of the movement.

'To avoid the disastrous results of the guerrilla warfare strategy and to prepare the victory of the revolution in Latin America, it is necessary to project a transitional programme which should include among others, demands for agrarian reform; national independence; freedom of the press, speech, assembly, strike, etc.; and a "Constituent Assembly with full powers, elected by universal, equal, direct and secret suffrage".'

Peng then turns to the question of Cuba, for this is obviously at the heart of the dispute as the Maitan-Moscoso group uses the 'Cuban example' as its model, supports uncritically Castro's 'strategy' of armed rural guerrilla warfare, and proposes liquidation into Castro's movement.

'Castroism', Peng Shu-tse notes, 'has made no theoretical contribution to Marxism. Castro's programme is merely one of action based upon his own experiences in the Cuban revolution, i.e. guerrilla warfare. It is clear that Castro does not understand some of the basic tenets of Marxism or some of the most important lessons and experiences of the world working-class movement, such as the Bolshevik Revolution, the struggle between Trotsky, Stalin, etc.

This lack of understanding is expressed practically in Castro's politics by the lack of any democratic-centralist party in Cuba itself, by the lack of any democratic government, in Cuba based upon the workers' and peasants' soviets, by the support of a guerrilla war strategy in Latin America, etc.'

Peng then goes on to discuss the general orientation of his whole movement.

'In the past period the International on the whole has found itself working in and recruiting from primarily petty-bourgeois strata, especially the student movement. To a great degree, of course, this area of work was determined by the objective conditions; nevertheless, our past work in and orientation toward the integration into the working class is the most urgent task facing our movement today.'

If the current situation is allowed to continue for any period of time then he predicts the sections of the United Secretariat 'cannot but degenerate'. This orientation towards the working class 'must, above all, be concretely based on our work in the trade unions'.

Next he goes into the question of Algeria which it seems he has tried unsuccessfully on several occasions since 1965 to raise within the United Secretariat. He states that the Boumedienne coup 'represented a heavy blow to 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 — France, Algeria, etc. — 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. . . . 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 the struggle.'

In assessing the fundamental meaning of these mistakes Peng concludes they represent 'an adaptation to a petty-bourgeois leadership'. Such an adaptation is not accidental or without precedent.

'The International, in the past, has displayed a tendency to adapt to reformist bureaucrats and the radical petty bourgeoisie.'

This he then traces back to Pablo's



*The road of guerrillas (seen here in Guatemala) replaces the road of Trotskyism*

position in the early 1950s of 'so-called self-reform of the bureaucratic leaderships in the workers' states and of certain Communist parties . . .'

Peng concludes his document by stating:

'Replacing the Transitional Programme with the strategy of guerrilla warfare, neglecting the most serious work in the working class and its traditional class struggle organizations, i.e. the trade unions, and continuing to adapt ourselves to different petty-bourgeois currents and leaderships, cannot only not build an International, but will lead our movement into a blind alley. The above represents a deviation from Trotskyism, and it is the most urgent task and duty of the coming World Congress to consider seriously

these questions by taking a formal stand on them in order to return to the road of Trotskyism.'

Needless to say the World Congress took a formal stand in favour of the road of guerrilla warfare and liquidationism.

Joseph Hansen of the SWP, in a somewhat more diplomatic way, takes the same essential position as Peng on the guerrilla warfare question.

'Thus if the concept of rural guerrilla warfare for a prolonged period is adopted as the principal axis of revolutionary work,' Hansen concludes, 'then the problem of mobilizing the urban masses becomes somewhat irrelevant, and along with it most of the Transitional Programme.'

Hansen also warns against liquidation in Castro's movement in Latin America.

' . . . Just as the main orientation advanced in the draft resolution on

Latin America appears to be an adaptation to the orientation of the Cubans at their present level of development, so the prescription of working as an "integral part" of the OLAS appears to be an adaptation to the organizational level they have reached. To make an organizational adaptation of this kind could have very serious consequences for the Latin American sections of the Trotskyist movement, whose problem is precisely the one indicated in the main resolution—to doggedly continue "to build their own parties and their own International".'

In Hansen's opinion the Latin American resolution is in contradiction with the main resolution on international perspectives. 'How the implicit contradiction between the two resolutions would be resolved in practice if both were adopted without either of them being substantially changed is hard to foresee.'

This is precisely the position the United Secretariat is presently in as both resolutions were passed at its last International Congress.

There are certain differences between Peng's and Hansen's presentations worth noting. Peng warns the United Secretariat of the dangers of an exclusive orientation towards the students and urges instead a turn towards the trade unions. Hansen argues against guerrilla warfare from the perspective that the United Secretariat's main orientation should be towards the student youth in the urban centres.

While Peng brings up the Algerian question, Hansen remains completely silent on it. The reason could be that Hansen played a major role in formulating this policy of support to Ben Bella and wrote extensively on this in the 'Militant' at the time.

Also it should be noted that for years now the the 'Militant' and other SWP organs have been in the forefront of pushing the guerrilla warfare line and spreading the cult of 'Che'.

Moscoso's writings have appeared without comment in the 'International Socialist Review'. More recently a group of YSAers have visited Cuba and written completely uncritical accounts of Cuba; the SWP is a major publisher and distributor of the guerrilla warfare propaganda of Che Guevara and Castro. There is, of course, no accounting made of this in Hansen's article.

Hansen lays great stress on the necessity to construct 'Leninist combat parties' in Latin America and elsewhere and sees the guerrilla warfare position as a threat to this. But, writing on the 50th anniversary of the Russian Revolution, James P. Cannon, National Chairman of the SWP, stated that in the colonial areas such parties were no longer needed and 'blunted instruments' could be used. In other words the SWP leadership has made its contribution to the emergence of this liquidationist tendency it now opposes.

This discussion involves much more than Cuba, and the liquidationism expressed in Latin America cannot be confined to that continent. It is not an

accident that virtually the entire European movement of the United Secretariat has come to the defence of guerrilla warfare. Of course it is not that they wish to conduct some kind of guerrillaism in Europe so much as it is they wish to liquidate in their own way into the new petty-bourgeois movements which have arisen in Europe riding on the crest of a class struggle these organizations are so removed from.

Livio Maitan expresses this outlook the most clearly though still in a covered, cautious way:

'On the one hand certain present movements which are being unleashed, by their very scope go beyond the present possibilities of our restricted organizations, on the other hand—and above all—these new movements, which are breaking through or passing over every "traditional" organizational framework and in which the militants often display a tendency to consider us, too, as part of the "traditional" left, exercise a powerful attraction in circles where formerly we were alone in speaking a revolutionary language. In other words: to the degree that the weight of the ideological factor in the choice of political alignment decreases (in the cases indicated from the very fact that a series of ideas have become, more or less, common property) it is understandable that some layers of militants and cadres prefer, at least at this stage, to merely join mass movements rather than become linked organizationally with the Fourth International or national Trotskyist organizations.'

And what does Maitan propose to do about this 'understandable' situation where activists do not wish to join his 'restricted' organization?

'It goes without saying—in addition—that we must continue to apply in the most supple way our basic criticisms through integration in the real movements and avoid any kind of political sectarianism or organizational fetishism.'

In addition Maitan proposes the United Secretariat throw everything into creating a guerrillaist miracle in Bolivia. And if the miracle does not come off? Then it would seem logical that Maitan and friends would wish to get rid of the 'organizational fetishism' of their 'restricted organizations' which is such an 'understandable' barrier for the masses of students he is seeking to work with.

This liquidationist trend has apparently begun to take its toll in the SWP and YSA. Maitan himself notes 'that the SWP used to have a greater number of black militants than today'.

What has happened is that many black members of these organizations have developed the logic of the SWP's uncritical support of black power groups to its logical conclusion of resigning from the SWP and joining such groups as the Black Panthers. At the same time we know of YSAers who have resigned from the YSA to get into the broader SDS movement.

This helps to explain why Hansen now feels compelled to fight in Europe a political trend which for so long he and the rest of the SWP leadership have whether they like it or not encouraged and contributed to.

There can be no turning away from the issues raised in this dispute. Every member of the SWP and YSA as well as other groups supporting the United Secretariat must return to the political issues raised at the time of the split of the SWP and its supporters from the International Committee and their political fusion with Mandel, Maitan and company (1963).

At this time we insisted upon a full discussion as an absolute prerequisite to any fusion. Unless the whole history of Pabloism since 1952 is discussed, these questions probed by the point of view of the Marxist method and within the framework of the continuity of the Fourth International and the Transitional Programme, we insisted any unity would be unprincipled and would mean the liquidation of the Fourth International.

The SWP refused to discuss any of these questions seriously. Instead it posed unity on the basis of 'concrete agreement' with the 'facts' of the Cuban Revolution in the first place and



*Joseph Hansen takes same position as Peng but in a more diplomatic way*

the 'vindication' of these 'facts' in the Algerian Revolution under Ben Bella in the second place.

Now the United Secretariat is coming unstuck precisely over these questions of Cuba and Algeria and a whole section of this movement is going over to open liquidation of their organizations.

We fought consistently during that struggle and right up to today for the building of the sections of the International Committee on the basis of the perspectives of the Transitional Pro-

gramme. We held that capitalism was in a new period of extreme international crisis, that the very centre of this crisis was in the advanced capitalist countries, not the Third World, that because of this the Transitional Programme could now become the fighting programme of million of workers, and that the key to the development of this programme was the struggle to build sections of the Fourth International in all countries with deep roots in the working class.

The defence and development of this

perspective required, above all, a serious study of Marxist theory, of the Marxist method, and such theoretical development tied to and integrated with the actual work of constructing the party. Our advances since the period of the split with the SWP have been possible only because we sought to probe the roots of the degeneration of the Fourth International in the development of Pabloite revisionism in the 1950s.

The events of May-June in France are a complete vindication of this per-

spective of the new period of crisis and revolutionary struggle we are now in. But they are more than that. May-June places before the Trotskyist movement the absolute immediacy of the task of constructing revolutionary parties.

This is why a discussion to clarify the theoretical questions which produce liquidationism is even more of a burning necessity now than it was in 1961-1963.

This discussion must now go forward. In fact nothing can prevent it any longer. It will go forward!

## PART TWO: Leadership and the world socialist revolution

**AT THE recent congress of the 'United Secretariat' forces, the delegates voted unanimously for the main resolution 'The New Rise of the World Revolution'. Thus the tendencies which stood in opposition to each other over the question of guerrilla warfare and Latin America were able to vote without qualms for a common international resolution.**

This in itself raises questions as to the character of this resolution. How could those whom Peng Shu-tse urges to 'return to the road of Trotskyism', and those whom he undoubtedly considers are on this road, support the same general international line?

The answer lies in the very character of this resolution and its theoretical continuity with a long series of resolutions beginning with the Third Congress of the Fourth International in 1951.

This resolution, like its predecessors, is actually an eclectic cover for liqui-

dationism with bits and pieces of orthodoxy and statements about the building of the Fourth International thrown in. It thus expresses the very contradictions and permanent crisis of Pabloism since its origins. A whole series of tendencies and individuals, such as Cochran (USA), Lawrence (England) and Mestre (France) in 1953 have followed out the theoretical logic of these resolutions to the point of abandoning the orthodox cover and liquidating into Stalinism or other anti-Trotskyist tendencies. The United Secretariat now faces a new manifestation of this trend, in a much more aggravated form than in 1953.

The very first paragraphs of the resolution establish the central, theoretical outlook which has marked Pabloite resolutions since the Third Congress. This makes clear that while Pablo, the man, left the United Secretariat several years ago, Pabloism as a revisionist method remains at the very heart of the world outlook of the United Secretariat and its supporters.

### Three epi-centres

The paragraph sees the world divided into three sectors, or as Pablo called them 'epi-centres'—'the colonial revolution, the political revolution in the bureaucratically degenerated workers' states, and the proletarian revolution in the imperialist countries'.

The purpose of the resolution is to outline the 'dynamics' of the 'inter-relation' and 'interaction' of these three sectors or epi-centres. While the world revolution has suffered 'serious setbacks' in one sector (the colonial revolution), it has also 'scored new successes' in another sector (the imperialist countries) with the May 1968 revolutionary upsurge in France.

But, in sum, things worked out pretty well:

'As a result, the global balance of forces is continuing to turn against imperialism, a still clearer interaction has emerged among the three main sectors of the world revolution, and an important change has occurred in the dynamics of their inter-relation—revolutionary struggles in the imperialist countries themselves occupying a more important place in this world-wide process today than in the past 20 years.'

Here in essence we have the outlook



*According to Pabloite theory  
the triumph of the  
Chinese Revolution altered  
world relation of forces  
in favor of socialism*

of Pabloism since 1951. It begins with the conception that the world balance of forces has been altered in favour of socialism, proceeds to divide the world into three epi-centres, and then notes in which epi-centre the world revolution is forging ahead at the moment.

The theoretical structure remains constant from document to document, only the epi-centre where the main action is changes from resolution to resolution. Thus in the 1951, 1954 and 1957 resolutions the main epi-centre was in the workers' states, while in the 1961 (Socialist Workers' Party resolution), 1963, and 1965 resolutions the epi-centre switched to the colonial countries, and in the current resolution the advanced countries emerge as the main epi-centre.

The causes of these changes in epi-centre are never explained, nor can one learn from reading a previous resolution that the authors are in any way prepared for or capable of predicting an imminent switch in epi-centre. But this does not matter as the purpose of the resolution is not to prepare the movement for future turns in the international situation, but rather how best at the moment to adapt to what is going on.

And why does it really matter, since all resolutions claim the balance of forces in our favour anyway. If we are to make a few errors here or there, pick and choose the wrong epi-centre, this will be but small change in the

over-riding onward and upward march of the revolutionary process.

This theory that the global relationship of forces has altered in favour of socialism is what Pablo called the 'new world reality'. We find a classic formulation of the theory in the 1954 Pabloite Fourth World Congress document 'The Rise and Decline of Stalinism':

'The evolution of the Soviet Union and of the world working-class movement since 1917 is fundamentally determined by the dynamic of the relation of class forces on the world scale. This development has passed through major phases: the rise of revolution in 1917-1923, the ebb of world revolution in 1923-1943, and the new revolutionary rise since 1943.'

We find the same theory put forward in the 1961 SWP resolution 'The Struggle Between the Socialist and Capitalist Camps', which laid the political basis for the re-unification in 1963. The resolution begins with the 'four major stages' of the struggle for socialism, identical with the Pabloite stages quoted above except that an earlier stage from 1900-1917 is inserted. On the current stage the resolution states:

'The victory of the Chinese Revolution in 1949, coupled with the setback



*Zhdanov's 'New World Reality'*

of American imperialism in Korea in 1952, definitely altered the world relation of forces in favour of socialism.'

It would, however, be historically unfair to attribute the authorship of this theory to Michel Pablo alone. In truth it was first formulated by Zhdanov, the theoretician of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the early period of the cold war, in 1947, as follows:

'The end of the Second World War brought with it big changes in the world situation. The military defeat of the bloc of fascist states, the character of the war as a war of liberation from fascism, and the decisive role played by the Soviet Union in the vanquishing of the fascist aggressors sharply altered the alignment of forces between the two systems—the Socialist and the Capitalist—in favour of Socialism.'

For Zhdanov and Stalin this theory was at the very heart of their justification of peaceful coexistence with the capitalist countries. If the balance of forces had been sharply altered in favour of socialism, then the independent struggle of workers in all countries for socialism was no longer needed, in fact could be downright harmful.

The very existence of the Soviet Union alone had altered things in favour of socialism and its continued existence and growth could not help but further alter the relation of forces leading in time to the automatic collapse of capitalism and the world triumph of socialism. The thing to do now was to give the Soviet Union this



Trotsky fought Stalin insisting revolution must extend to advanced country to alter relation of forces



time to triumph by maintaining peaceful relations with the doomed remnants of tottering capitalism.

The theory played a similar role for Pablo and for his present-day theoretical followers in the United Secretariat. Under conditions of a decisive change in the world relationship of forces the 'old Trotskyism' of the Transitional Programme with its constant assertion of the absolutely critical necessity to construct the revolutionary party no longer carried as much weight. In this new reality history had shown that 'blunted instruments' could bring the working class to power at least in backward countries. As the 1963 resolution of the Reunification Congress put it:

'The weakness of the enemy in the backward countries has opened the possibility of coming to power with a blunted instrument.'

And now Hansen and Peng seem surprised that the Latin American sections of the United Secretariat wish to dissolve into Castro's OLAS movement. Surely no blunter instrument could be

found.

The three-sector theory is methodologically part and parcel of the same outlook with the same objective political results. The Pabloites see the world divided into three distinct sectors, each formally separated from the other, but each of which 'interacts' on the others. This is seen as very much an external interaction with students or workers in one sector being 'inspired' by struggle in another sector, conducting solidarity campaigns and in other ways manifesting their 'sympathy' for these struggles which remain very external to them.

Most important of all, both theories obscure the real relations between capital and labour internationally and thus undercut the central importance of the struggle to construct the Fourth International in all countries. Instead of beginning first with the fundamental oppositional forces of modern society, the class struggle is dissolved into a global conflict between the forces of socialism and capitalism with the former including the workers' states with their bureaucratic leaderships and the colonial revolution with its petty-bourgeois and bourgeois national leaderships.

This global conflict is then broken into sectors, thus obliterating the essential unifying forces of capitalist relations on the one hand and the working class as an international class on the other. At the same time the material foundations of the class struggle rooted in the crisis of world capitalism are either ignored altogether or seen as only one among many factors affecting the imperialist sector of the schema.

What is required is a return to the very fundamentals of Marxist theory and its development by Lenin and Trotsky in particular. First of all we must understand that we exist in a world dominated by capitalism. Capitalism is a world system which covers almost the entire face of the globe, having an impact, as we shall see, even within those countries which have established workers' states.

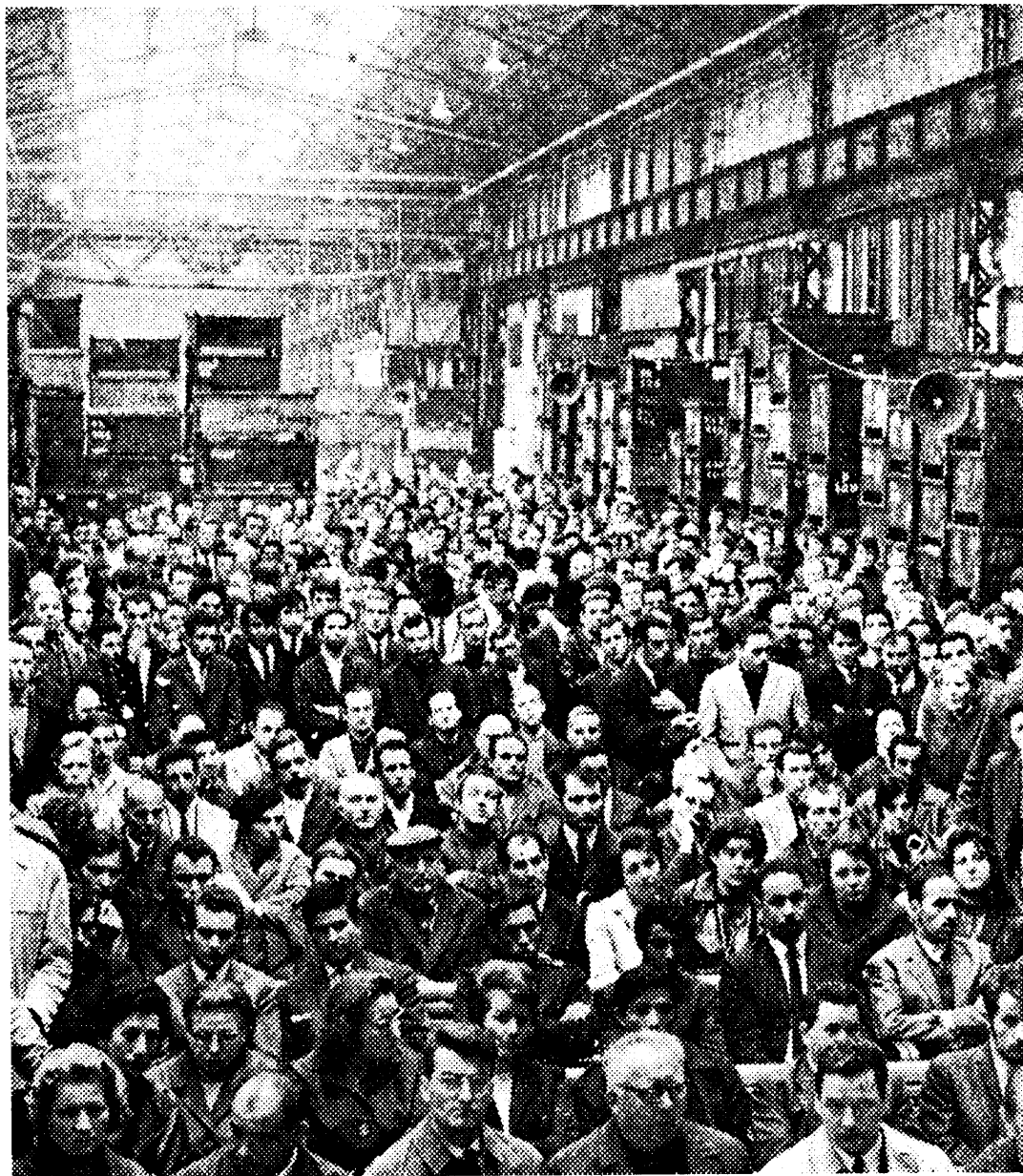
The colonial world is part of the world capitalist system and can only be understood in this way. This 'sector' does not inter-relate as an autonomous unit with the advanced countries. On the contrary, the imperialist holdings and the national bourgeoisie are extensions of the world capitalist class. The working class is an extension of the world working class. The great peasant mass finds that its very conditions of existence are determined fundamentally by world capitalist market relations.

The most fundamental turn in the world situation, the creation, if you like, of a 'new world reality', took place around the time of the First World War when world capitalism entered the period which Trotsky called 'The Epoch of Imperialist Decay'. Since 1914 world capitalism has been in a period of general decline marked by revolutionary upheavals, depressions, wars. True, Trotsky pointed out time and time again that within the general framework of decay and decline world capitalism has had a limited period of boom, growth.

It is not enough to understand the general character of the decline of capitalism. A revolutionary strategy requires a deep understanding of the ups and down and detailed development of the capitalist economy and the impact this has in unsettling class relations in one period only to produce temporary periods of stability and reformism at another point.

Did the entry of capitalism into this period of decay signify a changed relationship of forces internationally between revolution and socialism on the one hand and counter-revolution and capitalism on the other? More precisely, did the victory of the Russian Revolution signify such a changed relationship of world forces?

Trotsky answered that question in the negative not once but ten thousand times in the course of his long struggle against Stalin, from 1923 to 1940. His whole struggle against the theory of socialism in one country was based on the conception that there could be no definitive change in the world relations of forces unless there was a successful



The Pabloite 'epi-center' method sees 'serious setbacks' in the colonial countries and 'new successes' like May-June 1968 in the metropolitan countries.(above)

In turn the Pabloites adapt to each change in the international situation.

revolution in an advanced capitalist country. Without such a revolution the Soviet Union would find itself fighting for its life in a world dominated by world capitalism and this objective situation would lay the basis for the growth of bureaucracy within the Soviet Union.

## Aided stability

According to the Pabloite schema this relationship of forces changed in 1943, or at least definitively in 1949, with the triumph of the Chinese Revolution. Even if we take this later date, we see that while the Soviet Union now existed under conditions where workers' states formed a buffer on its eastern and western flanks, at the same time the Soviet bureaucracy was willing to pay for this buffer by helping the capitalists achieve a certain degree of stability in the rest of the world.

This political stability allowed world capitalism to go through another period of temporary growth so that while the Soviet Union's economy also advanced in this period, it emerged in the 1960s still with a greatly inferior level of productivity when compared to capitalist Europe and America. This inferiority was further intensified by the great arms burden foisted upon the workers' states by the aggressive character of world imperialism.

Thus the Soviet Union was able only to extend the perimeter of its isolation and that at the cost of deep polycentrist processes breaking loose within the bureaucratic strata. Despite the monopoly of foreign trade, the nationalization of basic industry and the planned economy, these countries are forced to compete under conditions of a world market dominated by imperialism. Attempts at isolated autarchic economic development within the confines of Comecon are futile and reactionary for they seek to ignore rather than overcome the central problem—the relatively lower level of productivity in the workers' states when compared to Europe and America.

It is this economic situation, under conditions of deepening world capitalist crisis, which sets the objective stage for the deepening crisis of the ruling bureaucracies in the workers' states and the concurrent renewed combativity of the working class of these countries as displayed in Poland, Hungary and more recently Czechoslovakia.

## Degeneration

The current resolution seeks to see the struggle in the Soviet countries as some independent conflict between the bureaucracy and the needs of the planned economies and the working class. What the resolution totally ignores is that this bureaucracy represents a counter-revolutionary force, a degeneration in the direction of capitalism. The contradiction between this bureaucracy and the planned economy is but an expression of the fundamental contradiction between capital and labour and can only be understood within this context. This is why the crisis in the workers' states takes place at the same time as the deepening crisis and renewed class struggle in the advanced capitalist countries.

If we approach the question of international perspectives from a Marxist point of view, then we proceed very differently from the United Secretariat resolution. We recognize that it will take a victorious proletarian revolution in at least one advanced capitalist country to alter the world balance of forces. We break through the formal schematism of the 'three sectors' theory to reveal the fundamental historic crisis of world capitalism, the fundamental class polarization on a world-wide basis between capital and labour with the crisis in the workers' states as essentially a subordinate reflection of this polarization.

With this outlook the task of building the Trotskyist party becomes absolutely central to our whole perspective—not a formal afterthought tacked on to the end of a resolution whose main thrust contradicts this demand.



If we approach the question this way we must then place our understanding of the development of the capitalist crisis at the very centre of our international strategy, see the development of the social classes within this framework, and pose our own tasks on this basis. Such an approach will reveal that the capitalist boom in the 1950s has now gone over into a fundamentally economic crisis requiring the ruling class to intensify its class struggle against workers in all countries. This, in turn, places the working class in a new position where it is required to fight back, but its own objective needs, its own desire to fight, comes into conflict with the conservative reformist and Stalinist leaderships of the working class. Thus the central strategy of the Transitional Programme, which saw the crisis of humanity as a crisis of leadership, and the solution to this crisis coming only through the struggle to construct the Fourth International, is our central strategy today.

While the very centre of the crisis is in the imperialist countries this crisis must have the profoundest impact in the underdeveloped and Stalinist countries. This crisis of European capital places the weaker colonial capital in an absolute and profound crisis. This in turn leads to the creation of the objective conditions for the renewal of working-class struggle in these areas: Curaçao, Argentina, Pakistan, West Bengal.

Precisely at the point, where the workers' states reach a level of economic development which requires of them greater integration into the world market if the economies are to move forward, the world market is marked by the fiercest international competition since the 1920s. The ruling bureaucracies are forced to discipline their own working class in a futile attempt to raise the level of productivity to a point where competition is possible, thus intensifying the conflict between the working class and these bureaucracies.

The deeper we get into the resolution the clearer it becomes that the Pabloites have no understanding whatsoever of the real movement of world

forces and the role Trotskyists must play in this period. The very structure of the resolution reveals this. It begins, as we have noted, with a brief description of the three 'sectors' of the revolution under conditions of a favourable global balance of forces. It then launches into a description of the 'new relationship' which for some mystical reason has emerged in this period between these sectors.

The shift in the 'centre of gravity' to the advanced countries is laid primarily at the door of the Vietnam war. One would be forced to conclude from this that if the imperialists succeeded in getting themselves out of this war then the whole struggle in the advanced countries would be finished.

Then we are treated to a brief description of the May-June events in France. Then, only after a description of May-June, do we get to an economic analysis of the 'end of the long imperialist boom' as if this phenomenon had no causal relationship to May-June. Then comes a section of the crisis in the workers' states, the 'problems of the resurgent colonial revolution', 'the crisis of the traditional workers' movement and the appearance of a new youth vanguard in the imperialist countries' and finally 'the construction of a new revolutionary leadership'.

Thus the very structure of the resolution itself reflects its method. It has no central thrust, as the authors are incapable of comprehending the centrality of the capitalist crisis and the tasks which flow from this understanding. We have only a collection of impressions of various sectors of the world, disjointed, commentaryish and the central strategy of constructing the Fourth International becomes liquidated and broken up by this very impressionism.

When we turn to the specific analysis of each 'sector' the confusion and liquidationism will become even clearer. First is the question of the colonial revolution. We are informed that:

'After the victory of the Cuban revolution, the colonial revolution unquestionably marked time. For ten years, no new workers' state has been established.' And further: 'In fact, starting early in the sixties the colonial revolution suffered a series of spectacular reverses.'

In this way the Pabloites admit that their whole assessment in earlier resolutions of the forward sweep of revolution in this 'epi-centre' came to nought. Obviously what is required at this point is a serious assessment of the reasons for the complete failure of any of their predictions to come true.

This is particularly the case when we realize that the Pabloites denied in their earlier resolution that the 'subjective factor', the question of leadership of the revolution, should be given any great weight. The lesson they learned from Cuba was that 'the weakness of the enemy in the backward countries has opened up the possibility

of coming to power with a blunted instrument'. The political landscape of the colonial countries has been virtually cluttered with blunted instruments, some in power, some not in power. Certainly the failure of new Cubas to develop was not due to some lack of 'blunt instruments'.

The resolution offers two explanations for this state of affairs. First, 'the capacity to lead the anti-imperialist struggle of the masses—though strictly limited for well-known historical reasons—which the colonial bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeois nationalist governments had for a certain period came to an end'.

Thus it is asserted that, contrary to Lenin and Trotsky, the national bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie did have a 'strictly limited' capacity to lead the anti-imperialist struggle but it no longer has such a capacity. There is no attempt to explain seriously what the limits were on this capacity and why today it no longer has this capacity. In effect all we have here is impressions—in the early 1960s it seemed as if these 'blunted instruments' could accomplish the task and by now it seems as if they cannot.

The second explanation is essentially that the enemy is no longer as 'weak' as it once seemed. Great credit is given to American counter-insurgency efforts and Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) activities in defeating guerrillas and dumping the Sukarnos, the Nkrumahs and the like. Did the Pabloites expect the American imperialists to stand idly by and not use their great economic and military might to maintain as best they could the political status quo in the colonial world?

To attribute the failure of revolution to the strength of the enemy is just as incorrect as to see victory assured because of the weakness of the enemy. In both cases there is a complete under-estimation of the critical role of leadership and programme necessary for mobilizing the strength of the working class and the support of the peasantry against the very real power of imperialism as a world system.

## Bankrupt

The truth of the matter is that the position taken by the United Secretariat on the colonial question—so central in their eyes to their reunification—has been proven by historical events to be absolutely and completely bankrupt. We can see this most clearly in the case of Algeria, mentioned by Peng Shu-tse in his discussion article.

The June 1962 Plenum of the Socialist Workers' Party passed a resolution answering the criticisms of the Socialist Labour League and ourselves, entitled 'Problems of the Fourth International

—and the Next Steps'. Discussing the position taken by the SLL on Cuba and Algeria, the resolution makes the following judgement:

'The disorientation displayed by the SLL in regard to these two revolutions flows from their wrong method of approach to the fundamental processes at work. The root cause of the errors in both cases is the same: a loss of Marxist objectivity, disregard and depreciation of all other factors in the situation but the character of the official leadership. The subjective method of analysis results in oversimplified and sectarian conclusions.'

What was the position taken on Algeria by the SWP and United Secretariat on the one hand and the SLL on the other? The dispute centred first of all on how to interpret the Evian Agreements which ended the Algerian war and established the independent Ben Bella government. The resolution in question assesses the Agreements as follows:

'For more than seven years the Algerian rebels had to strain every resource to win national liberation from French rule. Now they have signed a cease-fire which, for all its shortcomings, substantially realizes this wholly progressive aim.'

While the SLL stated:

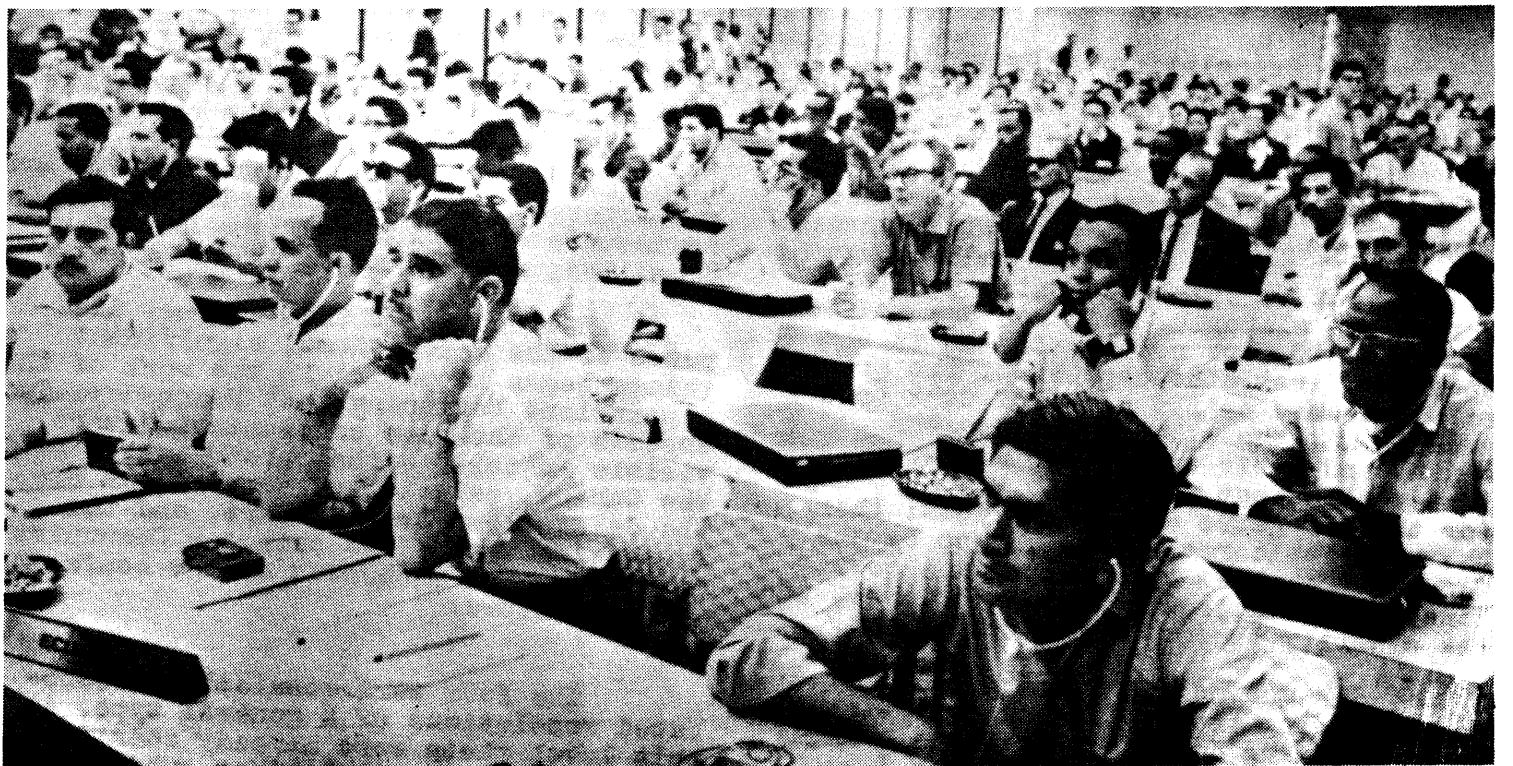
'This settlement is the most cynical deal which a nationalist leadership has ever made with a colonial power.'

## Dominance

The Evian Agreements granted formal independence to Algeria—in fact specifically placed the FLN in power as the government—and in return maintained basic economic dominance over the country particularly as regards the critically important Sahara oil and gas reserves. To the SWP and the United Secretariat, these compromises did not matter, nor did the 'subjective' factor of the bourgeois character of the leadership. The objective situation—the new world reality with its onward sweep of colonial revolution—would quickly force Ben Bella along the road to socialist revolution. In order to egg Ben Bella along this road Michel Pablo joined the Ben Bella capitalist government.

But history was to tragically illustrate once again the decisive role of revolutionary leadership and programme. Trapped by the provisions of the Evian Agreements, limited by his own social base, Ben Bella was forced to turn on the trade union movement of Algeria, make economic concession after economic concession to French imperialism, and so demoralize the mass of the Algerians that Boumedienne was able to remove him in a

*OLAS, shown in session below, is the blunt instrument the Latin American Pabloites wish to liquidate their movements into. The question the Pabloites cannot answer is why, with such a surplus of blunt instruments in the colonial countries no more Cubas have occurred.*



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The Pabloite 'epi-center' method sees 'serious setbacks' in the colonial countries and 'new successes' like May-June 1968 in the metropolitan countries.(above)

In turn the Pabloites adapt to each change in the international situation.

revolution in an advanced capitalist country. Without such a revolution the Soviet Union would find itself fighting for its life in a world dominated by world capitalism and this objective situation would lay the basis for the growth of bureaucracy within the Soviet Union.

## Aided stability

According to the Pabloite schema this relationship of forces changed in 1943, or at least definitively in 1949, with the triumph of the Chinese Revolution. Even if we take this later date, we see that while the Soviet Union now existed under conditions where workers' states formed a buffer on its eastern and western flanks, at the same time the Soviet bureaucracy was willing to pay for this buffer by helping the capitalists achieve a certain degree of stability in the rest of the world.

This political stability allowed world capitalism to go through another period of temporary growth so that while the Soviet Union's economy also advanced in this period, it emerged in the 1960s still with a greatly inferior level of productivity when compared to capitalist Europe and America. This inferiority was further intensified by the great arms burden foisted upon the workers' states by the aggressive character of world imperialism.

Thus the Soviet Union was able only to extend the perimeter of its isolation and that at the cost of deep polycentrist processes breaking loose within the bureaucratic strata. Despite the monopoly of foreign trade, the nationalization of basic industry and the planned economy, these countries are forced to compete under conditions of a world market dominated by imperialism. Attempts at isolated autarchic economic development within the confines of Comecon are futile and reactionary for they seek to ignore rather than overcome the central problem—the relatively lower level of productivity in the workers' states when compared to Europe and America.

It is this economic situation, under conditions of deepening world capitalist crisis, which sets the objective stage for the deepening crisis of the ruling bureaucracies in the workers' states and the concurrent renewed combativity of the working class of these countries as displayed in Poland, Hungary and more recently Czechoslovakia.

## Degeneration

The current resolution seeks to see the struggle in the Soviet countries as some independent conflict between the bureaucracy and the needs of the planned economies and the working class. What the resolution totally ignores is that this bureaucracy represents a counter-revolutionary force, a degeneration in the direction of capitalism. The contradiction between this bureaucracy and the planned economy is but an expression of the fundamental contradiction between capital and labour and can only be understood within this context. This is why the crisis in the workers' states takes place at the same time as the deepening crisis and renewed class struggle in the advanced capitalist countries.

If we approach the question of international perspectives from a Marxist point of view, then we proceed very differently from the United Secretariat resolution. We recognize that it will take a victorious proletarian revolution in at least one advanced capitalist country to alter the world balance of forces. We break through the formal schematism of the 'three sectors' theory to reveal the fundamental historic crisis of world capitalism, the fundamental class polarization on a world-wide basis between capital and labour with the crisis in the workers' states as essentially a subordinate reflection of this polarization.

With this outlook the task of building the Trotskyist party becomes absolutely central to our whole perspective—not a formal afterthought tacked on to the end of a resolution whose main thrust contradicts this demand.

If we approach the question this way we must then place our understanding of the development of the capitalist crisis at the very centre of our international strategy, see the development of the social classes within this framework, and pose our own tasks on this basis. Such an approach will reveal that the capitalist boom in the 1950s has now gone over into a fundamentally economic crisis requiring the ruling class to intensify its class struggle against workers in all countries. This, in turn, places the working class in a new position where it is required to fight back, but its own objective needs, its own desire to fight, comes into conflict with the conservative reformist and Stalinist leaderships of the working class. Thus the central strategy of the Transitional Programme, which saw the crisis of humanity as a crisis of leadership, and the solution to this crisis coming only through the struggle to construct the Fourth International, is our central strategy today.

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Precisely at the point, where the workers' states reach a level of economic development which requires of them greater integration into the world market if the economies are to move forward, the world market is marked by the fiercest international competition since the 1920s. The ruling bureaucracies are forced to discipline their own working class in a futile attempt to raise the level of productivity to a point where competition is possible, thus intensifying the conflict between the working class and these bureaucracies.

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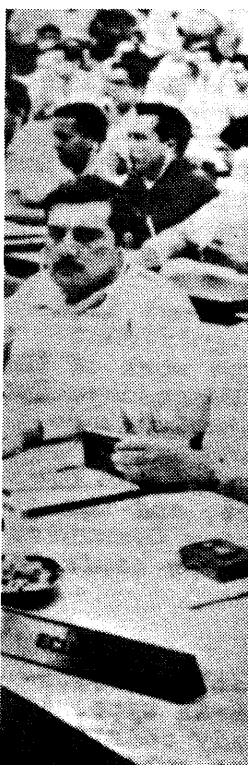
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*Stalinism is no longer seen as the ideology of the bureaucracy as a whole but rather as a tendency within the bureaucracy. This way the Pabloites were able to uncritically support Dubcek (left) during Czech events (above).*

military coup without the Algerian masses putting up any fight at all.

The assessment of the SLL proved to be totally correct and that of the Pabloites disastrously wrong. The theoretical position of the SLL, which saw and sees the essential crisis today as a crisis of leadership of the working class, was fully confirmed and the theory of 'blunted instruments' invalidated. These are the 'facts', Messrs. Hansen and company, of the Algerian experience.

It is not correct to place the blame for the failures in the colonial sphere at the door of these petty-bourgeois and bourgeois nationalists alone. As Peng correctly points out, the United Secretariat must bear its direct responsibility for supporting these forces and refusing to struggle to build a working-class alternative.

What real assessment and change in orientation does the current resolution offer? We are told that the 'colonial revolution had reached the point where it could go no further unless it made the transition into a socialist revolution—and for that the subjective factor was lacking'. Good, six years too late, but better late than never. Then we turn to the section 'Problems of the Resurgent Colonial Revolution' to see what the resolution proposes as the solution to this subjective leadership need.

Guerrilla warfare, guerrilla warfare and more guerrilla warfare. The entire section is permeated with the Castroite perspective of the resolution on Latin America discussed earlier.

In the midst of all this guerrilla business, applied not only to Latin America, but also to Asia and Africa, appear two sentences—no doubt inserted at the insistence of Hansen:

'Still lacking is a revolutionary Marxist appreciation of the need for a transitional programme for the city masses in order to set these explosive forces in motion through their own inherent needs. Likewise lacking as yet is a revolutionary Marxist appreciation of the role which a party of the calibre of the Bolsheviks could play in bringing the struggle to a successful conclusion at the earliest possible moment.'

Even if we leave aside the important point that the need for this party is

seen as not an absolute necessity but because it would allow victory earlier than by other means, the statement sticks out like a sore thumb among the guerrillas. The point is, it is not simply the Castroites who lack this 'revolutionary Marxist appreciation', but the overwhelming majority of the adherents of the United Secretariat.

## Only 'tendency'

When we turn to the treatment of the Stalinist countries we are particularly struck, in fact stunned, by one theme running through the whole section. The section is written from a theoretical position that Stalinism no longer exists in these states—or to the extent that if it does exist it is nothing more than a 'tendency' competing with other non-Stalinist tendencies within the leadership of these countries.

Thus we see mentions of a past 'Stalinist era'; we are told that part of the crisis in these countries is 'the bureaucracy's inability to develop a consistent ideological line to take the place of the Stalinist doctrine' and the 'embryonic new vanguard' is warned not to be forced to make a choice between the new technocratic section of the bureaucracy and a 'return to Stalinism'.

If we place these formulations within the context of the position taken by the United Secretariat on Czechoslovakia (not discussed in this resolution), it becomes clear this is no matter of terminology alone. The United Secretariat

openly supported Dubcek against the Soviet Union. Our position was one of opposition to the Soviet intervention, but refusal to give any political support whatsoever to the Dubcek section of the Stalinist bureaucracy in Czechoslovakia. Instead we relied on the independent struggle of the working class of Czechoslovakia and called for the creation of a section of the Fourth International to take this struggle forward to the political revolution. We gave critical support to Dubcek only insofar as he resisted the Soviet invasion.

## Transformed

Clearly the United Secretariat no longer views Stalinism scientifically as the ideology and practice of a bureaucratic caste which rules in these countries. Instead it has become transformed into a **tendency** within that bureaucracy and the ideology identified with the particular programme of that tendency. The purpose of such formulations is to free the United Secretariat from an independent struggle against the bureaucracy as a whole so that the political revolution can be dropped in favour of support for a section (the 'non-Stalinist' section) of the bureaucracy against another section of the bureaucracy.

What is this but another variation on the theme of the **self-reform** of the bureaucracy which lay at the roots of the political disputes which led to the split in the Fourth International in 1952-1953?

Once again we can see the theoretical and methodological continuity between Pablo's positions of 1950-1953 and the political positions expressed in this resolution. We say that Stalin the man has gone but Stalinism remains in the material form of a bureaucratic caste and in the ideology of this caste. We say that Pablo, the man, has gone, but Pabloism remains as the theory and method of the United Secretariat.

Now we must turn to the analysis of the document on the crisis in the advanced countries and the strategy and tactical tasks flowing from an understanding of that crisis. The section 'The End of the Long Imperialist Boom' makes for the first time a serious assessment of the capitalist crisis. But in the middle of the analysis the document makes an important ex-

ception:

'Doubtless, American imperialism still commands sufficient reserves and resources to continue using Keynesian techniques in the United States for some time without mounting a direct assault on the living standards of the American working class.'

## Great faith

The authors of the resolution have, typically, greater faith in the 'reserves and resources' of American imperialism than does Nixon, and the finance capital which rules through Nixon.

All the spokesmen of the Administration and the banks have repeated time and again that Keynesianism is out, bankrupt, worthless in dealing with the crisis now facing American capitalism. Thus, while American capitalism is forced to throw as much of the cost of its crisis on to Europe as possible, it must at the same time launch an attack on American workers. This has already affected the living standards of American workers who are experiencing, for the first time since before the Second World War, an actual fall in their real wages. At the same time Nixon is planning new attacks on the working class through the conscious introduction of recession and unemployment.

The world crisis has destroyed, among other things, John Maynard Keynes. He lives on only in the minds of the authors of this resolution as an expression of their childlike faith in American capitalism. Even 'facts' only slowly break down such faith.

But an even more important point is the nature of the strategy the United Secretariat develops even from its inadequate assessment of the capitalist crisis. Here impressionism enters once again in a new form: 'the appearance of a new youth vanguard'. It is clear from the last two sections of the perspectives resolution and the accompanying resolution—'The Worldwide Radicalization of the Youth and the Tasks of the Fourth International'—that the new epi-centre within all other epi-centres is the student movement. Thus, as we noted in our first article, Hansen's alternative to rural guerrilla warfare is an orientation towards the urban student movement in Latin America. Everywhere, but especially in the advanced countries, the United Secretariat is looking towards these students.

## Sectarian

This immediately poses the question of the relationship between the radicalization of the students and the struggles of the working class, something of which the United Secretariat has finally taken note. Here two important positions emerge. First, and most importantly, caught up in their impressionism and some numerical gains among the students, the resolution adopts a sectarian and completely bankrupt policy towards the existing leaderships of the working class—reformist and Stalinist.

There is talk of the 'new enfeebling of the traditional workers' organizations', the 'weakening of the CP's grip on the worker youth in France and Italy', etc. The United Secretariat's sections are seen as 'being borne along and propelled by popular currents'.

*Pabloism completely failed its own 'acid test' in Algeria lining up with Ben Bella (left) who paved the way for Boumedienne (right).*



And finally :

"The new relationship arising among the three sectors of the world revolution guarantees that the question of the International will be divorced from the polarization around the Soviet Union which has been in effect ever since October 1917. Although this polarization was beneficial when the Soviet Union was led by Lenin and Trotsky, it has pernicious effects long after Kremlin policy came into direct opposition to the expansion of the world revolution."

What this all adds up to is that the Pabloites 'being borne along and propelled by popular currents' among the student youth, with the 'new enfeebling' of the reformist and Stalinist (they no longer even use this term) organizations, with polarization no longer centred around the Soviet Union, have a perspective of simply sweeping by these traditional organizations directly into power.

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**IF WE LOOK** at the assessment made of May-June in the resolution ('The World Radicalization of Youth and the Tasks of the Fourth International'), the perspective put forward for future struggles in France, and the actual practice of the Pabloites in the recent Krivine Presidential candidacy, we will see exactly what these people are driving at.

After correctly attacking the Communist Party and the CGT leadership for selling out the May-June Revolution, the resolution ignores the central lesson of this—the CP was able to get away with it.

This in itself illustrated that 'enfeebled' or not, the Communist Party

remains a powerful force in the French working-class movement which can play a decisively counter-revolutionary role in future developments unless it is confronted and its power in the French working class destroyed.

## 'Dual power'

The only concrete proposals made by the resolution for future struggles in France is that 'dual-power' organizations must be strengthened. In other words the Pabloites propose to somehow organize workers in France independently of the CP and in this fashion skirt around the very great power the Communist Party has in the French working class.

The complete absence of any strategy to deal with this question of the Communist Party is revealed in the Krivine candidacy in the recent elections following the 'no' vote and the resignation of de Gaulle. After first abstaining in the 'no' vote, the Pabloites in France organized an election campaign aimed at expressing the student movement developed a year ago in May-June.

Thus they ignored the central task posed after the resignation of de Gaulle—the development of a strategy aimed at breaking the Communist Party rank and file from its Stalinist leadership. This required first a 'no' in the referendum, as the workers understood it, then a call to vote for Duclos, posing to the Communist Party a socialist programme as an alternative to Gaullism and capitalism. This would have begun the process of exposing the Communist Party before the mass of French workers who still look to this party for leadership in their struggles against the capitalists.

## Vital task

The very centre of our strategy, we repeat, must be overcoming the crisis



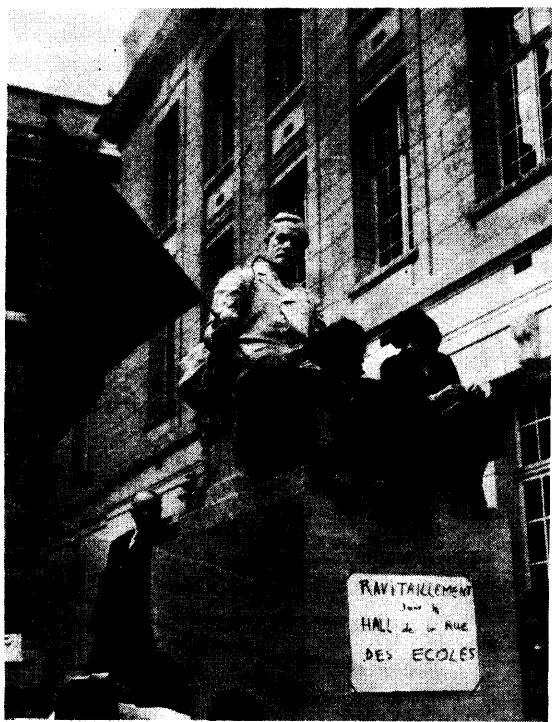
While students in the May-June 1968 events evinced a certain independence from the Stalinists in the end the Stalinists were able to contain and defeat the revolution.

of leadership under conditions of deepening capitalist crisis and renewed desire to struggle on the part of the working class. This requires not only our own independent struggle for the strategy of the Transitional Programme, but a tactical approach aimed at the very difficult but vital task of breaking the mass of the working class from its traditional reformist and Stalinist parties.

This cannot be done from outside through the student movement alone. While the students in May-June evinced a certain independence from the Stalinists, and sections of workers proceeded to struggle beyond the limits set by the Communist Party, in the end the Stalinists were able to contain and defeat the revolution. The Pabloites contributed to this defeat by confining their activities to the 'popular currents' among the students and allowing themselves to be 'borne along and propelled' by these currents. The real task was to confront these currents with the real need to direct the whole struggle around the question of power and the Communist Party and to break in the process from all the Cohn-Bendits and other anarchistic 'popular' currents.

We have no doubt that in time the Pabloites will turn their attention once again to these traditional organizations, finding empirically that they cannot be by-passed by flowing along with the students. At this point, rather than developing an independent orientation directed towards the rank and file and directly linked to the struggle to build the Trotskyist party, they will, as they presently are doing in relation to the Stalinist bureaucracy in the workers' states, seek 'points of support' among the factions of the leaderships of these movements. Consistent with Pabloism at each stage of its development is a rejection of independent working-class struggle and the independent construction of the revolutionary party. This is the essence of liquidationism.

The second aspect of this orientation is what they call 'the strategy of the red university'. They formulate a series of demands which start from the perspective of student power and propose to carry this perspective forward to the creation of a working-class university to serve the political and educational needs of the working class. In the United States, they state, 'the red university slogan appeared in the variation, "For a Black University!"'. Thus it seems they do not see any distinction between a university for the working class as a whole and a university for black as blacks. But such distinctions do not seem to matter. The method is to start where the students start with student or black student 'power' and then propose to carry these demands further.



The Pabloites see the Red University (Sorbonne top) as the same as the Black University (Howard above) Both concepts are utopian and keep students separated from the working class.

It is, of course, noted that the creation of such a university is impossible under capitalism. All the better, states the resolution, for in the process of struggle the students will realize this and discover they must join with the working class and overthrow capitalism so that they can have a red university and the workers' red factories. Utilizing this logic we can envisage a situation where a group of hippies decide to retire to a farm in Pennsylvania and create on this an ideal communist state. Our authors would then be forced to support this effort, understanding that in the course of their efforts the hippies would be forced to the realization that in order to establish their commune they will have to join with the working class and overthrow capitalism.

What is required on the university campuses is a head-on confrontation with the 'popular current' of student power and particularly the Utopian notion of a 'red university'. We must counterpose to this the whole strategic programme of the working class which encompassed demands in defence of the students against police attack and against economic blows aimed at them as the crisis deepens.

## 'Sector' method

Once again we have here another expression of the 'sector' method. In the Pabloite perspective, workers are to fight in their independent sector and the students in theirs and each will be somehow inter-related.

The only uniting force between international sectors or these sectors of struggle within a country is the revolutionary party and its programme. The students join the working class through joining and subordinating themselves to the revolutionary party. This party fights for a single programme in all fields of struggle not for separate programmes and demands in each isolated sector. It is this single programme which unites the class nationally and internationally against capitalism and rallies to the working class the viable sections of the middle class and intelligentsia.

By dissolving the revolutionary party into the 'popular currents' of the students, the Pabloites only deepen the divisions between students and workers and within the working class and leave the leadership of the working class to the 'enfeebled' traditional parties.

In conclusion we must return to the





*Krivine (second from right) during election campaign which reflected Pabloites' attempt to get around, instead of confronting, existence of French Communist Party. Today they talk of an "enfeebled" reformist and Stalinist movement. Tomorrow they will liquidate themselves once again in this movement.*

question of method. In the resolution of 1962 'The Problems of the Fourth International—and the Next Steps' and the 1963 article by Joseph Hansen 'Cuba—The Acid Test' the central method which is reflected in this current resolution is clearly stated.

'It is a fact,' the SWP stated in 1962, 'that the main arena and most dynamic sector of the world revolution is today located in the under-developed countries where imperialism and capitalism are breaking at their weakest links.'

But what, according to dialectics, is a 'fact'? It is not a permanent fixture, but rather a temporary unity of oppositional forces which will soon emerge as a new and different fact. And so the 'fact' of the colonial revolution being the main arena and most dynamic sector of the world revolution soon became the fact of the fall of Ben Bella, Nkrumah, Sukarno—the fact noted in the current resolution :

'Starting early in the sixties the colonial revolution suffered a series of spectacular reverses.'

## Understanding

To note the new facts represents no greater step towards a Marxist understanding than the noting of the old facts.

What is required is an understanding of the underlying contradictory developments which lead to the changes in appearance—which lead one fact to be replaced by another fact. This requires first and foremost a study of the objective development of the contradictions and on this materialist basis the projection of a course of independent struggle aimed at destroying all the

existing facts of capitalist relations and replacing them with the qualitatively new facts of socialist relations.

Now we turn to 'Cuba—the Acid Test' and find Hansen lecturing us once again on facts :

'But no revolutionary socialists "choose" what shall be regarded as the touchstone of revolutionary politics. This is done by much bigger forces; namely classes in conflict. Cuba and Algeria happen to be the two areas in the world where this conflict has reached revolutionary proportions at the moment. This was not determined by any decision of ours. It was determined by revolutionary mass actions. Nor did we choose the current leaderships of the colonial revolution. They are the result of objective conditions of vast sweep. What we did was to study the facts and in these facts seek openings for effective application of our programme.'

Here is empiricism in a nutshell.

Of course revolutionists cannot choose by a subjective act where or even if a revolutionary explosion will or should break out. But Marxism is a science. A serious understanding of the objective laws of capitalist development allows one to predict in general outline the way in which the revolutionary crisis will develop. Thus as early as 1961 we were able to see the development of a European crisis, a renewed struggle of the working class in the advanced countries, and a new May-June. Of course, we could neither

predict that May-June would take place in France and not England or Italy, nor the exact date it would erupt. But we were able to understand that the key to the development of the Fourth International did not lie with the colonial revolution nor with its petty-bourgeois leadership but in a turn towards the industrial workers in the advanced countries and a real fight among them for the Transitional Programme and the revolutionary party.

## Not surprised

Also we were not surprised when the fact of Ben Bella in power moving leftward was transformed into the fact of Ben Bella out of power and the rightward movement of the Boumedienne regime. This could not but be the case with the growing crisis of international capital and the economic squeeze this necessitated on the vulnerable and weak petty-bourgeois strata of the under-developed countries. We are not even hypnotized by the fact of the growth of rightist regimes in colonial areas for we understand that the very same objective conditions which spell the doom of the pseudo-revolutionary nationalists also create new conditions for struggle of the proletariat and the peasantry in the colonial countries. Hence the resurgence of the struggle in recent months in the colonial areas in new and different forms, with the proletariat in the forefront.

Of course we do not 'choose the current leaderships of the colonial re-

volution', but neither do we accept these facts as unalterable. But this is exactly what Hansen does. He advises that we accept these facts of the existing leaderships and 'in these facts seek openings for effective application of our programme'.

Here we have the heart of the whole liquidationism of Pabloism under the differing sets of facts it has faced since 1950. The Pabloites study the existing situation and then choose openings within the existing leaderships of the working class, colonial peoples and Stalinist countries. We, on the other hand, recognize the fact of the traditional leaderships as subject to change—not automatic change—but change through our own conscious struggle.

The existing workers' movement is a unity of opposites—the leadership reflecting essentially the interests of the capitalists and the working class seeking to fight back against capitalist attacks. At the moment there is a relative identity between the two and this identity cannot be destroyed except through the intervention of the conscious factor—our struggle to pit the working class against the leadership and in the course of this struggle build the parties of the Fourth International as the alternative.

The breaking of the unity between the opposition forces of the rank-and-file workers and capital reflected through the leadership and its ideology is a necessary part of breaking the capitalist system itself which is a contradictory unity between capital and labour. Only this will create a new world reality—a world socialist society.

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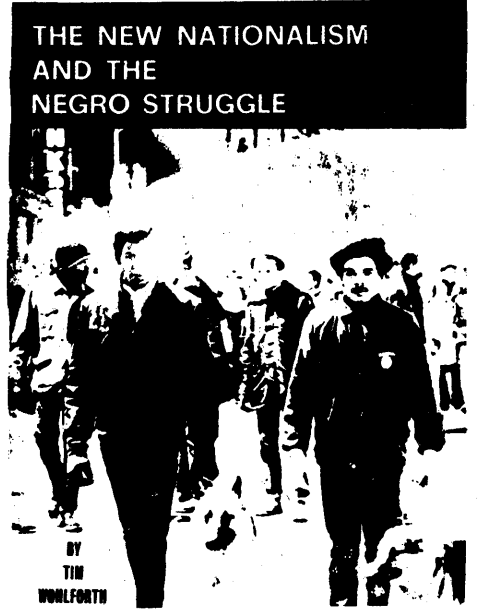
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