on the spot report

BRITISH TROOPS MOVE ON IRISH WORKERS

(ABOVE) VIOLENCE RAGES IN BELFAST. (RIGHT) BRITISH TROOPS OCCUPY THE CITY

UNREST SWEEPS MARINE CORPS

green berets and the triple agent plan kennedy whitewash

Franc Falls As World Economic Crisis Deepens
Franc Falls as Crisis Deepens

By Dennis O' Carey

The devaluation of the French franc strikes another body blow at the crumbling international monetary system. Pompidou's action came in fact as a culmination of the contra-
dictory forces unleashed in the 1968 French General Strike. Both the defeat of De Gaulle in the June refer-
endum and now the collapse of the franc must be seen as penalties inflicted by the French working class on the French bourgeoisie last May-June for which payment was in a
dense deferred. After the November currency crisis De Gaulle tried desperately to defend the parry of the franc by applying pressure once again to the labor move-
ment. De Gaulle balked, for example, at the demands put forward by the unions for cost of living ad-
justments in the so-called "frede-
vous of March" and for his efforts was not only answered with a one day general strike but was shortly thereafter turned out to pasture by labor movement in the referendum.

Pompidou's decision to devalue is nothing more than an admission of his own bankruptcy. He is just as unable as De Gaulle to provide any solution to the contradiction between the need of French capital and the power of French labor expressed in the 13% wage hikes won a year ago. The legacy left Pompidou by De Gaulle consisted of a reserve standing that had been whittled down from 7 to 1.5 billion dollars in the last year. Pompidou, in fact, faced state bankruptcy within the year. Thus his admission that his decision to devalue was made last June comes as no surprise.

? The only question really facing Pompidou was how much? The 12-1/2% rate obviously solves nothing, any more than the 14% devaluation solved the crisis of British capita-
lism in 1967. At least what is pro-
vided the French bankers is a short breathing spell.

The French workers particularly are not about to accept the austerity measures without which the edge achieved by the devaluation for the French capitalists will be quickly lost. It has been a foregone conclu-
sion for months that the wage demands put forward last March and adopted during the election and summer holi-
day period will be vigorously pressed for by French labor in September. What is involved is the question of whether or not labor is to regain the 1.4% lost through inflation in the last year plus new increases. On top of this is now added the question of further price rises and again the moves resulting from devaluation. Already the COT has been forced to throw in.

30% devaluation would have been much closer to what was required. There is nothing for the anarchy of reality, by the fact that it was thought by Nixon and the international bankers to fall short of threatening the parity of the pound and the dollar as well as holding open the door for a pos-
sible revaluation of the German mark. Clearly the strategy of the interna-
tional bankers, having despaired of maintaining the present monetary rango
ment indefinitely, is to slow its collapse.

In order to prevent European devaluations from spreading at this time to the U.S. dollar upon which the systems hinges. In this way the international capitalists seek to gain time for themselves in which to prove politically for the showdown with the international working class that will be upon them with the threatened col-
cept the monetary apparatus.

Preparation

Such preparation from the stand-
point of the capitalist class is increas-
ing all efforts to move the world capita-
lism economy into a state of planned recession so as to build up a sub-
stable body of unemployed to use as a whetting for the next round in wages and working conditions that is now required. In this way the capitalists hope to strengthen them-
selves in relation to the working class by the protection of inflation and uncontrollable collapse.

Disrupting every effort in this dir-
ction is the development of the working class. Unfettered and enjoying rela-
ively full employment for the last 25 years of the 1960's in the United States and Western Europe are no more likely to tolerate unemploy-
ment than the world workers systems. The various incomes policies and anti-
strike measures thrown against them in the past have only served to harden the capitalists for their efforts to induce austerity and unemploy-
ment in the interests of the Presidency while for the British capi-
talists it is the full scale rebellion now in progress in Northern Ireland.

Every step against the working class taken by the capitalists to relieve the economic crisis simply throws them all the deeper into political crises. This is what chiefly character-
izes the development now taking place in the major capitalist coun-
tries.

Citatel

This will prove equally true in the citadel of world imperialism, the United States. Thus far Nixon's moves have been chiefly the European bourgeoisie and thus in turn the European working class. Nixon's proposal for a Federal State surplus and 8-1/2% rates interest rates have meant the flight of Eurodollars from Europe and Federal State break-
ning European expansion and forcing the European capitalists into show-
downs with their own workers in advance of the United States.

In the last month however signs of slowdown in the U.S. economy appeared including downward move-
ment of the projected Gross National Product, a recent decline in retail sales and auto output, a drop in cor-
porate profits, a sharp downturn in housing as well as sell off of the stock exchanges. Most ominous of all was a rise in the rate of unem-
ployment to 3.6% up from 3.4% in June and 3.3% in December in 1969.

It is clear that in the next period the American workers will be forced into a struggle with the Nixon Ad-
ministration and the U.S. capitalist class the limits of which has not been seen since World War II, the American bourgeoisie no longer has any choice.

Collapse

The international capitalists are simply incapable of holding to either the dollar or the pound for any effect since Bretton Woods very much longer. The international working class will not.

What is thus posed is the out and cut collapse of this system reinforcing where the capital controls and money measures are put into effect by Nixon and Co., with a devastating collapse of world trade in 1970. This development and the world capitalist economy into a tailspin on the order of the 1930's.

The only alternative to the brutal privations of a major world de-
pression for the international working class is the road of socialist revolu-

USSR Provookes New China Border Dispute

By Fred Muller

The latest Soviet-Chinese border clash is the most serious new stage in the conflict. The area has shifted from the Ussuri River in the Far East to the border near the border March, to the area Soviet Kazakhstan borders the Chinese prov-
ing. Over and over again the capitalist press praises the reasonableness of the Soviet position, asserting that the Russians have nothing to gain from the conflict, which is simply being used by the Chinese for their own purposes. Class conscious work-
er must not be misled by these lies. Behind all the reasonable talk these traitors maneuver in order to attack and betray the working class everywhere, in Czechoslovakia, in Vietnam and in China.

The Kremlin bureaucrats are seek-
ing to shift the conflict to an area which is strategically more favorable to them. Speaking of the latest battle, the New York Times says, "As Kravchenko advocate of preventive war against the Chinese might well feel that this was the best place to strike."

The Soviet leadership continues to do the dirty work of the imperialists, drawing the Chinese into a conflict which can only aid imperialism. The Chinese revolution must be uncondi-
tionally defeated against the attacks of the capitalists and the provoca-
tions of the Soviet bureaucracy.

Washington has everything to gain from this conflict, and it can be expected to encourage it quietly from both sides. Its goal remains the restoration of capitalist rule through Chinese-Soviet split and the October and Chinese revolu-
tions is not finally settled. The crisis of imperialism forces it to move towards crushing all the gains of these revolts, distorted though they are under the rule of the bureau-
cacy.

This is the historic significance of the border conflict and the diplo-
matie maneuverings with imperialism. Now the Kremlin conspires against China, but the conclusion is the weak-
ening of the Soviet Union as well.

Romania

Nixon's trip to Romania in early August is part of the imperialist strat-
egy of divide and conquer. This trip was not in contradiction to the prevailing climate following last year's invasion of Czechoslovakia, in spite of all the crocodile tears shed by Washington and its allies over that event. In fact the temporary crushing of the Czech working class helped pave the way for further diplo-
matie games of this kind. Now Wash-
ington feels freer than ever before to encourage right wing trends within the bureaucracy. It is significant that Romania has shown interest in joining the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, and is petitioning the proposal for Malaysia to join. Nixon has moreover made public his position on China.

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Page 2 BULLETIN August 25, 1969
The arrest of eight Green Beret soldiers for the murder of a Viet- namese civilian agent has blown the lid off the whole Special Forces-CIA cabal. What has now been revealed is that the Special Forces operate not only in Vietnam but in Laos, Thailand, throughout Latin America, and in nearly every other area of the world as a special military detachment under the jurisdiction of the Central Intelligence Agency.

On orders from Washington these specially trained troops assassinate civilians of other nations, carry on any operations covering several continents, and intervene into the political affairs of many nations.

Here is what has come to the surface in the last few weeks. First the confession of agent Chu Van Thai Khat was unusal in only one respect—usually the South Vietnamese are asked to carry out the actual murder. But the murder of Vietnamese civilians on orders of the CIA on the sole ground of sus- picion takes place as a daily occurrence without a trial or any form of due process. This alone makes clear that the United States operates as the real ruler of South Vietnam not having to abide by even the legalities required in the United States itself.

L A O S

Next we have the Car Crash Caper in neighboring Laos. A story that appeared in the press as a gratuious accident involving a car with four members of the United States diplomatic and consular staff who happened to have in their possession a map of some strategic military installations. It was later revealed that the car in question was forced into the accident by the Laos United States MILITARY vehicle.

Once again we can see the hand of the CIA at work with the United States Army at its disposal to carry out its dirty work. If an American military jeep can run down an embassy car in broad daylight in Laos can anyone for a moment maintain that Laos is in any sense an independent country?

THE GREEN BERETS ARE SHOWN HERE ON A SPECIAL TRAINING MISSION

Finally it is revealed that the Special Forces operate out of a num- ber of bases throughout the world. First is an airbase near Nhatrang, South Vietnam where they are fur- nished with special black unmarked planes, called "black cats," for sneaking into neighboring lands to carry out, as the New York Times describes it, "intelligence-gathering, sabotage, kidnapping, and not too infrequently the elimination of certain persons in South Vietnam and the bordering countries of Laos, Cambodia and North Vietnam."

The 48th Special Forces Company just outside Bangkok, Thailand en- gages in similar actions in that re- gion. Then there is the Eight Special Forces in Panama serving intelli- gence and guerrilla warfare needs in Latin America. Finally there are Special Forces units at Fort Bragg, N.C., and Fort Devens, Mass., avail- able for similar work across the world.

NewswEEK verifies this description of the worldwide role of the Green Berets as the military arm of the CIA with a report on Green Beret activity during the United States intervention into the Dominican Republic in 1965. It reports Green Beret intelligence work operated under CIA control and its reports were sent to Washington as CIA reports, and the question which everyone is seeking to figure out is why suddenly did the army proceed with murder charges instead of warnings and men who were obviously just carrying out orders in a procedure which has usually ended in American occupation of South Vietnam? The latest explanation, which seems the most probable but is not fully involved was actually a TRIPPLE agent. This is the way Gary Sheppard, CBS correspondent in Saigon explains it: The triple agent was a South Vietnamese captain assigned to the Special Forces, and similarly having minor intelligence information for the CIA; he worked for North Vietnamese intelligence. He was a very important material from the allies; he really worked for the Americans gathering top-secret material on the enemy and passing it to high CIA officials.

A lower CIA official found out the man was a double agent, according to the account, and ordered him killed by the Special Forces. The order was rescinded when the agent's true role was realized, the report continued. It was all scientifically dead, CIA officials in Washington were said to have demanded that the Army cancel the Special Forces men involved in the case.

If this is really the whole of it then we can see that under that this triple agent got his. We also suspect that behind the scenes a jurisdictional battle is being fought to see exactly who is running the Green Berets—the Army and the Pentagon or the CIA which operates directly under the President completely independent of Army command and Congress.

Most important, whatever the de- tails and the skullduggery involved, the operation of the CIA which of the United States imperialists is re- vealed for all to see. The lessons of the People's War in Vietnam and of the Pueblo where are driven home once again. The United States stands ready and willing to murder and commit every kind of crime known to humanity against the revolutionary peoples of the world.

auto workers face sharp attacks

BY DAN FRIED

The latest news of a sharp downward fall in U.S. automobile sales indicates that the recession the government and banking economists say may hit in December or January may be starting right now. The fact is that this recession arising from the government's "credit crunch" and tax policy has been creeping up on us for some time. The unemployment rate has risen from 3.3% in March to 3.7% in June. Economic indicators now point to a sharpening of the recessionary trend which will multiply unemployment and increase joblessness for youth entering the labor force.

CRUNCH

The credit crunch together with increased steel costs due to the upsurge among auto producers has taken its toll in the U.S. auto industry. The last couple of weeks has seen a drop of almost 12% in new car sales by U.S. producers. This trend was reversed in June during the first 10 days of August selling only 81,190 cars as compared with 106,644 in the same period of 1968. But it is the smaller and weaker firms both here and abroad that are in the greatest trou- ble—Chrysler in the U.S. and its British subsidiary, Rootes. As Chry- sler shares on the New York Stock Exchange tumbled 1% in the first quarter of 1968 and continue to fall, the company has taken the following steps: 1. cut prices on its British Rootes Group cars to expand sales; 2. cut back sharply on its $300 million expansion program for the year; 3. unloaded 366,000 unsold cars on its dealers, started layoffs at the Dodge Hamilton and other plants; 4. issued instructions to all plants to cut costs through speed-up; 5. finally started plans to introduce a new small car to compete with Ford and GM, plans which will no doubt be hampered by the cutback in the $300 million expansion program.

BANKRUPTCY

Management is already preparing its campaign of sub-stories and spe- cial pleas of "bankruptcy" to the UAW. They will raise the threat of plant closures and call on the workers to make "sacrifices" and even wage cuts in order to enable the company to stay in business. That's what happened at the Stude- tanker Corporation which also raised the threat of bankruptcy, demanded and got wage slacks only to close up shop anyway, throwing thousands of workers out of jobs. This should serve as a warning for the Chrysler Workers to let the Company or the UAW leadership talk them into any deals.

CONFERENCE

The UAW leadership has called a special conference of Chrysler dele- gates to be held in Washington D.C., September 15-17. The delegates can strike a real blow not only against Chrysler but the other auto com- panies as well, by taking the offen- sive at this conference. The con- ference must make it clear that there must be an end to the increased speed-up in the plant, dem- and a re-opening of the contract, and fight for the 30 hour week.

The forthcoming negotiations for the 1970 auto contract now look large as the U.S. economy appears to be headed for a recession. Workers must be prepared for the worst—including mass layoffs and depressions. Auto workers who use the threat of unemployment to demand "sacrifices," the UAW has to fight to defend the jobs and con- dition the way by the demand of the 30 hour week and the renewal of the full escalator clause in 1970. If Chrysler, American Motors or any other company threatens to close shops or declare bankruptcy, the UAW can turn the tables on them and demand the nationalization of these companies under the U.S. Constitution. The Chrysler delegates at the Washington conference can begin a campaign that will carry the power of the auto workers in the U.S.A., in Britain and in Europe in a real battle against the auto giants who want to maintain profits at the workers expense.
Dear Editor,

I don't know why I bother writing you any more. I am just sending the leading credence to the idea that your important sect is in some way important to me. I think it is about time you socialist revolution. From time to time one needs a break from the differences between the two of you (though both are operating a revolutionary party, a bit of humour to make the task easier. (You are probably both too busy to have occasion to do such work). Perhaps this is the reason for my letter. Whatever reason may be, a few comments on your recent 'Bulletin Supplement entitled ‘Revolutionists in Crisis’. Tim Wohlforth's "analysis" of the recent World Congress of the Fourth International. When I read it today, your article took me somewhat by surprise. Up until now I was not aware that any such crisis existed within the Fourth International, nor, I am sure was any other member; and I am afraid you have failed to convince me even yet. No, any crisis that exists, exists only within the mind of Tim Wohlforth, who, as your Fourth International, imaging that it is somehow possible to build a revolution outside of a long history of failure to rationalize his mistake by inventing a non-existing crisis within the ranks of honest revolutionaries.

That there are differences within the party was indeed a fact, but it is denied that the Canadian Section supported the minority position. But you will be surprised to learn that the Leninist organization in Canada, the Fourth International, has a way of dealing with differences so that they can be considered day by day. That method is called Democratic Centralism, but I doubt you will be satisfied with this method of considering the way your faction operated when it was a part of the SWP. You are not sure of your kind of analysis when you refer to the Fourth International as "Pabloite." Don't you think it is only fair to tell him that Mr. Pablo's groupings has nothing in common with the Fourth International, both in our opinion and his?

What about the criticism of "the right wing split within the SWP"? Whether Mr. Wohlforth likes it or not, there are worker's states which have many fundamental features in common; there are advanced capitalist countries which have many particular features in common; there are colonial countries which have many fundamental features in common; there are countries which have no intentions of apologizing for the way the world has developed. In this important aspect of material reality so that we can develop a revolutionary programme we are acting within each of the three sectors and the dialectical relationships between them.

It is meant to deal with your absurd proposal that the French Communist League should have supported Trotsky, and not the Fourth International. It is also the rest of his part on the barricades last summer when he is all mixed up with de Gaulle's "national" process of strangling what might have been a successful revolution; and of course, your reactionary (and not racists) approach to the American black struggle, which is the anti-theis of Leninism, but my time is not always.

In closing I would like to offer you a friendly suggestion which Trotsky recommended to the participants in the "Learn to Think." If you do not use this suggestion then I am afraid you will end up like Trotsky and the Wallachian. While the revolution passes you by.

Fraternally, David Porter, Organizing Secretary, Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes.

Don't think for a moment the question of Pabloism can be dismissed in such an easy way. We recommend you read the issue of the Bulletin the original "Open Letter" issued by the SWP in 1953. Read this and see if the differences in 1953 were exclusively over the individual Michel Pablo or also a revisionist method of thought characterized as "Pabloism". A discussion of whether or not the United Secretariat carried forward Trotskyism or Pablo revisionism cannot be separated from a discussion of the way the individual Pablo or any other revisionist movement was viewed in the Stalinist Soviet Union.

The very few political questions you raise in your letter underline the need for a serious discussion. You state that whether we like it or not there exist these "three sectors" and that your international organization plans to "use this important aspect of material reality".

This, we maintain, is pure pragmatism, a very easy way of justifying your activities. It never gets to the essence of the world political situation. What you ignore is the fundamental division between the two great classes of modern society—the capitalist class and the working class. This division divides all "sectors" however you divide up the world and the conflict between these two to a large extent determines the central dialectical relationship in the world. The relationship between these two classes is fundamentally determined by the development of world capitalism. The International Communist movement has maintained that starting in the 1960's world capitalism has been entering a new period of crisis which forces the capitalists to conduct a struggle against the working class in all "sectors" of the world. A deeper analysis of the forces operating within each of the sectors' flows of development is a prerequisite for fundamental capitalist crisis not out of some "dialectical relationship" between sectors as Mr. Pablo's method destroys class lines while the Marxist method etches them out with greater and clearer detail.

You cannot dismiss the proposal that revolutionaries in France should have given a vote for De Gaulle. This has been a topic discussed in the SWP since 1953. Above all, you discuss 1961-53, as the SWP refused for reformation with the Fourth International. Therefore we urge you to take up the issues raised in the material presented to the convention by the American black struggle, which is the anti-theisis of Leninism, but my time is not always.

In closing I would like to offer you a friendly suggestion which Trotsky recommended to the participants in the "Learn to Think." If you do not use this suggestion then I am afraid you will end up like Trotsky and the Wallachian. While the revolution passes you by.

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You call your opinion on the Negro question "reactionary bordering on fascism" and you think that this is not a lack of time but a theoretical inability to do so which prevents you from backing up these bald statements with serious analyses.

If you were seriously to probe Lenin on this question of nationalism it would completely expose the adaptation of your position to the policies of the so-called French Canadian separatism and unilingualism. Lenin opposed national minorities with the same correctness as the expense of other minorities but your organization favors WALLACISM in France and even if they prefer English. This is a completely reactionary position.

The development of the Canadian working class has always been closely associated with the development of the American working class. We can trace this way back to the days of the Knights of Labor, the AFL, the CIO in the 1930's. This has also been true of political organizations including the Socialist Workers Party. The SWP began simultaneously in Canada and the United States with the return of James Cannon and Maurice Barlow to North America in 1928.

There is, of course, nothing wrong in the fact that the Socialist Workers Party has traditionally had a considerable influence politically on the development of the Fourth International organization— that is nothing wrong as long as the SWP was a Trotskyist organization. But since the SWP has had a particularly deep impact on the LSA in Canada and the development of the Fourth International in Canada requires an understanding of the history of the SWP, what brought about this situation?

Is there any doubt but that the position of the LSA on French separation is based on the SWP's "Pabloite" views on black nationalism and not on Lenin? Can one doubt that the LSA's central leadership's claim that peace movement is an extension of the line of the SWP? But this is particularly important when it comes to Cuba. Long after the Fair Play for Cuba Committee was formed, Mr. Pablo's "movement" thought that the LSA has been instrumental in maintaining it in Canada. This com- mittee was put together in part as a reaction to revolutionary guerrilla warfare thesis which the LSA and SWP opposed at the recent International Communist Congress.

The LSA is politically the product of the SWP and thus it must look at the present orientation of the SWP as part of its own evolution. There is no escaping from this by muddling up the concept of "Leninist sect" and "ultra-leftism". The "imperialist ultra- militants" of the International Communist Party have been published in paper in England and a weekly paper in the United States. Oh well, we could say "(2) by the SWP."

As a day work of building a revolutionary party.
panthers lash out at sds

BY THE EDITOR

A little over a month ago the Black Panthers were brought to the stage of the Chicago SDS convention to de-

liver Progressive Labor and its sup-

porters to the ballot. Now the Panthers have turned on the sec-

tion of SDS which supported them declaring this section as well as to be in effect "fascists". About the only group left in which the opinion of the Panthers is not fascist seems to be the American Communist Party. How long this honeymoon will last remains to be seen.

The cause of this outbreak against Mark Rudd's SDS was a resolution which criticized the Panthers' idea that there should be community con-

trol of white police. SDS felt that this was an imperative for vigilante attacks on blacks. Because SDS did not accept the Panther position com-

pletely uncritically and because the Panthers feared SDS was suggest-

ing that it might do its own independ-

ent work in the ghetto, the Pan-

thers let loose their usual string of abuse including threats of violence: "We'll beat those little slaves and those schoolboys' ass if they don't try to straighten up their politics."

PICNIC

In the meantime more information on the tactics employed by the Panthers at their recent con-

ference is coming out. For instance, Glen Tashier, who describes himself as an independent, writes a let-

ter to the Guardian describing how the Panthers acted towards PL supporters: 'I attended the 'PL-WSA' plan-

ning meeting which decided that disruption of HVM meetings and the con-

ference would be the rod of iron. It was that we would have to have a picnic discussion of the conference. It was a little tough, but people want the solution to this problem of the idea that the whole thing was a picnic approach to reach people about the picnic without disrupting the conference would be to let people a block away from the conference. We were there 15 minutes when about 25 Panthers ran across the street and bailed out of all people in sight. About 10 people wound up in the hospital. The Panthers never asked anyone to leave the area - they simply attacked; the PL-WSA-

bers did not use Mace or any other device to defend themselves."

The Spartacists describe the inci-

dent, in which they and the Panthers were forced to take down their literature tables: "the bullying threats, the physical harassments, the beatings our comrades took, the lining-up of 20ers against a wall, hands over their heads, for a quarter hour, while our pockets, notebooks, etc., were searched and they themselves subjected to torrent of provocation and abuse!"

FRENZIED

What we are witnessing here is a frenzied explosion of middle class radicalism. There is a direct line of connection between the various peace marches, the anarchistic build-

ing seizures of the spring, the fac-

tical SDS convention with the SDS re-

red books, and now the Panther con-

ference with its Stalinist policies, hooligan tactics, and its increasingly frenzied reaction to the slightest criticism. These are all manifesta-

tions of the crisis of middle class and none of this has anything to do with working class politics.

The Panthers took their turn forwards middle class radical politics precisely because they were finding themselves increasingly isolated within the black community itself. The Panthers were formed as an organization for the Negro masses but the organization has a complete failure in this respect. It has not had to do anything of its efforts to defend itself, its program is completely bankrupt and broken and the Negro masses not a single inch in their struggles.

So, finding its popularity on the wane within the Negro community, especially from working class Negroes, it frantically sought to gain support from white middle class radicals. Politically what it proposed was to combine petty bourgeois nationalism with a petty bourgeois liberal re-

formation held together ideologically by Stalinism.

JIVE

It now seems intent to dissipate the small opportunist gains of this tactic precisely because it is gripped with fear that even the slightest criticism could erode further the slim base of its paramilitary organization. Where will it go from here? It has no roots in the working class as its leadership comes from the black middle classes and its follow-

ing primarily from these same middle classes with some lumpen elements thrown in. Model leaders use the political ritual to cover its dictatorial elitist leadership. The Panthers' absolute contempt for theory, for Marxist theory, was openly proclaimed at their recent conference when Bobby Seale remarked that "you can't have a lot of ideological jive."

It is not concluded that in the next period the Panthers will emerge as a black fascist organization. It already insists on covering itself with the stench of the very fascism it claims to fight with its hooligan tactics.

We have no doubt that Elizabeth Barnes will now run to her type-

writer in the Militant office, but from lecturing Bobby Seale on how blacks cannot be racists, to dash off an article explaining that blacks can't be fascists. Miss Barnes had best adapt herself with the growth of fascism among national minorities in East Europe in the 1930s.

STALINISM

Stalinism becomes the theoretical corner for the wrath of middle class radicalism in SDS, and the extremely reactionary form of nation-

alism in the Panthers. The only alternative to Stalinism is Trotsky-

ism which represents the continuity of Marxism, the continuation of the struggle of Lenin and the Communist International.

All the various groups running around inside SDS are part of this middle class radicalism, contribute to its promulgation, stand together in their refusal to confront the question of Trotskyism. The Workers League stands completely opposed to every and all sections of SDS and offers the only revolutionary alter-

native to middle class radicalism and to reactionary black nationalism.

BLACK PANthers LINED UP IN MILITARY FASHION KID OUTSIDE COURTHOUSE

BY A HOSPITAL WORKER

NEW YORK--Last May Blue Cross requested a whopping 49% increase in hospital insurance rates for 4.8 million subscribers in New York State. Now Governor Rockefeller has announced that an average increase of 49.3% will be granted, Depending on the type of coverage, the rates will be increased up to 55%.

The capitalist politicians are trip-

ping over themselves in their outcry over the rate increases. When we take a closer look at the great hue and cry, we see a division of labor. Rockefeller, not facing reelection this year, implements the increase. Lindsay comes in announcing court actions to be taken by the city to prevent the increase from taking effect. Now even March is trying to get it into the act.

CRISIS

These grandstand moves, taken with an eye to the November elections, are surely going to change the economic outcome. The workers will pay, and pay soon. This is the inflationary crisis. The working class with drastic effects. Education, welfare and health ser-

vices, the end result is the same - tax evasion. The government and the working class. The government and health services are cut, and living costs continue to skyrocket. The result is inelasticity of workers and even social standards now - before full scale recession and unemployment.

All these liberal politicians seek to explain the crisis as the result of very specific and peculiar facts. They refuse to recognize that it is the crisis of the capitalist system - the system they will defend come what may. They try to ignore the costs of the specific crises. Of course medi-

cal costs are rising especially fast, but only as part of the general infla-

tory crisis which is leading to world currency explosions, recession and unemployment.

All the talk of universal health insurance, 'hospital cost control for-

mulae', and various other schemes are means to obscure the real issues. There are many ways to make the workers pay for this crisis. Right now the hospitals are already operat-

ing under a job freeze which enables them to cut jobs through attrition where they think they can get away with it. The New York Times is leading the chorus, nearly a year before the contract expiration date for workers at New York's volun-

tary hospitals, warning that moder-

ation will be required in the wage demands of these workers - now that they have won the exorbitant wage of $100 a week!

What all the formulas and schemes have in common is that they are not meant to stop the burden of paying medical costs from the backs of the workers, but merely distribute it more efficiently. Even with insurance cov-

erage there are thousands of families crushed by costs of severe illnesses which are not totally covered.

ACT

The labor movement must act to lift this crushing burden now! San-

tomorrow's Union President John De-

Lury, testifying at a state hearing on the proposed Blue Cross increases several weeks ago, proposed that the city and state provide health insur-

ance in competition with Blue Cross. The suggestion that the unions could move into this field was also raised. The only answer is socialized medi-

cine. This is a political question. An all out fight to mobilize the re-

sources necessary to provide free quality medical care for all is re-

quired. The bosses are unwilling and incapable of granting this elementary demand. Their system is in deep crisis and they are cutting back, not moving ahead in the social services which workers have won through years of struggle. So a fight for socialized medicine requires a political fight against the employers and their decaying system.
nixon welfare plan aims at creating scab force

BY KAREN FRANKEL

There is nothing new in Nixon's new proposals for Welfare. Behind all the publicity about a "small step forward" in social services is a large jump backward in preparation for an economic recession and unemployment.

The proposal stresses the fact that with this plan, a larger portion of the public assistance burden will be carried by the federal government. This does not mean, as it sounds, that people will therefore receive more

FATHER OF SIX RECEIVES FOOD STAMPS IN S. CAROLINA

funds. All it is is a reaehugating of the weight.

Furthermore, the large, industrial cities, where most of the Welfare Clients reside, will get a disproportionately smaller share of the Federal Aid. New York, for instance, which has 15 per cent of the nation's Welfare recipients, will get only six percent of the Federal Aid. The burden on the taxpayers in these more populous states will also not be relieved.

The plan does not take into considera- tion the higher costs of living in the urban centers. The amount of money going to the recipients in these states will not change. In addition, the National Council of Hunger and Malnutrition charged that Nixon's plan to cut out food stamps would reduce the purchasing power of the poor in 44 states.

PURPOSE

But then, again, this was not the real purpose in the proposal. As Nixon himself stated in his address to the nation: 'What America needs now is not more welfare but more "workfare."' Precisely what can this mean in a period in which this very same man has cried about the neces- sity for raising unemployment? What is behind all this talk of the new 'federalism' and an income floor is merely another plan to help divide and crush the working class.

The most important part of Nixon's proposal is the clause forcing all those who do not fall into the cate- gory of aid to the disabled, aged or blind into taking whatever job 'deemed suitable' by the government, or losing their benefits. This force of people, completely tied to the state for their livelihood, can become a very dangerous weapon in the hands of the run- ning class.

In a period of deepening economic crises, where the working class is strong and is able to maintain the offensive, the bosses will use any scab force they can to bust the pick- et lines and the unions. This is precisely the kind of scab force they are preparing through these welfare "work incentive" proposals. What else can it mean in a period in which in order to maintain production bosses must cheapen labor costs?

SHAK

The President specifically stated that the government would offer 150, 000 new job-training slots. This is almost absurd when, according to the new program, the rolls will expand to 32.4 million people. Very quickly that party's "choice' between a job and job training really is. Viewed in the context of impending recession, it means the simplification of the means whereby a cheap labor force is employed.

Yablonski Campaign Gains In UMW

BY HEIL MARTIN

The United Mine Workers announced last week that Joseph Ya- blonski would officially be on the bal- lot as a candidate for the union pres- idency in the coming December elec- tions. Ninety-six locals—well above the minimum requirement of 50—nominated Yablonski.

Yablonski, long time member of the union's international executive board and Southwestern Pennsylvania district leader is challenging current president Tony Boyle. Boyle is John L. Lewis's hand picked successor and Yablonski's candidacy will mean the first fight for the presidency since Lewis himself came to power over 40 years ago.

Yablonski's campaign initially be- gan to draw public attention over the issue of mine safety and then picked up steam by exposing the corrupt, dic- tatorial and violent way Boyle ran the union.

CLOCKS

In the course of going around the country gathering the necessary sup- port of locals, Yablonski met with treatment from the Boyle leadership that would warm the heart of any true labor faker. In Springfield, Ill., he was hit and knocked unconscious by Boyle's goons. In Girardville, Pa., at a nominating meeting Boyle's boys set the clock ahead, started the meet- ing, nominated Boyle, closed nomin- ations, and then when Yablonski's sup- porters came in at what they thought was the start of the meeting, they were faced with the second point on the agenda and a clock that read 10 min- utes later than theirs!

While Yablonski has been part of the UMV bureucracy for many years, his candidacy should not simply be viewed as an intra-bureaucratic fight. Without a doubt, Yablonski is oppor- tunistically making hay for himself by baising his campaign on the issues of mine safety, union democracy and union benefits, over which there is much rank and file dissatisfaction. Yablonski himself has no intention of really kindling any sparks to mobil- ize the rank and file. This must be the job of rank and file.
WORKERS SHAKE BOSSES RULE IN ULSTER

BY OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

BELFAST, NORTH IRELAND—Boycott has been the watchword of a city charged up by street fighting, with boarded and broken windows and bomb burns. This time the allegations of "unnecessary police brutality" came from a Protestant Defence Association in the heart of Protestant Ulster—the Shankill Road.

The recent trouble—at first carefully cultivated—stemmed from the alleged stoning (later strongly denied by the Orange Order and the police) of a parade of Jimmies by Orangemen as they passed the flats at Unity Place.

It took the traditional form of a Catholic-Protestant confrontation, but later, to the horror of all "decent" people, the rioting took a new turn. Workers on the Shankill Road, particularly the youth, attacked the police with petrol bombs and missiles, and raided and looted Protestant shops.

Grim battles, throwing up memories and comparisons of that other trouble spot, Derry's Bogside, erupted as thousands of Protestant youth fought police equipped with batons, water cannon and riot trucks.

Damage runs into hundreds of thousands of pounds, hundreds of arrests have been made and many people are injured.

Just as the youth in Derry rejected appeals for peace from Catholic priests and civil rights leaders, so the Protestant youth rejected popular appeals from right-wing Unionists and even the ultra-loyalists, the Rev. Ian Paisley and Major Robert Henderson.

The streets of the loyalists' "Holy Ground" bowed to the frustration of a working class subjected and pilloried in the interest of a decaying system. Fifty years of betrayal, of power maintained by killing and choking, was being rocked to its bigoted foundations.

The frustrations, high cost of living, low wages and poor housing, common to the working class both in the Bogside and Shankill Road, provided the motivation—a power that had to be curtailed and divided yet again or Unionism was doomed.

In another eruption, this time in the Catholic Hooker Street area, telegraph poles were uprooted and barricades and grimbattles raged into the night.

The tiger, so long caged by religious division, betrayed on all fronts, was loose.

SPECTRE

"Loyalists" and Catholics—separately yes—bataled the police, the armed force of the capitalist state.

On the Shankill Road, the "magic flag" was powerless; Protestant shops flying the symbol of loyalty to British imperialism were looted.

But the spectre of a united working class, demanding the rights of the government and a system that has held them subject, has also raised its head.

At the height of the troubles British troops from the 2nd Battalion Queen's Regiment stationed at Holywood were called to Belfast to back up the police.

These troops are specially trained for the confrontation on traditional grounds. Britain will tear apart the working class and open the door for right-wing rule and the smashing of all existing class organizations.

There are plenty of troops and police to protect big business, but none for the working class.

The eviction of Catholic and Protestant families and the constant threats emphasized the old fascist maxim—take control of the streets as a preliminary for the control of state power and the ultimate smashing of the working class.

Appeals for peace at any price—i.e., support of Unionism, the refusal of the trade union and Labour leaders to give political direction—creates a mandate for the government and facilitates the right, clearly a minority at present.

If unchecked, this will pave the way for extreme right-wing rule and fascism, just as in Germany in the 1930s. World-wide capitalism is in crisis. It clearly threatens to destroy every vestige of mankind's progress.

The gathering world monetary crisis will exacerbate the devaluation of the French franc—reflected sharply in Britain, pushing Powellism and racialism to the fore.

In Ireland the warnings loom large, Britain, the weakest link in the capitalist chain, stretches towards breaking point and the ruling class strategy of divide and rule has a beginning in Ireland.

ANSWER

The answer to the "Irish problem", to Paisleyism and to those interests that stand behind him, is the building of a movement with socialist solutions for all the problems facing the working class—unemployment, cost of living, housing, education, as well as the national-democratic tasks left unsolved by the Irish bourgeoisie.

Only Trotskyism, the revolutionary party, uniting Catholic and Protestant workers can achieve the final victory the conquest of power by the working class.

PREPARE LONG "UNOFFICIAL" STRIKE

The strike by 1,300 British workers has shut down the steel mills of the nationalized British Steel Corporation at Port Talbot, South Wales.

The workers have struck in defiance of not only the government but their trade union leadership.

This strike now in its seventh week is the answer to the question reached by its leaders in the TUC (equivalent to the AFL-CIO in U.S.) to discipline the workers and prevent unofficial strikes. This was the compromise worked out between the trade union bureaucracy and the Wilson government in lieu of Wilson's inability to pass anti-strike laws.

The workers in Port Talbot are demanding the immediate implemention of a national agreement which would give them a £2.40 raise a week. The management is insisting that such national agreements are not necessarily binding at local levels.

Also at issue are the attempts of the management to introduce productivity schemes which would vastly cut the labor force in the steel works complex. Introduction of new steel converters will reduce the workforce in one area from 2,500 workers to 330 workers. In some plants it will mean an 87% reduction in manpower. In return for these cuts the management has offered wage increases with strings or wage increases tied to an increase in productivity.

FRUSTRATION

As one worker explained: "Tremendous frustration's been building up over the last two years. The productivity deal the management's been negotiating in that time could mean virtually the end of any trade union strength in here."

All workers at Port Talbot have rejected pleas from their leadership to return to work. Last week the National Union of Blast furnace workers' executive refused to make the strike official. Despite the resistance of their leaders, the strikers are preparing for a long strike.

The steel workers have made it clear that they are not going to pay out of their pockets for the crisis of British capitalism, and that they are prepared to fight to nail and show their leaders' complete capitulation to the government.

This strike is a powerful statement by the British working class that they will not be pushed back and are prepared to go on the offensive against the attacks of the bosses and the government.

The struggle is paralleled by the battles being waged on the docks and auto industry in England.

DAILY

Key to this fight is the building of an alternative leadership in the trade unions to mobilize the working class behind a program which can solve the crisis, a program for political power, for a workers' government.

This was the task which confronted the All Trades Unions Alliance which met last month. Over 500 delegates representing workers in every major industry discussed the building of a Marxist party as the solution to the crisis and for an alternative socialist policy to the betrayals of the Wilson government's trade union leadership.

The real weapon for this fight will be the latest Trotskyist daily paper, the Daily Newsletter, organ of the Socialist Labor League, on September 27th.

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BULLETIN 240 E 10TH ST, NYC 10003
MYSTERY SHROUDS KENNEDY CAPER

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

After much outcry from the public the officials in Massachusetts are busy changing the grand jury to look into the Kennedy caper. An inquest has been set for September 3rd. But this inquest is far from the greatest in history. None of all, to pacify all those who still have questions, a fitting ending to a charade that has run out of time over all the pretensions of capitalist 'democracy' and 'justice'.

In the first place there was never any real comprehensive investigation after the incident. It was three weeks after Kennedy's car plunged off the bridge on Chappaquiddick Island that District Attorney Diniss and Judge Boyle decided to hold an inquest. The three weeks wait means that it will be much more difficult if not impossible to get the truth out of the lack of seriousness with which this is approached is evident in Mr. Diniss' statement that he has 'no intention at this time' to call Kennedy to testify. While it is possible to subpoena the other partygoers it is almost impossible to force those who live out of state to appear. Obviously this inquest will settle little and will be a cover-up behind which Kennedy gets off scot free.

QUESTIONS

The major questions then remain unanswered. Even the Kopechne family which has remained silent up to now is beginning to raise questions about Kennedy's activities. Why is it he did not report the accident until nine hours later? Why didn't his friends Gargan and Markham, who were not suffering from 'shock' summon help? Why Mary Jo drove off with a car and report the accident to the police immediately?

Kennedy clearly avoided answering any of these questions by pleading guilty to a relatively minor charge of leaving the scene of an accident. He has assured everyone that he will have to live with the problem all his life. What indeed would Mr. Kennedy's reaction have been had Sirhan Sirhan said: 'No need for a trial or punishment. As I wish to have to live with this act the rest of my life.'

We do not have to speculate about what would happen to an ordinary worker in this country who after a night out drove off with a girl in his car, smashed up the car killing the girl and then sneaked quietly away from the accident without saying a word leaving the car and the girl to be discovered by someone else. He would pay a very stiff price. But not Kennedy--the most he got was a suspended sentence for leaving the scene of the accident.

Mary Jo Kopechne is dead. But Kennedy obviously feels he needs his answer to questions about the circumstances of her death or pay any price for his seemingly negligible behavior. Kennedy, you see, is above the law.

In true Bourgeois fashion Kennedy brushes aside the laws and appeals to the 'people' on TV. He covers his crime with a very clever emotional display: Kennedy himself said he really had nothing to do with the accident. It was the result of some curious curse on the Kennedy family or some result of some mystical gremlin. Let there be no doubt. Behind the tears and pleas is a hard trickery and deception to protect the privileges and interests of Kennedy and his cronies. One last hope to save the reputation of Kennedy is to deflect the campaigns of all the Kennedy's with their highly planned out stratagem image making about 'speech writers, to see how conscious are every move, every explanation the Kennedians make.

This infraction of capitalism and morality was not the first for Mr. Kennedy. After all there were some very substantial reports a few years ago about his cheating at Harvard. That death of Mary Jo was hardly a matter beyond his control, of a curse is obvious from the reports of his behavior from even his friends. The New York Times reported the following: 'When the Senator's closest associates are known to have been learned over his indulgent drinking habits, his daredevil driving and his ever-ready eye for a pretty face the incident cries out for precise the explanations which were left bafflingly obscure'.

CRIMES

The point is that the laws and morality of capitalist society are norms to control the working class, to exploit, to protect the interests of the capitalist class and its 'morality' is but a reflection of the decay of the system itself. As the crisis deepens and the struggle between the capitalists and the working class sharpen--the cops, the militia, and the mass media in relative peace on the past are thrown off and the basic antagonisms are laid bare. The trickery of the rulers is unraveled.

UNREST SWEEPS THE MARINE CORPS

BY DAN FRIED

Long smouldering racial tensions in the U.S. armed forces have burst to the surface in a series of racial brawls at the huge Marine base at Camp LeJeune, N.C. 7,000 of the 36,000 Marines stationed there are black and almost the entire base is composed of Vietnam veterans. The most recent brawls are between white and black Marines on July 20 which resulted in the deaths of one white and one black Marine.

The top brass tries to explain the racial conflicts at LeJeune simply as a matter of the soldiers 'letting off steam', of not being able 'to quickly and easily adjust to the spit and polish routine of Salteknuts', of having endured the tension and furor of basic training and combat in Vietnam. But such explanations don't get at the underlying frustration and even bitterness that the returning GIs feel. They feel that they have put their lives on the firing line in Vietnam, supposedly in defense of 'freedom' which most of them know is a lie. That anyway Mary Jo drove off with a black Marine, they claim, makes the whole base an unscrupulous shopkeeper in town like Jacksonsville.

There was still racial discrimination in Vietnam--this permeates even private and institution of American capitalism--it doesn't hit the black serviceman with such impact as when he returns to the states, particularly in a place like LeJeune. As a black barber at the base put it, 'LeJeune is worse than Mississippi'. The measure of brotherhood between black and white that existed in Vietnam when they all faced the common misery of combat, breaks down back in the U.S. 'I tried to talk to a white guy who was with my friends (Le Jeune) and he just ignored me,' complained a black Marine. When they came back to the states and are supposed to participate in a lot of meaninglessness, they complain about insufficient "liberty" and then have to put up with the everyday anomaly of being a black man.

In LeJeune the black service men are fighting further into poverty or at best fighting back to keep up with rising prices and speed up in the shops and factories. As a black civilian in Saigon put it: 'This new 'freedom' in Vietnam, my black friends and relatives are stinking further into poverty or at best fighting back to keep up with rising prices.'

The irony is that many black youth have felt that the armed services, for all their racial discrimination, would offer a better deal than civilian life where many youth in the ghetto have to be content with dead end jobs at minimum wages or less, and the slowor of deteriorating shum housing. That there is some chance of retraining among black servicemen. That is why two out of every three of the Army's black GIs are black, as are one out of four front-line supervisors in Vietnam. The black soldiers and Marines are right up front in the firing lines in Vietnam, to a degree far beyond their proportion in the U.S. population. Since 1961, Negro combat deaths have represented as much as one out of the total. Many specialized and crack airborne and Marine platoons are all Negro.

There is no doubt that the soldier or Marine who returns from Vietnam to a stateside Camp or after discharge, enters into the civilian labor force is often capable of a radical perspective and in a mood to fight the rottenness of U.S. capitalism on a scale far beyond anything possible before the Vietnam War. While this is particularly true of black servicemen, we will see that Vietnam will be a radicalizing experience for more and more returning servicemen and veterans, black and white, especially as they return to conditions of sharp class struggle, striking, and mounting unemployment. The only kind of radical perspective is one which UNITES the black and white enlisted men and veterans against the military establishment and in support of all trade union struggles for wages and conditions and against unemployment.

The battle against racial discrimination in the Armed Forces must be a battle against the white enlisted men who generals black out against the army brass, the capitalist bosses and politicians for whom the servicemen are working. The workers are just so many slaves to maintain and expand private profit. That is why purely racial conflicts in the Armed Forces are an frustrating, demoralizing and self defeating as the battle of Catholics against Fascism.

The top brass is clearly worried and embarrassed by these incidents. The soldiers are being pilled on top of the difficulties they are having in Vietnam where it is estimated that more than 10 troops per day, many of them black, are deserting.
REVISIONISTS 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 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 THREE: Internationalism and the Socialist Workers’ Party

On January 2, 1961, the Socialist Labour League directed a letter to the National Committee of the Socialist Workers’ Party in the United States (SWP). Referring to the Open Letter issued by the SWP in 1953, which led to the formation of the International Committee (IC), and assessing the political evolution of the Pabloites since that date, it proposed a discussion within the IC on the question of Pabloism. There was no ambiguity on where the SLL stood on this question: ‘It is time to draw to a close the period in which Pabloite revisionism was regarded as a trend within Trotskyism’.

But the SWP leadership had already made a decision to proceed forthwith with re-unification with what was then called the International Secretariat. This was to be carried through politically on the basis of the common position the SWP and the Pabloites were taking on the class nature of the Cuban state and a number of related developments particularly in the colonial world.

In fact, central to the SWP's conception of re-unification was that Pabloism and the 1953 split were under no condition to be discussed either among the International Committee supporters or with the Pabloites.

For instance Hansen notes in his 'Report on the World Congress', 'that at the Re-unification Congress we reached an agreement to leave the assessment of the differences of 1953 to a time in the future when we could discuss them in an educational way without any heat.'

For a period of two and a half years, from January 1961 to re-unification in the summer of 1963, the Socialist Labour League and ourselves sought to hold a discussion on the question of Pabloism, the political meaning of the 1953 split, and the evolution of the political formations since that date. We did not object to discussions with the Pabloites, and in fact it was the SLL which proposed a parity committee precisely to discuss questions in dispute. We were not even opposed to a re-unification of forces in principle as long as it was a principled re-unification.

We made absolutely clear our own assessment that re-unification must take place on the basis of the Tran-
The SWP and the Europeans swept the question of China at the reunification congress under the rug, only to have it burst forth into the open at the current congress

Optimistic

The unmentioned question which lies behind the whole struggle of the SWP at this conference is: ‘Are we headed for another split? Will it be necessary to issue another Open Letter to protect the SWP from a new form of Cochrane-ism within its ranks? Will we be forced back into a discussion on 1953 in the coming period?’

Hansen states near the end of his report on the congress: ‘But it could turn out that the discussion on China and the question of guerrilla warfare as it develops, the question of party building as it is associated with the problem of entrism, that all of this could turn out to be one of the richest and most educational discussions that the Fourth International and the world Trotskyist movement has had to this point. That remains to be seen. My feeling is rather optimistic’. He is optimistic but not totally convinced this is the way things will work out. It ‘could turn out that way, but that remains to be seen’.

The unmentioning of 1953 haunts the SWP leadership today. It cannot be erased from their minds. There is the grave danger of history repeating itself, but in a far more disastrous way, for history is always the recapitulation of the past. Today the International Committee exists independently of the Pabloites and the SWP. It is growing in strength and theoretical clarity. For the first time in history a Trotskyist daily paper is about to be launched in England. This cannot be ignored. It is an empirical factor—a fact brought into existence precisely through a principled struggle against Pabloite revisionism and pragmatism. The question of 1953 cannot be raised without raising at the same time the question of 1953. It has to be approached not by the International Committee based on the programme and method of the Transnational Committee.

There are certain central lessons of the 1953 split which must be assimilated by the SWP. The origins of the 1953 split must be traced back to the role of the SWP in the Fourth International since the death of Trotsky.

With the passing of the Voochis Act in 1940 the SWP was barred from membership of the Fourth International by law. Ever since that time the SWP has not been able to be an affiliate of the Fourth International. Its relationship to the United Secretariat is one of political solidarity just as the World Federation of Political Solidarity with the International Committee. But this no longer convicted the SWP as a political party of the Fourth International. The SWP has always played a very crucial role in the development of the Fourth International—in its strength as well as its weakness. This is an understanding that we approach this question with.

The SWP emerged after Trotsky’s death as politically the leading party of the Fourth International. It was the one party with serious experience in the class struggle, in the construction of a revolutionary party, and a party which had the benefit of the closest political relationship with Trotsky, particularly in the years from 1937-1940. Therefore the main responsibility for the battle against the Pabloite International fell to the SWP. But it was

did not use a formula that included the substance of calling for a political revolution in China, but without naming it as such. That was the agreement that we reached in 1963.

Faced with a fundamental difference on the key question of reform or revolution in China—the very question that was at the centre of the dispute in 1953, as it affected Stalinism as a whole—the whole matter was swept under the rug as a ‘terminological affair’. All agreed not to use the term ‘political revolution’, but somehow its content would get through.

Then we come to the current conference and what was under the rug comes out flying all over the room. The SWP agrees to draft a resolution for the conference on the Cultural Revolution. This is sent to Europe where the European leadership ‘adopts’ it. The editing consisted of such matters, as Hansen reports, of changing ‘Stalinized Chinese Communist Party’ to simply ‘Chinese Communist Party’. In the interim the terminological difference of 1963 was cleared up for, as Hansen notes, ‘Mao had come out for a political revolution in China’. But the difference in line which so obliquely underlay the terminology of 1963 erupted in this form of ‘editing’.

At this point the Europeans introduced the edited SWP resolution at the majority resolution and the SWP supporters counterposed theunedited resolution as the minority report. But the question was not so simple as that. Peng Shu-te enters the dispute with another minority report proposing

that the United Secretariat intervene on the side of restorationist Liu Shao-chi. Then in walks ‘Comrade Capa’ of Argentina, who was also for an active policy of intervention in China, but he tended to be for intervention on the side of Mao. As if things weren’t confused enough Ernest Germann proposes to muddy the waters even further with stating: ‘that the area of agreement between the two documents was much more fundamental than the disagreements; that actually the two documents were almost the same so far as the points of agreement were concerned’.

No wonder one delegate described the discussion as a ‘marital dispute between the Europeans and the American’. In fact the whole congress was marked by such marital disputes which reflected unclarity as to the causes of the original divorce proceedings.

At the very centre of this dispute was the impact upon the United Secretariat of the bureaucratic forces within the Stalinist camp. One side tended to move towards Mao and another side towards the Kremlin variety of Stalinism. This in itself is another manifestation of the inability of the United Secretariat to start from the independent perspective of the working class in its struggle against both capitalism and Stalinism and develop a strategy on this basis. But this, in turn, demands a return to an understanding of the original 1953 split.

The spectre of 1953 haunted the proceedings of the congress in an even more fundamental way. The theoretical positions formulated by Pablo in 1950

SPLIT IN BUREAUCRACY

between Liu (above) and Mao

found reflection in division

among Pabloites

Differences

The SWP succeeded in holding off any serious discussion of the question of 1953 and everything else from this at the 1963 Re-unification Congress and at the 1965 congress.

‘Now the present congress,’ Hansen notes, ‘was different. We had some differences’. In fact all the questions subsumed for the opportunistic purpose of unification have reasserted themselves in a number of forms each in its own way pushing the forces of the United Secretariat towards the very development we proposed in 1961-1963.

We have already noted the theoretical and methodological continuity of the cover resolution, which everyone at the recent Pabloite congress supposed was the ‘New Line of the World Revolution’ with the essential revisions of 1950-1953 by Pablo but this continuity has reasserted itself in other ways.

‘The New Line and the Cover Resolution On Our Tactics In Europe’. This resolution proposed a turn from the deep estrain practices of the European Pabloites in the whole period from 1950, when Pablo proposed it, to the last year or so. But it also contained a positive evaluation of this estrain. This, of course, raised a question which played a crucial role in the 1953 split—Pablo’s whole liquidationist proposal to dissolve our movement into the Stalinists which was taken up by the Cochrane-Clarke opposition inside the SWP and used to justify their own desertion of the party. The document has been held over for further discussion but discussion will have to take place.

Then there is the question of China. Hansen explains how this question was bandied in 1963:

‘The other thing that was in 1963, certain differences on the question of China had to be considered. We had reached agreement on all other major questions in the world as we saw them at that time, with the exception of China,. . . . They did not believe in the necessity of a political revolution. That was the key point, so we had some discussion on that question, and we reached agreement that what we would

volutionary Programme and that there must be an understanding that Pabloism as a political tendency is a fundamental revision of Stalinism, Leninism, Trotskyism. We stood by the assessment of the 1953 Open Letter:

‘To sum up: The lines of cleavage between Pablo’s revisionism and orthodox Trotskyism are so deep that no compromise is possible either politically or programmatically’. Unification yes, but only on the principled basis of a complete break with revisionism.

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precisely this responsibility which the SWP has refused to accept.

Hansen expressed this very clearly in his above-quoted “Report on World Congress”:

“One of the things we have always held to—very consciously—was not to assume leadership of the International. We viewed our position, our role, and our function, even though we were the most powerful sector of the movement for many years, as that of offering support—helping and supporting the key leaders but not substituting for them and not trying to assume leadership.

With this conception, as soon as the war was over, the SWP gratefully foisted the responsibility of leadership of the world movement on to a group of Europeans—notably Pablo, Germain and Frank.

This is how Cannon describes the situation in his “Internationalism and the SWP”, a report to the majority caucus during the Cochran fight:

“Our relations with the leadership in Europe at that time were relations of closest collaboration and support. There was general agreement between us. Those were unknown men in our party. Nobody ever heard of them. We helped to publicise the individual leaders and we communicated to our party members, and helped build up their prestige.”

And so the SWP turned over responsibility for international leadership to these European leaderships, rightly and happily proceeded to concern itself primarily with American affairs. Of course the support the SWP offered was material, real, highly important. Its collaboration was of critical importance in the development in many of the sections—particularly the British. But this was not the same thing as leadership.

This refusal to assume leadership flowed from the very conception of internationalism developed by Cannon and the SWP. This is the way Cannon states it in this same speech:

“We don’t consider ourselves to be an American branch office of an international business firm that receives orders from the boss. That’s not for us. That’s what we got in the Comintern. That’s what we won’t take. And that’s what we intend to see. We conceive of internationalism as international collaboration, in the process of which we get the benefit of the opinions of the international comrades, and they get the benefit of our American experience and our American comradeship.”

The same essential position was reiterated in the International’s resolution “The International—And the Next Steps”:

“In our opinion internationalism is essentially a process of comradely discussion and collaboration in which the constituent sections of the world movement exchange views and jointly work out, if possible, common positions on the most important world political and international issues.”

With such a perspective the question of leadership of the world movement loses its vital identity. Each party carries out its own tasks as it finds it can collaborate with other parties on its own terms, and if possible works out a joint line for the international movement. The national party emerges as the central thing, the international merely a clearing house for collaboration, a source for nice manoeuvres.

This conception of internationalism has as little in common with that of Lenin and Trotsky as do Stalin’s dictatorial policies of transforming the Communist International into a docile adjunct of the Soviet Union’s Foreign Office. For Cannon, as he does throughout this speech to the majority heading Cominternism is re-vealing in itself.

International

Lenin’s and Trotsky’s conception of internationalism flowed first of all from the working-class, international entity which must develop an international programme and strategy in order to carry forward the revolution in any particular country. The international party is but the necessary organisational expression of this international programme and strategy. To see this international party as but a collection of individual national organizations which collaborate where possible and work out common positions, is to lose the possibility of a reflection of a view which sees the working class in national and not international terms.

The development of the national party with serious roots within the working class of a particular country is possible only if that party starts at all times from the international programme and strategy, and takes as its major responsibility the development of that programme and strategy. Such a party must, of course, develop that strategy under the particular conditions prevailing in the particular country, but this is only possible if the party begins first of all with the international perspective and actually deepens its internationalism in the process of concretizing it within the particular country. So it was with Lenin and the Bolshevik party. But not with Cannon and the SWP.

And so the SWP placed the international movement in a know-ledge’s”, offered its support, printed the manifestos, but carried out its work within the United States with its own pragmatic methods and moods. Thus in 1927 Cannon developed his famous “Theses on the American Revolution”. Reacting to the post-war strike wave, he projected a coming American revolution, despite the fact that world capitalism was entering a new, sustained period of economic boom.

He noted the effects of this new turn in Europe, but maintained that despite the impossibility of revolution in Europe at that time, the American revolution could proceed on its own. This was a form of reverse American exceptionalism which reflected the fact that Cannon had learned nothing from Trotsky on the inter-relationship of the American and European revolutionary developments. The result was the party was completely unprepared for the McCarthy era and as a result the Cochran faction was able to utilize this demoralization and disorientation to carry out its liquidationist aims.

In 1930, when Pablo’s revolutionism had become so blatant as to raise serious questions in the minds of the SWP leadership and ranks, the leadership consciously pulled back from any real confrontation with Pablo, hoping to avoid as long as possible the kind of struggle which would require the SWP to abandon its internationalism. If we refer to Cannon’s speech of 1953 we read:

“When Pablo wrote his article about ‘centuries of degenerated workers’, we again had the most violent disagreement. We said, ‘What in the world is he talking about—centuries of degenerated workers states’? In a world where capitalism is collapsing, and revolution is on the order of the day, and the revolution is going to be victorious—is it going to take centuries to develop the base structures of our econom-ies?’

‘I told Comrade Stein that I was going to have to write against that, that I didn’t believe in that at all. But he said you write against that you will strike at Pablo’s prestige and you will make his position impossible. If it appears in the International that Cannon is attacking Pablo, the whole alliance will appear to be broken. The thing is so fragile that you just can’t do that’.

And so they didn’t. They avoided the political struggle, and the responsibility for leadership such a struggle would entail, and built Pablo’s prestige for another three years.

By 1952 Pablo was utilizing this prestige as a knock-down fight within the French section seeking to get it to liquidate ‘sui generis’ into the Stalinist movement seeing this movement being transformed under conditions of ‘war-revolution’ into a revolutionary force. He finally carried out his political line with an organizational move and expelled the majority of the French section.

The French comrades sent an appeal to Cannon and this is how Cannon explained his reaction:

‘As the situation developed further, Benedict and the rest of the French group appealed to me in a letter. I didn’t answer him for months. I didn’t see how I could write any sections—those sections where he complained about the organiza-tional violations.”

So Pablo’s prestige was preserved for a little while longer, even at the cost of the overthrow of the international movement in section.

Meanwhile a raging faction fight broke out within the SWP led by Cochran and Clarke. They based themselves on the liquidationist positions taken by the Third World Congress (1951). Cannon and the majority an-swered these claims by claiming that the decisions of the Third Congress did not apply to the United States as there did not exist any mass Stalinist or democratic party in the country. Liquidationism was all right for Europe but it was not to be imported into the United States.

Situation turns

Cannon’s speech to the Majority Caucus on May 14, 1953, marked a turn in the situation.

‘We have heard,’ states the very first section of the resolution, ‘there is a claim in the party that they have the support of what they call “the international movement.”’ And the speech concludes: ‘We hope to have the sympathetic support of the whole international movement. But if we don’t have the sympathy and support of one individual or another, or one country or another, that doesn’t mean we will give up our opinions and quit the fight. Not at all. We say that the fight in the SWP becomes trenchant and cut-throat in this field. Then we take the field, and look for allies to fight on our side against any-thing foolish or against the side of Cochran.”

But still Cannon did his best to hold off an international struggle.

‘We hope to avoid such a fight. We are not looking for it. We have no

Ernest Mandel-Germain was one of the “unknown men” Cannon turned international over to after the war.
tangible evidence to prove that there is any conspiracy against us, or any actions against us, on the international scene. But if a fight should come, we will be prepared for it. That is the way we size this up.""}

But the war was a conspiracy, if one wishes to call it that. Pablo lined up with Castro. And so the unavoidable international fight was on—and it was a quicky. In November 1953 the SWP printed its "Open Letter" to Trotskyists throughout the world proclaiming a complete and unconditional break with Pabloism and urging all Trotskyists to join in with this struggle. The British and French groups responded and the International Committee came into being. The SWP now faced the responsibility of taking the international leadership in the struggle to dispel the war. But leadership, as Hansen puts it, is something which the SWP considered to be not necessary. Reformist socialists, who had never really understood Pabloism. It fought Pablo’s revisions with orthodoxy. Pablo’s revisionism was a possible world reality on the basis of the concept that the development of the movement could be changed in favour of socialism—a concept which we noted in both the 1961 SWP International resolution and in the current 1969 resolution—the document.

A rounded review and realistic résumé of the net result of the march of international revolutionary developments from 1943 to 1953 leads to this conclusion.

"Well, some people seem never to learn. The honeymoon is now over. The collapse of the deepening international crisis is forcing upon the ranks of the United Secretariat a serious discussion of the very fundamentals of the movement. Some within the United Secretariat are actually ready to adduce the audacity to judge the SWP’s functioning within its own precise sphere of activity. That section of the group of congress were saying, according to Hansen, "that if any conclusion was to be drawn it was that we were under the influence of the peace movement in the United States and that the continuing in the tradition of "com-

mentary" politics: that we comment and do not engage in action*. The majority at the congress voted the SWP down on the Latin American question and the Chinese question, and evinced their opposition to its resolution on youth radicalization that a vote on it had to be postponed to the future. The question is now posed with all its sharpness and urgency before the membership of the SWP and YSA. They can allow their non-partisanism to continue as it has in the past, seeking to duck any real struggle for clarity internationally or within the SWP, and preparing to break off all international political connections if it is impossible to so duck the issues, retreating this time completely into American national affairs without any cover at all.

"Or the SWP ranks can insist on a serious diet, union which discloses the very depths of all questions from the point of view of the Marxist method and to their historical roots in the 1953 split and what preceded it.

The latter road leads in the direction which the International Committee has pioneered since 1963, the direction of

PART FOUR: Trotskyism and the Cuba question

WE must return to a thorough discussion of Cuba, which played such a central role in the 1963 reunitification and today’s 'breakout'. The basic question divides the United Secretariat supporters. First we must be absolutely clear about the policies of the SWP, which is the main propagator for a whole number of years beginning with 1961.

It was only an empirical reaction to the defeat of Guevara in Bolivia and the relatively unimportant developments in the advanced countries which led the SWP to its present critical position on Guerillaism. It neither predicted nor forewarned for the outcome of revolution in May-June France nor warned and fought against guerrilla warfare in the period which preceded the Cuban victory. It was only the International Committee which upheld within this whole period the perspective of revolution in the advanced countries and exposed the dangerous character of guerrilla warfare which so advanced by the SWP.

For instance the resolution around which the SWP carried through re-unification in 1963 (For Early Reunification of the World Trotskyist Movement) had this paragraph of guerrilla warfare in it: 'Along the road of a revolution beginning in Cuba, and spreading to the masses and ending in the rupture of capitalist property relations, guerrilla warfare conduct by landless peas-

ants and semi-proletarians, under a leadership that becomes the function of carrying the revolution through to a conclusion, can play a decisive role in undermining and precipitating the downfall of a colonial or semi-colonial power. This is one of the main reasons to be drawn from experience since the Second World War. It must be cons-

ciouly incorporated in the strategy of building revolutionary Marxist par-

ties in colonial countries.' So read point 13 of the points around which re-

unification took place.

Much the same can be said for the adoption by the Latin American sections of the United Secretariat are today seeking to dissolve themselves into the Organization of Latin American States (OLAS) and the Carstrose forces of the Latin American bourgeoisie, on this policy which the SWP itself advocated in its resolution "The Proletarian Fourth International—and the Next Steps": . . . We believe the Trotskyists of Cuba should seek to enter and take their place in the soon-to-be-formed unified revolutionary party. They can work patiently, persistently and confi-
dently for the implementation of the unified revolutionary socialist programme which they represent. In addition to mobilizing support for the Cuban case as they are doing, they should try to break off all international political connections if it is impossible to so duck the issues, retreating this time completely into American national affairs without any cover at all.

The Cuban miracle is over. Fundamental problems still lope workers there, but Castro (right) has no program for them or the workers and peasants of Latin America.

'the SWP comrades; the resolution continues, do not want to admit even this much. They correctly view the defeated states in Eastern Europe dominated by the Kremlin as non-capitalists, but they refuse to grant that status to the uncrushed workers' regime in Cuba. They set aside the traditional Marxist standards for deter-

mining the character of a workers' state and advance instead purely political criteria. They so exasperate the import-

ant of the subjective factor that they lose sight of the objective factors and changes in the basic property relations.'

Facts, as we have noted earlier, stub-

bornly resist interpretation as things. It is one thing to 'recognize' them and it is quite another to under-

stand them. The problem is not the methodologi-

cal method suffices, but for the latter dialectics is essential to get at the underlying processes of change which produce the momentary appearances.

The SWP’s theoretical approach to Cuba consists essentially of two meth-

ods of combination and in this it reflects the methodological approach of bourgeois scientific social science. First is empiricism. The facts are noted, collected. As Hansen puts it in his speech to the 1961 SWP Plenum on Cuba: "The facts are not projections, they're real, they're true, they're real facts. The facts are what the capitalists have been expropriated in Cuba. The facts is a complex economy has been started there. The fact that a qual-

itative change has taken place in the social structure there. No matter what you call these facts, they are the facts that everyone has to start with."

But the SWP does not stop with these 'facts' alone—and obviously much more of the above of the facts. The fact is actually a conclusion he draws from certain empirical data. These facts are then interpreted on the basis
the international proletariat revolution. The former leads the movement into the arms of the American bourgeoisie. That is the logic of pragmatism, of nationalism. The International Committee will assist this process of clarification in every way it can, for much depends on it.

There is no longer room in the middle ground. The international crisis is in our own hands. And we have a ready-made daily task. The tasks before us are tremendous, the potential fantastic. We have entered the era of the European Revolution and the American revolution is fast at Europe's heels.

What Trotsky sought so far for under such difficult conditions is now coming into life, in the imminence of the mass movement of workers in all lands. There is no greater task nor more pressing than one to take up now TROTSKY's struggle for the Transitional Pro- gramme on this occasion, with its central task of building the Fourth International into the leadership of the workers of all countries.

Substitute the functioning of the state for the absolute bankruptcy of the national bourgeoisie. In fact, to the extent that the representatives of the bourgeoisie in function with even a limited Bonapartist independence of the national bourgeoisie, they are in the long term of capital development against the immediate interests of these national bureaucratic forces. These nationalizations took place in Burma, France, Guiana, Egypt, Iraq, Syria, Bolivia, Cuba, more recently in Peru and Chile.

Statism

First it should be pointed out that this statism has nothing in common with the bureaucratic statism projected as a theoretical possibility, but a political and social impossibility. When such a state is once projected, it is projected not as a function of the bureaucratic state but as a function of the state, as an emergent tendency towards ever increasing monopolization. He also pointed out that the advantages of the state over previous forms of capitalist society, greater and greater concentration of the proletariat and even such a state were not enough to compensate for the expropriation by the working class as a whole of the bureaucratic state itself.

The statism is talking about a reaction to the extreme weaknesses of the national capitalistic state, a reaction to the spectacle of a country that is still on the road towards great and greater concentration of the proletariat and even such a state were not enough to compensate for the expropriation by the working class as a whole of the bureaucratic state itself.

In what manner, specifically, can the state be considered an example of the national bourgeoisie as a class?

In what fundamental way was the Chinese Revolution qualitatively different from the Stalinist Revolution in Russia? Why is it that the Chinese Revolution was not only an essential way, and as we shall see this was not a qualitative distinction but an empirical one? An empirical razor was not enough to cut through to the essential differences between the Chinese Revolution and the Soviet Union.

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Purges

A deformed or degenerate workers' state is a workers' state. The very process of expropriation of capital in these countries was accompanied by a process of purging the workers' bureaucracy through the taking of the form of a workers' party, the Communist Party, and the purging of the government of all the leaders from the party who had to carry out—for some positive social tasks as well as reactionary tasks.

What we have here is an empirical gathering of facts which are
The Cuban 'miracle' is over. Fundamental problems still face workers there, but Castro (right) has no program for them or the workers and peasants of Latin America.

break off all international political connections if it is impossible to do so, that creating this time completely into American national affairs without any cover at all.

Or the SWP ranks can insist on a serious discussion which of the very depths of all questions from the point of view of the working class, of the proletariat, and to their historical roots in the 1953 split and what preceded it.

The latter road leads in the direction which the International Committee has pioneered since 1963, the direction of the international proletarian revolution.

The former road leads the movement into the arms of the American bourgeoisie. That is the logic of pragmatism of nationalism. The International Committee will assist this process of clari

There is no longer room in the movement itself. We have the facts at is upon. Each political organization is tested daily, hourly. The tasks before us are enormous, the potentials tastic. We have entered the era of the European Revolution and the American evolution is fast at Europe's heels.

What Trotsky fought so hard for understanding in the coming of life, into the reality of the mass movement of workers in all lands. There is no greater task nor more rewarding one than to take up now the struggle for the Transitional Pro-

programmes of the Fourth International with its central task of building the Fourth International. This work is the work of the workers of all countries.

ists throughout Latin America should try to bring together all those forces, regardless of their specific origins, which are ready to take the Cuban experience as the point of departure for the revolutionary struggle in their own countries.

These liquidationist policies flowed from the failure of guerrilla warfare as it did originally to what it interpreted as its success. But the discussion must go beyond this level; it must return to an objective analysis of the origins and nature of the Castro regime and the Cuban state from the point of view of the Marxist method. Again and again we see every question must be probed to its roots.

The position the SWP took on Cuba is expressed in summary in their 1962 resolution:

"Facts, however, are stubborn things. It is a fact that capitalism was abolished in 1960 and no longer constitutes the basis of Cuban social and economic life—and this overthrow was directed by a leadership which did not explicitly call itself "Marxist-Leninist" a year and a half after the overthrow of capitalism and does not allow Trotskyism to this day. As the predecessors of the Soviet Union under Stalinism and then of Eastern Europe, Yugoslavia and China demonstrate, Cuba could not logically be defined as anything but a workers' state, even if its political structure was not democratic and its leadership was non-Marxist.

"But the SWP does not stop with these 'facts' alone—and obviously much of the above that Hansen calls a fact is actually a conclusion he draws from certain empirical data. These facts are then interpreted on the basis of certain 'precedents'—the degenera-
tion of the October Revolution and the establishment of workers' states after the Second World War in Eastern Europe, Yugoslavia and China. From these precedents the SWP is able to develop a formula useful for labelling the facts it has gathered on Cuba.

"Because all these states are workers' states, but in none of them do workers democratically rule, the SWP is able to remove from its definition of workers' state the question of the nature of the regime. Because in none of these states—particularly Yugoslavia and China—the workers' state was established under the leadership of a Stalinized party we can remove from our consideration of Cuba the question of the nature of the leadership which came to power in Cuba. Thus we have a precedent that the formula that 'blunted instruments' can bring the workers to power under certain circumstances.

Formula

With these precedents utilized to remove from consideration all questions of leadership, consciousness and even what class carries through the revolu-
tionary overturn, we are left with a very simple distilled formula: a workers' state equals a country where the basic means of production have been expropriated by the state, some form of overall state planning exists and the state also maintains a monopoly over foreign trade.

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Suddenly theoretical work becomes simplification, an abstraction from our disposal and we have a ready-made label with a simple, clear definition. The facts of Cuba fit the definition and therefore Cuba is a workers' state.

It is the syllogism of formal logic in all its beauty. The law of identity: A = A. The definition matches the facts. It is all so simple and clear that Hansen cannot understand how anybody could possibly object to it. What we actually have here is an empirical gathering of facts which are then matched to a metaphysical notion—"the definition of a workers' state—we abstracted out of the concrete development of history. Methodologically the SWP combines the worst features of empiricism with the worst features of metaphysics, which the empiricists fought to give pragmatism its credit, its one virtue was its war against superimposing on factual reality preconceived schemata—the old method of dialectical materialism which had a tradition that had been able to escape from the eminently abstract character asked for by the doctrinaires of the Soviet Union and Stalin at the time.

Dialectics, as Lenin particularly emphasized over and over again, is always historically concrete and has nothing in common with metaphysical schematism which derives its definitions not abstract from out of the development of workers' states in the post- war period certain formal criteria for labelling workers' states. Rather we seek to understand this development in all its complexity, rooting it in the historical circumstances of the time, the relationship of class forces, and particularly the inter-relation-ship between imperialism and the Soviet Union at the time.

If we do this we see that imperialism was forced to make a deal with the Soviet Union following the Second World War dictatorially in order to re-
build capitalism in the main industrial countries, laying the basis for the post- war boom which had such a reactionary impact on the class struggle in the advanced capitalist countries for so long. Unable to simultaneously wrest control of Eastern Europe from the Soviet Union and stabilize the political situation in Western Europe and America and other parts of the world, it was forced to grant Soviet hegemony in this region in return for Soviet aid in holding down the working class in imperialist-dominated regions. In time the Soviet Union was forced to carry through a bureaucratic way state-capitalist transformations in this region to secure...
Farrell Dobbs (second from right) tours Cuba during period when the SWP unconditionally supported the Castro leadership and urged the same liquidationist policies it now opposes.

Is it thus so surprising that the Soviet Union today does not consider it in her interests to involve herself in any more highly expensive Cuban 'experiments'? The Soviet Union leadership has also learned some lessons from Cuba. While undoubtedly it first viewed Cuba as just one more leftist-nationalist regime which could be bought off, perhaps to play a certain neutralist role, it has ended up having to assume a tremendous financial burden at a time when all its resources are stretched to the limit and now has a sore point which must be regulated for its strategy of working with the American imperialists.

The task of the socialist revolution in a backward country is to carry through the tasks of the bourgeois democratic revolution by proletarian methods, going over to socialist measures. This requires first of all industrialization and the raising of the productivity of labour together with an international revolutionary strategy. While the deformed workers' states have not as yet been able to raise the level of their economies to that of the advanced capitalist nations, and will not be able to do so as long as they remain under bureaucratic rule, it is a tribute to the class nature of those states that they have made definite economic development. Trotskyists have this respect as a tribute to the power of socialist property relations and not to any ability of the bureaucracy.

The central economic task in Cuba is to free that country from its dependence on the one export crop of sugar and developing a more balanced economy through an industrialization program. Such economic plans require the political power of the working class in Cuba, orientated towards an international revolutionary struggle against imperialism. Castro has openly admitted even an attempt at this, placing even greater emphasis on the sugar crop than did Batista. The result is that the living standards of the Cuban people, to the extent they are not subordinated by the Soviet Union, are completely dependent upon the world price of sugar. This also means the dependence of Cuba on world capitalism, a problem qualitatively different from those facing the defeated workers' states, and illustrating once again that the petty-bourgeois nationalists, Stalinist or no, Soviet aid or no, can be unable to carry forward the bourgeois democratic revolution. To call Cuba a workers' state is to make a travesty of what we are fighting for — socialism itself.

Extreme crisis

When we understand Cuba in this scientific way, then we see Castro's defeat as a reflection of the class nature of his regime as well as to the socio-economic relations which exist in the class nature of this state and regime.

Castro has followed a consistent line of opposition to the working class. He jailed Escalante as an agent of the Soviet Union, a worker and a socialist, and because he advocated material incentives for the working-class—against the Stalinist way a reflection of the working class. But he was more than happy to support the Soviet Union when it meant imposing its will on the workers of Czechoslovakia and when the Cuban example was used to intimidate any oppositional elements in Cuba which could become a threat for working-class struggle against his regime. Recently he has been cracking down on the Black Panthers. Even such a tendency as the Panthers displays an independence of the Cuban regime and thus is dangerous to Castro.

He ignored May-June in France, ignored the Mexican situation, and even complemented the 'progresistas' of the Mexican movement following its bloody repression of the students. He utilizes guerrilla warfare for outside pressure upon the governments of Latin America which refuse to recognize him—supporting it against his enemies, opposing it against his friends. He was more than happy to block with the Stalinists at the Tri-Continental Congress against Trotskyism, only to suppress Stalinists within Cuba if he fears they in any way reflect the working class.

Today Castro faces his most extreme crisis. His sugar policy has succeeded around him with the smallest produc- tion in a number of years. As a result he has less capital investment and is under the greatest pressure to ship almost all his sugar to meet contract terms with the Soviet Community. He is applying the greatest pressure on the Cuban working class, some to raise productivity without giving the workers anything in return—not to mention his use of unpaid labour in length of weekends and weeks for the sugar harvest. Revolt against the Cuban working class to Castro. His inter- national policies are completely bank- rupt—not even following the Guevara adventure.

We cannot predict exactly what will happen next in Cuba, but the situation is becoming remarkably similar to that which preceded the fall of Ben Bella. Whether a Castro will fall to the military or to other forces in his government, or make a deal on his own with the Americans, or limp on for a little longer, cannot be predicted.

But the Cuban 'miracle' is over. The fundamental economic and political forces in Cuba remain. And Castro has no programme at all for the workers in Latin America or the world.

This task now falls to the Fourth International. We can carry out this task only in cooperation with the remaining illusions about Castro, his real policies, the class nature of his regime and state.

It is the accumulation of these material, class contradictions in Cuba and the failure of the foundations of the so-called 'reunification' of the Ukrainian workers to hasten behind Castro in 1961-63 completed their rejection of the Marxist-Socialist approach, and are liquidation of even the semblance of independent programme and organization.

The Socialist Workers Party refused in 1961-1963 to face up to the liquidationist challenge of the Castro regime in the Pablitos group. Now they face the choice of either completely destroyed by this pragmatic alliance, or making one last effort to return to the road of Trotskyism.

It is the international revolution which provides the fuel for the crisis which the Soviet Community is creating. For the opportunity for the best elements in the SWP and sections of the United Socialist Party to come together and fight together was published and the opportunity which was rejected in 1963 and to grasp the significance of the fight that was lost by the International Committee.

The SWP Open Letter Of 1953

Dear Comrades,

On the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Trotskyist movement in the United States, the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party sends its revolutionary socialist greetings to orthodox Trotskyists throughout the world.

Although the Socialist Workers Party, because of imperialist laws passed by the Democratic and Republican Parties, is no longer affiliated to the Fourth International—the World Party of the Socialist Revolution—founded by Leon Trotsky to carry on and fulfill the task of the international and the Social Democrats and the Third International of the Stalinists—we take interest in the welfare and the world-wide organization created under the guidance of our martyred leader.

As is well known, the pioneer American Trotskyist 25 years ago brought the programme of Trotsky, supported by the Kremlin, to the American public opinion. This act proved decisive in breaking the siege imposed by the Russian agents of Trotsky and in laying the foundation for the Fourth International. With his internationalist programme, Trotsky began an intimate and trusted collaboration with the leadership of the SWP that lasted to the day of his death.

The collaboration included joint efforts to organize revolutionary socialist parties in a number of countries. This culminated, as you know, in the launching of the Fourth International in 1938. The Transitional Program, which remains the keystone of today's programme of the world Trotskyist movement, was written by Trotsky in collaboration with the leaders
of the SWP and at his request was submitted by them for publication.

The intimacy and thoroughness of the collaboration between Trotsky and the leadership of the SWP can be clearly attested to by the present publication of orthodoxy Trotskyist principles in 1939–40 against the Petrograd SWP Central under the leadership of Schachtman. That record has had a profound influence in the development of the SWP today, together with Trotskyist deviations in Latin America, Canada, England, the U.S., and other countries.

The murder of Trotsky by an agent of Stalin’s secret police, the SWP took the lead in defending and advocating his teachings. We took the lead not from chóo—slogans and resolutions, but because we had forcefully orthodox Trotskyists underground in many communities. The SWP resolved to stand together with Trotskyists in Latin America, Canada, England, the U.S., and other countries.

We did what we could to uphold the banner of orthodox Trotskyism through the difficult war years.

We were, however, gratified at the appearance in Europe of Trotskyists from the under-ground movement and the formation of the International Fourth. Since we were barred from the press, it was necessary for us to rely on officially sanctioned laws, we placed all the greater hope in the establishment of our revolutionary tradition, which is the tradition bequeathed to our world movement by Trotsky. We felt that the young, young leadership of the Fourth was in need of guidance and confidence and support. When self-corrections of serious errors were made on the initiative of the comrades themselves, we felt that our course was proving justified.

However, we now admit that the very freedom from the criticism which made the First International what it was, made it possible for this leadership to mislead, to make mistakes, and to cover up the implications of the mistakes it made. This, however, is an indication of the need for a more thoroughgoing consolidation of the Fourth. The fact, therefore, that the SWP has published the orthodoxy Trotskyist program is a step in the right direction.

The Programme of Trotskyism

To show precisely what is involved, we restate the main points of the program on which the world Trotskyist movement is built:

1. The death agony of the capitalist system threatens the world with a second world war.

2. The existence of the Great Depression, world wars and barbaric manifestations of the system, and the dictatorship of capitalism over a world scale thus and therefore the suffering of the proletariat and the toil of the workers, is a fact.

3. This can be accomplished only under the leadership of the working class in society.

4. The working class can lead itself, ultimately, to the world for the overthrow of capitalism and the world socialist order.

5. The main obstacle to this is Stalinism, which attempts to suppress the revolutionary movements.

6. The principles and slogans of the program are: a) the international class struggle, b) the world socialist order, c) the international unity of the working class, d) the overthrow of capitalism and the world socialist order. These principles are the basis for unification and for the revolutionary transformation of the world.

7. They are based on the principle of demagoguery: a) the international class struggle, b) the world socialist order, c) the international unity of the working class, d) the overthrow of capitalism and the world socialist order. These principles are the basis for unification and for the revolutionary transformation of the world.

8. They are made up of a series of resolutions, b) the world socialist order, c) the international unity of the working class, d) the overthrow of capitalism and the world socialist order. These principles are the basis for unification and for the revolutionary transformation of the world.

9. The political program of the International Fourth is a series of resolutions, b) the world socialist order, c) the international unity of the working class, d) the overthrow of capitalism and the world socialist order. These principles are the basis for unification and for the revolutionary transformation of the world.

10. The principles and slogans of the program are: a) the international class struggle, b) the world socialist order, c) the international unity of the working class, d) the overthrow of capitalism and the world socialist order. These principles are the basis for unification and for the revolutionary transformation of the world.

11. They are based on the principle of demagoguery: a) the international class struggle, b) the world socialist order, c) the international unity of the working class, d) the overthrow of capitalism and the world socialist order. These principles are the basis for unification and for the revolutionary transformation of the world.

12. The principles and slogans of the program are: a) the international class struggle, b) the world socialist order, c) the international unity of the working class, d) the overthrow of capitalism and the world socialist order. These principles are the basis for unification and for the revolutionary transformation of the world.

13. They are based on the principle of demagoguery: a) the international class struggle, b) the world socialist order, c) the international unity of the working class, d) the overthrow of capitalism and the world socialist order. These principles are the basis for unification and for the revolutionary transformation of the world.

14. They are made up of a series of resolutions, b) the world socialist order, c) the international unity of the working class, d) the overthrow of capitalism and the world socialist order. These principles are the basis for unification and for the revolutionary transformation of the world.

15. They are based on the principle of demagoguery: a) the international class struggle, b) the world socialist order, c) the international unity of the working class, d) the overthrow of capitalism and the world socialist order. These principles are the basis for unification and for the revolutionary transformation of the world.

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The American Pahlavi

The world's attention is currently focused on events in the Sudan, while in Iran, the situation is marked by the constant nervous tension created by the new government of Prime Minister MohammadReza Pahlavi. This tension is especially intense in Tehran, in the wake of the recent assassination of Premier Nouri and the attempted coup on the lives of two of his aides. The pressure on the new government is continued by the Dar al-Asil group, a radical group which has already been involved in similar incidents in the past. The situation in Iran is tense and could lead to further unrest.

Features of Coercion

As all the sections of the world movement well know, Iran is an important and historically significant country, but it is threatened with a severe crisis. The basic problem is the existence of a radical group of elements, notably the Dar al-Asil group, which seeks to destabilize the new government and incite the population to rebellion. The government has taken strong measures to deal with these elements, including the arrest of several leading figures and the imposition of a state of emergency. The crisis in Iran is a reminder of the importance of the struggle for democracy and freedom around the world.

What to do

To conclude: The lines of cleavage between Pahlavi's revisionism and orthodox Trotskyism are so deep that no compromise is possible either politically or organizationally. The Pahlavi faction, supported by a section of the state bourgeoisie, will not permit democratic decisions truly reflecting majoritarian will, and this makes it impossible to conciliate them. If there is one lesson to be learned from the experience of the 1978 revolution in Iran, it is that solidarity with the protesters cannot involve any concessions to the regime. The time has come to take a clear stance against the Pahlavi revisionist line and to support the Iranian revolutionaries in their struggle for freedom and democracy.

BULLETIN SUPPLEMENT

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